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ABSTRACT

This journal focuses on the teaching and learning of Russian. Selected articles include the following: "Soviet Cinema: Women's films"; "Learning and Teaching Russian"; "Russian in a Weekend?" "Words Having a Religious Connotation in Russian"; "Grammar and Communication: The Ab Initio Russian Course"; "Borrowing of Foreign Words and Reflected Synonyms in the Russian Lexicon"; "Sisters on he Sinister Side: Gumilev as a Critic of Women Writers"; "Nation Building or Empire Saving: The Evolution of Russia's Thinking on Relations with the Former Soviet Republic"; "Starting Russian at University: Expectations and Reactions of Students"; "New Developments in Russian Vocabulary"; "Teaching Russian to Adults: A Range of Approaches"; "The Impact of Gorbachev's New Thinking on the Russian Language, 1985-1995"; "Russian in Estonia." Regular features include 'Reviews' and 'Notes for Contributors.' All articles are extensively referenced. (KFT)

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РУСИСТИКА

The Russian Journal of the Association for Language Learning

Russian in a weekend?
Grammar and communication
Russian teaching: from practice to theory

DECEMBER 1994
No 10

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Soviet cinema: 'Women's films': Part 2

Frank Beardow
(University of Sunderland)

The 50s had initiated the move towards exploration of individuality as opposed to collectivity, that is, the concerns of the individual in a society that was far from the alleged socialist paradise. That trend continued in the 60s and 70s. Films also began to examine feminist-type issues. Eyebrows might be raised over the phrase 'feminist-type' issues. Let me qualify this. In general terms Soviet women, including writers and film makers, reject western feminism. The following remarks will help to explain how and why.

Anna, a young Muscovite, interviewed in the **late 70s,** observed: 'From time immemorial, women's instincts have been rooted in taking care of their families, tending to their husbands, sewing and washing – all the household chores. Men are supposed to provide for the family; women should keep the home fires burning. This is so deeply ingrained in women that there's no way of changing it.'[48]

Attwood (1993) commented: 'Soviet women have different priorities: instead of demanding equality in the workplace, they want protection from jobs which consist of heavy physical toil. Instead of insisting that men take their share of housework and childcare, they call for a reduced work load for women outside the home so that they can devote more time to life inside it. Instead of demanding to be treated as human beings, they dream of the luxury of being treated as "women".'[49]

Rosalind Marsh, writing of the Second Independent Women's Forum in Dubna (November 1992), noted: 'The least popular session, with only five participants, was "The Contemporary Family: Myth and Reality", suggesting that most Russian women think they can solve their own family problems, despair of changing men, or fail to realise that relations between men and women in the family represent a microcosm of society as a whole.'[50]

David Gillespie, reviewing **Soviet Women Writing: Fifteen Short Stories,** offers this perceptive comment: 'It is women, not men, who do battle with the everyday, the humdrum, with no time for abstractions and philosophical premises. Very often theirs is a struggle simply to survive. This, more than anything else, helps to explain why a Western-based feminist consciousness, proceeding as it does from principles of personal liberty and financial independence in an affluent society, has yet failed to make much headway in Russia and the Soviet Union . . .'[51]

The above observations also suggest that the term 'individual' doesn't have the same connotation as in the West. We are dealing here with a limited individualism.

For the sake of completeness, let's note some further legal measures. In 1955 abortion on demand was restored. In 1965 divorce proceedings were simplified and in 1968 new divorce clauses were added to Family Law. The cost of divorce was reduced. Illegitimacy, according to one source, was no longer to be recorded on internal passports. Details of the laws governing adoption procedures, eligibility and the rights and responsibilities of guardians and wards may be found in *Кодекс законов о браке, семье и опеке РСФСР,* Moscow, 1956, pp. 16–28.[52]

I want now to examine three films which explore 'women's issues'. They are all so-called women's films and were made by women, which is significant. They are Shepitko's **Wings** (1966), Muratova's **Brief Encounters** (1967) and Gogoberidze's **Some Interviews on Personal Matters** (1979).

Wings

Larisa Shepitko's film is based on a script by Valentin Yezhov and Natalya Ryazantseva. What is interesting is the way in which the portrait of the heroine, Nadezhda Stepanovna Petrukhina, is gradually and subtly built up. The film, which is shot in black and white, begins with a crowd scene – a busy street with people rushing to and fro, each person preoccupied with his or her own thoughts. The camera pulls back to reveal a tailoring establishment where Nadezhda is being measured for a new suit. She must be well-off to be able to afford this. A length of material in official sombre colour is brought to her. 'This one?' 'Yes.' We only see her from the back whilst her measurements are being taken by a **male** tailor. We catch a glimpse of Nadezhda in the mirror, then the right side of her face, with its rather weary, serious expression. The tailor moves towards the camera announcing 'Standard size'.

Cut to a TV screen on which she is making a speech in her new suit. She's very self-assured. An electrician who is near to the TV set points out her numerous decorations, but he can't hear what she is saying because there is no sound. His mate suggests, tellingly, that he can surely guess what she's saying. We realise that we are in a school when some teenage girls rush over and try to enter the auditorium so that they can hear their principal's speech. The electricians tell them to watch her on TV. She is being presented with a diploma in recognition of the school's achievements.

We now see Nadezhda coming down a staircase accompanied by one other woman official and a whole group of male functionaries, one of whom congratulates her. She says in a detached manner that she had simply done her best. Her appointment is of recent date. Her voice, we notice, is rather husky, almost masculine. She has a nervous giggle; she offhandedly asks someone to ask her to dance – her little joke; nonetheless, taking the initiative like that seems rather forward. One of the functionaries wonders if she would accept as a student his somewhat wayward son. She replies that she's not running a reformatory. In the meantime a fight has broken out between two students, Bystryakov and Yermolayeva, over her hair ribbon which Bystryakov had snatched. Nadezhda takes charge in a rather authoritarian manner, repeatedly ordering both parties to shut up. Bystryakov answers her back; he's well known to her as a trouble maker. He refuses to apologise for striking Yermolayeva and finds himself expelled. Of course, unlike Nadezhda, we have witnessed the relationship between the two students and are aware of a certain amount of provocation on the girl's part. Nadezhda is inflexible; for her, everything is black and white.

Cut to a middle-aged man, Pasha by name, who keeps looking timidly across at Nadezhda as she reads a translation of a Serbo-Croatian poem. From the conversation we learn that Pasha is director of a museum. The relationship seems strained. Pasha suggests he should leave as she seems tired. She mentions the expulsion of the student. The doorbell of the communal flat rings. Pasha wonders if it's Tanya. 'Why should she come here?' asks Nadezhda rather curtly. It is in fact some one enquiring after Tanya; she's got married is the answer. Pasha mentions that Tanya 'phoned him the other day, and sends her regards. Pasha tries to explain; she 'phoned him, perhaps because Nadezhda is never at home. We assume that Tanya is related to Nadezhda; her daughter perhaps. They obviously have a strained relationship, as is suggested by Nadezhda's earlier remark. Pasha is such a diffident fellow; he leaves, his question as to whether he should 'phone the next day unanswered. The camera focuses on Nadezhda's face, she's pensive, she slowly raises her eyes towards the ceiling and smiles, whispering the name Pasha. Pasha appears at the door – 'Did you call?' She shakes her head. He leaves. She appears to be remembering something pleasant; again her eyes are raised towards the ceiling. It's worth noting that the close-ups of Nadezhda reveal an almost mask-like quality; it's as if she has a public face and a private face, that is, a real face. Dissolve to a model plane in the sky. Nadezhda is with her neighbour's two small children on the beach. She takes them to the nearby airfield where she meets up with Kostya, a flying instructor and former colleague. He suggests the old bunch ought to get together again; the trouble is that there's only Kostya and Nadezhda left. As she takes the children home, she gets them to sing an old war-time song about the reliability of 'the bird of steel', the plane.

As she peels her potatoes for Sunday lunch, her thoughts take her up into the clouded sky as if she were flying her plane. Her neighbour brings her out of her reverie. Nadezhda decides to abandon home-cooking and to eat in restaurants from then on. On her way, she stops on a bridge – there is a happy, young couple, presumably in love. Her own loneliness is thus brought into relief. She is again reminded of her 'singleness' when she is refused entry into the restaurant because she has no escort. However, she is recognised by someone with whom she had done jury service, and is invited to join him and his cronies in the cafeteria-part. Bystryakov is there, too, drinking beer. He doesn't return her greeting and is amused when she is opportuned by a drunk. The woman waitress calls her by her name and patronymic; she is obviously well-known in town.

The scene switches to a suburb with its highrise blocks of flats. Nadezhda is walking along carrying a cake-box. A young woman with a boxer dog approaches her; it's Tanya, her daughter. Nadezhda explains that she's come to meet Igor. Tanya says she's already met him by 'phone. Isn't Tanya a little embarrassed – after all, Igor is old enough to be her father, remarks Nadezhda with a nervous laugh. She also mentions the new Wedding Palace in town where she herself has greeted newly-weds on behalf of the City Soviet, another little status clue. Tanya isn't interested. Tanya and Igor have company. Nadezhda looks round trying to guess which one is Igor. She embarrassingly gets the wrong one. She even treats the guests as she would her students, suggesting that the young people put on their boogie-woogie, it's all right with her. Condescension compounded by out-of-date knowledge of musical trends. Our sympathy for her wanes when she orders Tanya out of the room and interrogates Igor in a school-maamish fashion: Age? [37] Been married? [Yes] Divorced? [5 years] Children? [No] Lived as a single person since? [Yes] You're a teacher? [Yes] Do you intend to teach in the future? [Should think so]. Cutting the cake as if she were ripping open a piece of meat, she continues the interrogation: Where did you meet Tanya? [At the entrance exams] Love at first sight? [No reply] She giggles nervously and tells him to call the others. It's hardly surprising that they are about to leave. She begs them to stay for her toast to the newly-weds. One friend is gallant enough to propose a toast to her and to say that Igor is lucky to have such a mother-in-law. It could be simply that Nadezhda is such a celebrity. 'You'll make me blush,' was her reaction.

In the next scene we learn that because of the extended visit to Tanya and Igor's, Nadezhda had arrived too late to go to the cinema with Pasha; he's already bought the tickets. She tells him that she had invited herself to Tanya's, and mentions that if Tanya had been her real, rather than adopted, daughter, she would have been less lenient. She'd been scared that Tanya would find out that she was adopted, but she never did. It would have been better, though, if Tanya had asked her advice about marrying. She reminds Pasha that he had advised her to adopt a boy. She had preferred a girl because a girl would be closer. Pasha's observation that children have to leave the nest merely irritates her. Her relationship with her daughter is a failure. How much time did she spend with her when she was growing up, we wonder. During this scene Nadezhda's eyes have been fixed at a point on the lower right-hand side of the screen, suggesting that her speeches are some form of meditation upon her life, a sort of stock taking. Pasha leaves.

At school the next day Boris Grigorevich, Nadezhda's deputy, requests permission to leave early in view of his daughter's birthday. She's rather brusque with him because he doesn't seem to know if certain tasks in the school have been carried out. She threatens to deal with him severely if a painting-job isn't finished. Whilst one can understand that she requires reliable answers, her attitude is aggressive, almost masculine. This is her official face, the mask. She's used to dealing with situations; in fact at the amateur concert where some of her students are performing, she simply steps in for Yermolayeva who won't go on stage because she's upset over Bystryakov's expulsion. Nadezhda's attention to detail, almost to the point of fastidiousness, is emphasised in a conversation with a young woman reporter who wants to check over her interview with her; the girl isn't bothered about *le mot juste*. Nadezhda also objects to the phrase 'I saw a weary woman with bright, ageless eyes' though that's actually not a bad description. She even takes up the question of *le mot juste* with her colleagues on the amateur concert jury, who, alas, agree with the young journalist's choice of the word 'weary'.

Meanwhile, back at school, a cleaner asks her whether Bystryakov has turned up. Nadezhda is standing by the window; once again we see the scudding clouds as if seen from a plane. The cleaner's question jolts her back to reality. She doesn't know what has happened to the student. Wandering down the corridors she checks certain rooms and in one finds Boris Grigorevich finishing the painting; he's let the students go off for a smoke. She orders him to go straight home to his daughter's birthday party whilst there's still time. In other words she's reversed her earlier decision – the threat. So, there is a compassionate side to her which seems to have been buried, hidden by her mask. This other nature appears again when she visits the Bystryakovs' flat. From the grandmother she gathers that the older brother is in jail and Sergei, the younger brother and her student, has run away; his father had beaten him. The old lady offers her a piece of cake and then asks her to stay and chat. Nadezhda hesitates, but then agrees. Unfortunately the old lady can't remove the chain-lock from the door. The point is, though, that the thought must have struck Nadezhda that both she and the old lady have something in common – loneliness. That's why she was prepared to step inside. Nadezhda reports Bystryakov's disappearance to the police.

A revealing mother-daughter scene follows. Nadezhda returns to find Tanya at home. She had been sifting through tapes and discovered one from her mother's friend, Nina. Nadezhda looks worn out. She tells Tanya that one of her boys has run away just as she had done. Tanya objects; she hadn't run away, she'd got married. Nadezhda sits down exhausted and very quietly asks Tanya to stay with her; after all, she doesn't love Igor. Tanya replies that she doesn't want to talk about it, especially to her. Nadezhda says thanks, tears well up in her eyes. The mask slips a little. Tanya relents, kneels in front of her and agrees to stay. She urges Nadezhda to remarry; she's been a school inspector, she's now a principal; let someone else take care of the dunces. This remark brings forth a tirade from Nadezhda. 'Your mother's not good enough for you. Badly educated, ill-mannered, her military days show. Let some one else! That's what young people think today. I've worked all my life, always went where I was sent. I have no regrets . . . Are you sorry for me? No, you should envy me. Don't stand there. Go!'

Cut to Nadezhda slumped over a tape recorder as if she had fallen asleep over it. It is playing: 'We waited for you. Nina's got her degree. Klava's on the UN staff, a pilot-turned-diplomat. You didn't show up on Victory Day. Got a swollen head? If you're not here in three days, we'll come and get you. You'll get two days' extra duty. Are you ill?' They sing the same song that we heard Nadezhda singing with the neighbour's children about the steel bird.

The Principal's study: a group of students is marched in. Nadezhda forces an apology out of Bystryakov. She keeps him behind, unconvinced of the sincerity of the apology. Where had he been running to? To follow his jail-bird brother? Bystryakov shouts at her: 'I hate you' and leaves. This outburst really unsettles her. The camera lingers over her uncomprehending face. She composes herself and goes to comfort Yermolayeva.

Three short scenes follow: Nadezhda on a crowded bus, lost, anonymous; at a building site she meets her former flying colleague Kostya who suggests that they get together, – a contest is in preparation; Nadezhda approaches the bridge where she had previously seen a couple of young lovers. An Army man is leaning over the parapet. Nadezhda looks at him. He hurries away, almost as if she had been trying to pick him up. Nadezhda leaves.

She makes her way to the cafeteria where she'd previously had a drink and a snack with her Jury service colleague. The same waitress, Shura, invites her in, even though they're not yet open. A rapport is quickly established. Shura had noticed that she was always alone. Shura, it turns out, has a family and someone else's husband, a good man though. 'That sort of thing happens', says Nadezhda. They laugh. It's the first time she has smiled in ages. They drink beer together. Nadezhda is really enjoying herself. Shura says she was evacuated from Moscow during the war and stayed. Nadezhda laments that she hasn't see her Moscow friends for five years, and when she starts a letter to them she feels she has to invent something because there's nothing interesting to tell. Shura says she'd wanted to go on stage, but was chucked out of dancing school for being too big. They end up waltzing round the cafeteria, much to the amazement of waiting customers who are peering through the window. There's no mask in this scene: Nadezhda is being herself. It's also interesting that it is with a woman of her own age that she can finally let her hair down.

As Nadezhda walks along a cobbled road in the rain eating grapes she has just bought, the camera tracks along the road and up to the sky. A scene from the past, before the mask was put in place. Nadezhda's real self. We view this scene solely from Nadezhda's point of view, as if the camera were her eyes. A wounded officer supporting himself with a stick runs up a wooded hillside towards Nadezhda. Although Nadezhda is worried that the whole hospital will be missing them, Mitya, the officer, sits down on the ground. It's so quiet, so restful here. Cut to wheel tracks in the ground. Mitya tells the story of a tribe that used to live in these parts and built a city out of rock. They left because they thought the grass was greener on the other side, but they paid the price: without stone their art perished. Cut to Mitya leaning over the fossilised well. Nadezhda asks if he will write to her. He calls into the well: 'Petrukhina to the plane!' The well distorts his voice. They laugh about earlier times when Mitya trained her as a pilot. 'If I hadn't been wounded,' says Nadezhda, 'you wouldn't have known that I was at the front. Do you ever think about me?' He says he's prepared to request a transfer to her unit. 'Do you love me?' she asks. Cut to Mitya lying on the ground. 'Are you really brave or just pretending?' Mitya's face becomes serious. 'Only pretending,' he answers. Fade.

Nadezhda visits Pasha's museum where a school-party is going round the war-exhibit telling of the exploits of the bomber pilots, including herself. We learn that Dmitrii Grachov, to give Mitya his full name, had shot down seventeen enemy planes. He had trained Petrukhina. Nadezhda re-lives the dog-fight in which Mitya's plane had been destroyed. She enters Pasha's office. She says she doesn't want to be a museum exhibit – one schoolboy had unsuspectingly asked her if the famous woman pilot about whom the guide had been speaking earlier was still alive. She quietly asks Pasha to marry her. They are interrupted. She quickly asks him to come round later that night.

Cut to model planes in a field. Nadezhda visits the airfield and talks to the pilots and trainee pilots. They offer her a plane ride; she climbs into the cockpit and they push the plane along. A close up of Nadezhda's face, tears in her eyes. Suddenly before they get to the hangar she starts the engine and takes off. Clouds, sky, the earth.

Nadezhda Stepanovna Petrukhina, much decorated bomber pilot, deputy of the city Soviet, school inspector, principal, but desperately unhappy in her personal life. The war has defeminised her to some extent, just like Vavilova the Commissar, but underneath there is a compassionate nature. Mitya was her great love; after his death she had plunged herself into a career, adopting a daughter along the way, so as not to feel too lonely. A gesture which reveals both compassion and selfishness. She has some idea of the impression she creates; for example, she feels she has to tell Tanya's visitors not to be scared of her. Nadezhda simply can't cope with the new generation; things were more clear-cut during her flying days, and she enjoyed the camaraderie; that's why she keeps returning to the airfield; Kostya is a reminder of happier days; the new young pilots and trainee pilots respect her. Nadezhda and Mitya had mutual respect, and love, too. Loneliness characterises her life despite its busy appearance. She ends up with a rather diffident, undemonstrative Pasha, and she has to ask him to marry her at that. Pasha is definitely not the so-called typical Soviet male. The ending of the film is ambiguous. Is the plane ride just a dreamlike wish-fulfilment, a desire to return to the past? Will she 'land' and come back to reality and marry Pasha? We are aware that she had noticed some gliders; she had climbed into one of the planes, presumably a glider; that's why the men were pushing it. Yet we then see her start the engine; the propellers turn and she taxies along the runway, eventually taking off. Is she then on a suicide mission to acquire the ultimate mask, the death mask? We simply don't know.

Brief encounters

Valentina Ivanovna Sidorova (played by Kira Muratova) and her husband Maksim (played by Vysotsky) spend long periods of time separated from each other because he is a geologist whose job involves conducting surveys in different areas of the country. On one of these geological expeditions he has an affair with a country girl called Nadya. Valentina works for a regional housing department. On finishing the survey, Maksim mentions to Nadya that in the autumn a new mine will be set up and that he can get her a job in the canteen as a cook. Later someone at the local post office gives her Maksim's town address, where he lives from time to time, though, he says, he's not there at the moment. Nadya finds herself knocking on Valentina's door. Valentina mistakes Nadya for the home help she'd asked an agency to send to her. Despite the confusion, which is never cleared up, Nadya stays. They get on reasonably well together. As the days and weeks pass, each woman, in a series of flash backs, recalls episodes out of her life with Maksim. Eventually, Nadya tells Valentina of her decision to leave. She has come to realise how much in love with Maksim Valentina really is. Valentina receives a phone call from Maksim to the effect that he will be returning the next day. In Valentina's absence Nadya prepares the table for a celebratory, romantic, candle-lit dinner for two and leaves.

I'd like to approach this film by analysing a key scene. Furthermore, this particular scene echoes other parts of the film. It occurs towards the end and deals with the final moments before Maksim leaves Valentina to go off again on one of his expeditions. Valentina wishes him to stay. I'll reproduce the scene in dialogue form, indicating 'stage' directions and camera angles/positions. [a], [b], [c] etc are points of reference for the commentary which follows.

A door with '15th of March' written on it in lipstick. It opens to reveal Valentina and Maksim. Valentina is holding his hand, cutting his finger nails. [a]

M: *So what will I be here? Just your husband? That's all?*

V: *Why 'just my husband'? You have your work, I have mine.* [b]

M: *What if it's the sort of work I don't like?* [c]

V: *You simply don't love me.* [She turns away from him. He follows her, with his arm on her shoulder, through the flat where the furniture seems to be stacked up. Newspapers cover the walls.]

M: *Listen, there are various professions, like sailors, for instance. For years on end......*

V: [interrupts] *You simply don't love me.* [d]

Why do you keep on repeating 'You don't love me'?

V: [fiddling with the scissors, faces camera] *Because I want us to stay together. You don't. That's all.* [e]

M: *OK. Come with me. Get your things.* [V lowers her eyes]

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V: [raising her eyes] *You know I'm being serious.*

M: *Go and get your things and we'll go.*

V: *What shall I do there? Make your kasha?* [f]

M: *You needn't cook. Just get your things.* [g]

V: [raising her voice] *You think I'll just drop everything and go off somewhere?* [h]

M: [quietly] *You should have said that at the beginning. I. I. I. What about me?*

V: *You're just selfish.* [turns away]

[Close-up of M alone in the room. Head tilted to one side. He half shrugs. Lowers his eyes. The camera follows him as he crosses the room. Exits. Enters the bathroom. Collects his toothbrush, puts it in a plastic holder, leaves. The camera lingers over the empty washbasin and the lone toothbrush. Cut to the room. M singing and playing the guitar. 'All my work went wrong.' Puts the toothbrush into a bag. 'Then it burned to a cinder.' 'All year she stayed, then she went.' Follows V. 'Now once again I'm doing well. But I'm tired of it all, day in day out.' Back of V's head. 'The songs and poems have burned to ashes, to ashes, ashes.' [i]

V: *Enough!*

M: *Another song goes like this.* 'In *the Vatican it was drizzling. The Pope he went a-mushroom picking . . .'*

V: [turns to camera and then to M; without anger] *Stop singing all the time. That's not how I want to be loved.* [j]

M: *How then?*

V: [moves her head from side to side, nervously; doesn't look directly at M] *I want you to give up everything for my sake, to care for me.* [k]

M: *You're straight out of a novel. I can't sit and wait for you to come home from work.*

V: [to his face] *But you'll be at work. You don't have to sit at home. You worked in the Mining Office.*

M: [grimaces; growls as he speaks] *Oh. Oh. More paper, more reports.* [V on left facing camera] *I shall start hating you on the quiet. Where the hell is my watch?* [goes in search of it] *I put it somewhere.* [comes back] *No, you and I are from different tribes. I'm from the Mumbo Jumbo tribe.* [V and M together] [l]

V: *Stop . . .*

M: [ignores her] *And you are from the Miki Naki tribe.*

[V on left. M on right, his right arm stretching upwards along the door frame]

V: *Perhaps it's worth giving it a go. Don't you want a rest from all your wanderings?*

M: *Don' t you want a rest from all your daily hassles?* [m]

V: [laughs] *That would astound everyone.*

[M leans with his back against the door frame. V and M look at each other]

M: *No, sweetheart, we don't understand each other.* [V turns away and grins]

Both our tribes eat people roasted, we start with the head, yours with the tail . . . [corrects himself] *. . . with the feet.* [V. grins] *Understand? That's the fundamental difference between us.* [V begins to smile. She looks at M occasionally as he speaks] *True, we're close in spirit, because other tribes eat people boiled. There are even tribes, untouched by civilisation, who eat people raw. But nobody eats people alive any more. That's p-r-o-g-r-e-s-s.* [n]

V: [laughs] You *make light of everything as if you had eternity and not just one life.* [o]

[M with back to camera stretches both his arms out, one on each side of the door frame]

M: *And you act like an 18 year old . . . Oh, there's my watch!* [notices it on his wrist]

V: *Yes, I forgot I'm no longer 18 or even 28. That's the point.* [p]

[M stretches his arms higher along the door frame as if crucified] [q]

V: *I can't go on like this, seeing each other on and off.* [with irritation] *It's getting on my nerves. Better to stop.*

M: *Stop it, Valya.*

V: *I'm always waiting for you. When you come I reproach you for making me wait. That's all I ever do.*

[M turns, leaves his right arm resting on the door frame]

M: *But you still have your job as well.*

V: [raising her voice] *I'm always waiting for you. I can't go on living like this.*

M: *But you can't live any other way, can you?* [r]

V: *Why not? I can.* [angrily] *Go away.*

M: *Stop play-acting. I'm going anyway. I have to.* [s]

V: *What play-acting? Just go. Get out.* [M's face, left of screen, registers reaction. Looks up to camera, remains on camera] I *don't want to see you again.*

M: *So that's it, my little grey goat.* [t]

[Shrugs in a sort of 'What can I do?' way. Camera follows him over to where his luggage is. He picks up his haversack, puts it over his left shoulder, goes to door with '15th of March' on it, turns round, comes back, collects his coat, looks at V, waves and goes out]. [u]

Commentary

[a] One wonders why he can't cut his own nails. The gesture itself is telling – wife waiting on husband hand and foot. Nonetheless she seems happy to do this for him. Her face registers no irritation. It's an act of affection and a sign of love. And, of course, he's happy for her to do this. We recall Nadya's immediate offer in an earlier flashback to mend his torn jacket. The frame isolated the action; we saw her hand come over and take the jacket. The camera returned to Maksim who turned and said OK. No word of thanks, just agreement.

[b] This is the problem. They both enjoy their work. There's a difference of attitude, however. For Valya work fills her time almost exclusively. At the beginning of the film, for instance, she's trying to finish off a speech late at night. She's always rushing about and is often late for appointments because of a heavy work-load. She's even persuaded to inspect some housing on a Sunday, a free day, and her birthday, too. At one stage Maksim says: *You want people to zoom around like wound-up robots until they are sick.* Valya counters: *I don't whizz around. I just like it that way.* He, on the other hand, is more laid back. I*'m a free bird, within limits, but still free,* he says.

He does his job, then spends time with his mates drinking beer or vodka as a treat at the end of an expedition. And then there's Nadya, who becomes more than a divertissement.

[c] Earlier Valya had been telling Maksim about a scandal she'd come across: the watersupply to a building had been cut off when an official, who happened to live in the block, was transferred. This prompts Maksim to recall his days in administration and to tell of a boss who would get livid, but would in fact speak in half-murmurs about football or women before starting to bark. Maksim stood it for a long time, then quit. He didn't like the type of work either.

[d] On one of his visits home he and Valya had been relaxing on a bench on their verandah cum patio. They're wondering whether the lobsters are cooked. Maksim: *They're ready and I love you Valya. Understand?* It' s an incongruous remark. I think it reveals his casual attitude to relationships.

[e] We wonder if they actually know each other. Valentina has her doubts. On the same occasion mentioned in [d] she remarks: *In fact, I don't know you at all. There you lie, I look at you, there are your eyes, your cheeks, your lips.* Maksim: *Ears, hair, nose.* Valya: I *know all that, but you, I don't know you at all.*

[f] Valya is simply reversing Maksim's 'just your husband' in [b].

[g] At home at the beginning, dishes are piled up, unwashed. That's why she needed a home help. Her work comes first. She eats in a canteen or in a restaurant. The prospect of her living in the expedition conditions we've seen in flashback would be impossible for her. Nadya's expectations are much lower.

[h] Valya doesn't like being given orders. She's used to arranging things for herself and for others. For example, insisting on the installation of water-pumps at a housing development before giving her approval; she says she could easily arrange for Nadya to go to evening school or to get factory work; she even arranges her friend Zina's love life – she coaches Zina, gets her to read books and meet 'educated men'. It doesn't work, though: Zina remains unmarried. She tells Valya that educated men don't feel she is educated enough.

[i] Of course, he's selfish. The half-shrug indicates 'Take it or leave it. That's how I am.' The camera lingering over the lone toothbrush conveys the sadness, the separation more than tears could. And the song isn't particularly appropriate, given the circumstances. Earlier in the film, rather than bothering to go through his own official

channels, he even browbeats her into getting him some supplies he needs for his next expedition.

[j] Maksim may not know how she wants to be loved, but he's given an idea of how he wants to be loved. In the verandah scene: *If you love me, you must look at me with loving eyes, blind eyes.*

[k] This is the illusion/reality principle. Shades of Emma Bovary here. Fictional love versus the real world. It also suggests that women's expectations are higher than men's. Maksim can't sit at home, he's a man, men work.

[l] The reference to Maksim's unhappy time in administration is echoed here. 'The different tribes' also reminds one of Valya's earlier remark: *You're like a plant from another planet.*

[m] Neither of them wants to give up their jobs. They're both locked into them. Valya thrives on the hassles. Just watch her at building sites, her final demand clear: 'Do it properly, and you'll get the certificate!' On another occasion, it's her birthday; she and Maksim are about to go out for dinner when there's a housing query. She ushers the people in, closes the door on Maksim, deals with the query and re-joins Maksim. Someone had at one stage even said of her that she wasn't a woman, but a V.I.P. [ответственная]. Maksim needs space, needs to get out of the town. Many of his songs are gypsy songs, suggestive of a different way of life, a freer one. That sort of freedom is guaranteed by his job.

[n] No, perhaps they don't understand each other. Valya has already suggested that he's from another planet and that she doesn't really know him. This is because his trips home are pretty short. Valya mentions this. Yet Maksim claims: *Don't make me more complex than I am. I'm ordinary. I use my feet, I move my hands.* Valya doesn't describe herself as ordinary, though she is in the eyes of the cashier at the hairdresser's.

[o] Maksim reminds me of Tomas, the hero of Kundera's **The Unbearable Lightness of Being.**

[p] Time marches on. When they are dashing about a housing project, up and down stairs, Nadya, who is a simple or rather unsophisticated woman, suggests that Valya needs children. As Nadya passes the remark, Valya is framed by a window which looks onto some trees. It's almost as if children and nature are synonymous. Valya should be doing what is natural, rather than dashing about the town almost like a man. I think this is Nadya's country perspective. Similar ideas concerning town and country, the natural and the unnatural, are to be found in 'village prose'.

[q] The crucifixion analogy is pertinent. Maksim wants the best of both worlds, Valya's sophistication, Nadya's simplicity. He wouldn't admit that the situation torments him. The crucifixion-like position he adopts in this scene is probably an unconscious expression of his inner torment.

[r] Maksim is right, we couldn't imagine her in any other environment. I don't think it's unfeasible to suggest that her work is an obsession.

[s] Maksim says he *has* to go away. His gypsy life is calling. Once when Nadya noticed a lorry coming from the distance towards the cafe where she worked she thought that they were gypsies. The lorry in fact contained Maksim and his geologist colleagues. Valya, in the verandah scene, comments: *You've grown quite wild again.* He's just returned from one of his trips. The comment doesn't just refer to his appearance. On another occasion, Maksim tells her: *I can't always think whether I'm saying the right thing, I don't want to be put under a microscope. I'm not a worm.*

[t] Maksim realises the sub-text. When Valya had commented on his having grown wild again, she added that he would have to be retrained. His reply, only half-serious, was: *Put me on a lead. Put a ring through my nose and put me on a lead or a chain.* That's what she's trying to do here. And that he won't accept.

[u] Valya had once said that she understood why he went away but not why he always came back. She's none the wiser at the end of this scene. The camera follows Maksim so that the perspective we get is Valya's. It's what she sees. But we don't see her reaction. In other words there is no solution.

The end of the film doesn't resolve the matter, either. Except that we know that Nadya realises that Valya loves Maksim. He's coming back, but he'll go away again. One of his songs has the appropriate refrain *Еще раз, еще раз, еще. еще. еще раз.* It's the woman who suffers. Valya may be well educated and have a good job, but at what cost? Personal happiness. Maksim? We have to make up our own mind about him and his behaviour. No black and white judgements are passed in the film, either about Valya or about Maksim. Both of them have their faults.

Some interviews on personal matters

Lana Gogoberidze's film is arguably one of the most important 'women's films'. It is set in Georgia, but the situations described are typical of Soviet family life. The film tells eloquently of the stresses and strains of married life. The heroine is Sofiko, a journalist, married to Archil, with two children. She herself got to know her own mother only when the latter was released from exile. Sofiko had spent time in a children's home and was later taken care of by two aunts, Maro and Keto. There are two particularly touching scenes concerning her mother. In the first Sofiko says to Archil: *You don't understand. My mother's coming home, and I don't know anything about her. I don't know what she's like, her hands, her voice. . . . Help me, how can I call her mum?* The second shows us the actual hesitant reunion. Sofiko offers her hand in confusion. Mother embraces her: *O Lord. Sofiko. My child.* She sinks on to a chair. The first scene occurs near the beginning of the film, the second towards the end. Sofiko is so involved with, so engrossed in, her job that she unwittingly neglects Archil. As a result, so she discovers, Archil has an affair with a younger woman.

Let's compare what happens before and after the discovery.

The film opens with a woman addressing the camera. She's being interviewed. It is one of a series of interviews conducted by Sofiko for her paper in the course of the film.

The woman: *Are you married?*

Sofiko: *Yes*

The woman: *Children?*

Sofiko: A *boy and a girl.*

The woman: *You're lucky.* [Sofiko and Iraklii, the photographer, on screen]

The woman: *Do you like* your *job?*

Sofiko: *Very much.*

Sofiko has occasion to recall these words.

Initially we see Sofiko coping with family life and work. It's her job to get the children out of bed, to tidy up at the same time, to reprimand them for playing music too loudly – Abba's **Money, Money, Money.** She notices that a button is missing from Archil's shirt. She'll have to remind herself to sew that on later. She's in a hurry, but she can cope, just like the lady she comes across in a queue: husband, four children, two sons-in-law, five grand-children, all she ever wanted to do was to be at home and look after the family. Sofiko has to reprimand her son for a poor school report and prepare and serve supper for some friends Archil invites at the last minute. She clears the dishes afterwards. Woman's work.

Cut to an interview with a young woman who's come from the countryside to work at a mill. She'd been homesick at first. She speaks enthusiastically of her good husband, a fitter, three children, TV, fridge, washing machine. She doesn't need a home help because the State helps with the children. She's no free time; she often goes to bed planning next day's breakfast. The family are fussy eaters and she tries hard to please them all.

Sofiko gets involved with an assignment concerning a problem at a school. A contractor who is building a house next to the school playground is taking land away from the school. Archil comes home to find her not there. He's annoyed because they were supposed to go to a banquet. Mother assures him that Sofiko wouldn't forget something like that. Archil disagrees. When she gets back, the atmosphere is strained, but they make up.

At work Sofiko is summoned by her boss to be told of her promotion to managing editor. She may be one of the best reporters, but this is a patriarchal world.

Her male boss's words are illuminating: *Think it over. Discuss it with the family. You'll have more time to be with the children. And, you know, I feel sorry for Archil.* In a confrontation at home, Archil tells her that he's tired of her endless trips, of the senseless messing around in other people's lives. She replies that she likes her job. He thinks it's false. The words of the interview at the beginning of the film are inserted here in a voice-over. We then hear Archil observe: *So, we'll go on as before. You have your life and I have mine.* Just as in **Brief Encounters.**

The headmaster of the school with the playground problem comes by to enquire whether any progress has been made. Archil explodes: *Of course it'll be solved. That's why Sofiko spends all her days arguing, begging, pleading, demeaning herself, sacrificing her health, her family, giving up everything, just to get your school a bigger yard. How can it not be settled favourably?*

At this point Sofiko discovers Archil is having an affair. She unexpectedly catches sight of him from her bus window, waves and then sees a young woman approach Archil and kiss him. The camera work is superb. It's exactly what Sofiko sees, her perspective. The camera then records her reaction as she looks through the back window. It's a simple, but stunningly effective technique. We've seen a similar technique in **Brief Encounters.**

The tone of the film changes after this revelation. It becomes darker. Sofiko is warned off further involvement in the school saga. The camera concentrates on Sofiko. The warning is in the form of a man's voice, an apt way of conveying the impression of a faceless bureaucrat. Sofiko storms out of the office. [We learn later that she has been successful in saving the playground.] The interviews Sofiko now conducts seem to have a greater resonance for her.

Voice: *I've never been married.* Cut to a confident young woman.

Never intended to have or even wanted a husband. But I longed for a child. I have one.... You probably disagree, but I have my own opinion about the so-called average family. The poor woman on the go all day, washing clothes, ironing, mending, cooking, caring for the children, killing herself, while he struts around saying 'Just look at yourself. What a sight you are!' [laughs] *That's not for me. I only want a man with me when I want him around....It's too bad we need them to bear children.*

Sofiko, being of a different generation, would probably never have acted in the same way. But the woman's remarks about the family strike a chord. That's what she's done for so long, taken care of Archil and the children and mother and the aunts and had a demanding job – the double burden. It's taken its toll on the relationship; Archil has found a younger woman, he even lies about where he has been that particular evening. He's tried to phone, but the line was engaged, and why can't he have a night out with his mates? For mates, read young woman. Interestingly, one of the two aunts thinks that you can't break up the family over such a a fleeting affair. The other aunt retorts that life is fleeting, too, but one shouldn't spend it in lies and deceit.

A further interview reveals conflicting attitudes in a certain woman whose husband has cheated on her and abandoned the family. She's speaking to a Party rep. at work. She never wants to see her husband again, wants to have him kicked out of the Party and shown up for what he is. Yet she doesn't want Sofiko to report the matter, and suddenly changes her tune; her husband is Mr Wonderful. She then gets confused again; she'd done everything for him, tried her best, but what can she do? He abandoned them.

Sofiko realises that she's not alone with her problems She tries to talk things over with Archil at a tennis match. He doesn't want to know and keeps brushing her hand away. She even contemplates an affair with Iraklii, the photographer, and goes so far as to visit him. What's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. But she leaves. In the end we see Sofiko and Archil together in the street.

A: *What shall we do, Sofiko?*

S: *I think you decided that long ago.*

A: *I haven't decided anything.*

S: *Don't worry about us, Archil. The children are old enough to understand. I don't* *think I've any regrets. On the contrary. If I could, I'd start all over again.*

Our final view of them is as they sit on a park bench, slightly apart. Will there be a reconciliation? We don't know.

A photo-collage is projected on to the screen – some of Sofiko's interviewees and others. On Sofiko's face is a hint of recognition. As I said before, Soviet women, whether Russian or Georgian, have similar problems, especially the double burden. Stressful relationships can result. Each person has a different solution. Attwood points to two different interpretations of this film. Firstly, '[A] man is apparently entitled to everything, including a wife who ministers to his every need; if she fails to do so, it is within his rights to find another.' Secondly, and here Attwood quotes Lawton's view, society is to blame: 'it is the habits and conventions of a society which places too many demands on a woman and expects too much from her.'[53] Yet I feel that these interpretations are too polarised. We empathise with both Sofiko and Archil. If anything, they are both victims of gender. They both need to learn to appreciate each other's predicament, which would lead to a mutual liberation, a new sense of understanding.

Notes

48 Hanson and Liden: 'Moscow Women' in Clements, Engel and Worobec op. cit. p. 193.

49. Attwood op. cit. p. 12.

50. Rosalind Marsh: 'From Problems to Strategy' in *Rusistika* June 1993, No. 7, pp.16–21. For further details of feminist groups in the CIS see Attwood op. cit. pp. 79, 88, 105, 131 and Horton and Brashinsky op. cit. pp. 100–3. Broader feminist issues are discussed in Barbara Heldt's fascinating chapter 'Gynoglasnost: writing the feminine' in Mary Buckley (ed) *Perestroika and Soviet Women*, Cambridge University Press, 1992 pp. 160–75.

51. David Gillespie: *Rusistika* June 1993, No. 7, pp. 63–4.

52. Stites op. cit. pp. 404–40. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Russia and the Soviet Union*, 1982, is the source for the remark about the details recorded on internal passports (pp. 379–80). According to one of *Rusistika*'s consultants, however, such details would appear on birth certificates, never on internal passports.

53. Attwood op. cit. p. 88. See also *Iskusstvo kino* No. 6, 1991, a feminist issue.

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Learning and teaching Russian: from practice to theory

(Inaugural Lecture, University of Glasgow, June 1994)

Michael Kirkwood
(University of Glasgow)

The title of my lecture seems to me to be an appropriate one on various counts. Firstly, universities are now required to demonstrate a commitment to teaching as well as to learning, it being for some reason supposed that universities hitherto were not interested in teaching. Probably it was assumed that, since university teachers were not formally trained to teach, the likelihood was that they could not teach. Today, via such delights as Quality Assessment, how universities teach the subjects they offer is a matter for close scrutiny, and formal assessments are made by Quality Assessors on a scale ranging from 'excellent' to 'unsatisfactory'. Part of university funding is linked to the perceived quality of its teaching, so universities are now materially interested in scoring as highly as they can. Secondly, it was at this university that I began to learn Russian (a process which is still continuing) and now, thirty-five years later, I have come back here to teach it. I cannot tell you how proud and privileged I feel to be the Head of the Department in which I first encountered the Cyrillic alphabet. (Actually, I encountered it before I came to Glasgow University, while I was still at school, but it was at an evening class which was taught by a former member of my Department, and so I count my association with the Department from that point.) How I learned Russian in this Department, and how I hope to teach it are matters of considerable interest to me at least, and I hope that what I have to say about these matters this evening will also be of interest to you. Thirdly, the relationship between theory and practice is an important one. Although the relationship of one to the other should ideally be symbiotic, in my case the practice came first. That is, in common with most students, I tried to learn Russian without any sense of a theory of language learning and, in common with all university lecturers of my generation (and not only mine), I was required to teach Russian without any formal teacher-training.

I have to tell you, however, that I did acquire a teaching qualification along the way, namely an MA degree at the University of Lancaster in Linguistics for English Language teaching. (This was in 1970, at a time when Russian as a subject was under severe pressure and I was thinking of perhaps branching out into another field. I got as far as applying for a job in Lesotho, the main attraction for me being that the most useful means of transport in that country at that time seemed to be the horse. Fortunately for my wife and six-month old daughter, I was unsuccessful in my application.) Glasgow University in its wisdom or unwisdom has thus appointed to the Chair of Slavonic Languages and Literatures someone who has an interest in teaching. I can even boast of taking what the SHEFC (in common with the other HEFC's) regards as highly desirable, namely 'a research interest in the pedagogy of my subject'.

I ought to comment on that point. It might be argued that, unlike many other university subjects, foreign languages are nowadays 'learned' rather than 'studied'. Language is seen as behaviour, and language learning, consequently, can be regarded as the acquisition of new forms of behaviour. Whereas traditionally foreign languages were regarded as 'products', i.e. as consisting of 'things' like grammar and vocabulary, nowadays they tend to be regarded as processes. The 'pedagogy of my subject', therefore is the study of the behavioural skills implicit in the concept 'knowing Russian'. When I was a student, 'knowing Russian' meant' having a sound knowledge of grammar and possessing a large vocabulary. Nowadays, 'knowing Russian' tends to mean 'being able to do X and Y *in* Russian'.

Perhaps because everyone acquires their native language as a natural process, many people tend to think of it as something unmysterious, even easy. And many people seem to think that learning a foreign language 'just to speak it', you understand, is also easy; (They are encouraged to do so, of course, by numerous adverts suggesting that they can speak fluent French, or German, or Spanish, or whatever, after two or three weeks.) I remember one highly intelligent mathematician who had learned Russian during his national service many years before, showing me his translation into Russian of journal abstracts in the field of transportation research. He wanted me 'just to check' that he had got it more or less right. The very first word of the first abstract was 'traffic'. My mathematician friend had looked in his dictionary and selected the Russian word 'torgovlia'. Now there is a sense in which this word means 'traffic', but in the sense of trade (e.g. drugs traffic), not in the sense of vehicles on a road system. At the time it struck me as odd that someone so obviously bright could make a mistake like that. On another occasion I was confronted by a post-graduate student with a first-class honours degree in history from a prestigious university who demonstrated a degree of linguistic obtuseness which I could scarcely credit. These cases demonstrate that, in addition to literacy and numeracy, there is something called language aptitude.

I've already talked about language as 'product' and 'process'. Let me, before I launch into the subject of this evening's lecture', enumerate one or two features of Russian regarded as a product. We all know that it has a different alphabet. This fact discourages many potential learners, yet it is possible to learn the alphabet in a few hours. Another difficulty is that Russian sounds unfamiliar. This makes it difficult to learn and retain vocabulary. Let me give you a couple of examples: преподавательница (lecturer) обучающийся (learner). Then there are the declensions and conjugations. There are six cases and three genders. There are about 57 different verb conjugations, although, clearly, many of these are sub-types of types. Speaking Russian, therefore, is a little like speaking Latin. There is also the famous category of *aspect*. This effectively means that there are two Russian verbs for every one English verb. This is bad enough from a vocabulary learning point of view. But even worse is the less obvious fact that you always have to *choose* one of the two Russian verbs (assuming that you actually know both of them), and this involves quite dramatic psychological adjustments. I don't mean that it drives you mad, although sometimes it might feel like that. It is simply that Russians see events from two basic points of view. They see them either as processes or outcomes. Not both at once. In English we often don't differentiate. Example: have you read today's paper? Are we interested in that sentence in establishing whether an event took place or whether a result was achieved? Not sure? Well, you have to be, if you want to translate that sentence into Russian. Then there are other delights like participles and gerunds and the seemingly quite ridiculous system of numerals. On top of all that, Russian has a quite phenomenally large vocabulary. In short, Russian is *difficult*. Perhaps, I should qualify that remark. Russian is difficult if you want to get it right. Well now, what I want to do this evening is to talk about me and about some of the landmarks which I encountered on my circuitous route which started in the Department of Russian at this university in 1959 and which brought me back here in 1993.

My son, who not long ago became 'something in the city', talks a lot about one's 'skills portfolio'. My skills portfolio, as recorded on my Scottish School Leaving Certificate in 1959 was somewhat lopsided. I acquired six highers, five of which were in languages. For better or worse, that concentration on language-learning is no longer possible in our schools. When I matriculated in the October of that year, I took Ordinary Russian, French and

German. Let me share with you a couple of memories of that time, frozen in amber as they are, since, after leaving here in 1966, I never came back. One is the clear recollection of a memorable announcement from a lecturer whom I hold to this day in the highest regard but who shall remain nameless. This lecturer announced to the class the following: 'You must realise that, in terms of this subject, you are all inadequate, and it is my job to drag you through an intellectual hedge backwards for the next three years so that you are a bit less inadequate when you graduate'. Or words to that effect. I also remember a famous, possibly apocryphal, story concerning a legendary Professor of Humanity, who is reported to have announced to his Ordinary prose class on handing back their first effort the following:' These marks are out of a hundred, by the way, not out of ten!'. I draw attention to these memories, because they and memories like them, reflect what I would call the astringent academic atmosphere of those years 1959–1964.

The way Russian was taught in my Department in 1959 exemplifies, I think it is fair to say, what is known as the 'grammar/translation' method. According to this method, Russian is discoverable via the grammar book and the dictionary. Grammatical knowledge and knowledge of vocabulary are tested by translating passages of English into Russian. Occasionally there will be an essay in Russian. There will be a weekly conversation class. Exposure to Russian will be via the study of literary masterpieces. I recall that in Ordinary Russian my first Russian text was Gogol's *Mirgorod*, every word of which I read in the original. I suppose I understood about one word in ten. Some of you may wonder whether that is the most obvious way to learn a foreign language. Some of you may believe that it is the only 'true way'.

But I want to concentrate on my year abroad between Higher Ordinary and Junior Honours, since it was during that year that I made some important discoveries about language learning and language teaching.

The highlight of my career as language-learner was conversing with Germans during a train journey from Frankfurt/Main to Aachen and only being 'found out', as it were, when I had to present my British passport for inspection at the border. I have never achieved this in Russian; the nearest I came to that was to be taken for someone from the Baltic republics. However, I claim to speak Russian pretty well 'for a foreigner'.

I need to make this point, at risk of appearing to blow a mammoth trumpet in order to make another point: namely that I regard myself as a 'good language-learner' by British standards, and consequently I claim a certain professional expertise as such: when I examine language-learning theories from the point of view of their efficacy, basically I examine every theory in relation to this question: Could this theory have helped me to learn German or Russian better than I did, employing my own theories? For I did develop my own theories on the way, as a student. For instance, I learned pretty early on, that there are rules of grammar which have to be learned and that there is a large element of drudgery involved in acquiring vocabulary. The acquisition of Russian morphology is not possible via osmosis alone – regular study/revision is necessary. The use and formation of participles and gerunds, the acquisition of the system of numerals, and much more, is only to be acquired through study. At no point did I ever query why I should be learning some vocabulary items and not others, or why I needed to know how to conjugate verbs like 'to spoil a horse by watering it too much'. I was not, of course able to speak either German or Russian;

I was not really able to speak German after two years of study at University. When I arrived in Germany in August 1961 (on the day after the Berlin Wall began to be built), I had difficulty in finding my way out of the Bahnhof, as far as asking for directions was concerned. I found great difficulty initially in communicating with the family I was to spend the next ten months with, not helped by the fact that the children spoke an impenetrable dialect

(Hunsrücker Platt). But it turned out that I was to all intents and purposes the only foreigner in the little town of Simmern, and I was forced to communicate in German from day one.

That experience taught me something about the acquisition of fluency: I noticed that I was finding it easier to talk about some things rather than others. It did not take me too long to discover that, in fact, if you have to introduce yourself over and over again, as the circle of acquaintances in a new place gradually grows, you get used to doing that; i.e. you get faster at doing it, the words and phrases become increasingly easy to produce (not only in terms of their grammatical/lexical familiarity, but also literally – your organs of speech become practised in particular configurations of articulations. I found that fluency extends to other things beyond saying who you are and where you come from. As I made friends and gradually expanded on my interests, previous experiences, travel, etc, I found that it was increasingly easy to discuss such matters. I suppose this might be called, for me, axiom 1: fluency is acquired via repetition. However, before we dismiss this axiom as the greatest piece of self-evident trivia from the perspective of the 1990s, let us note that the fluency was not just linguistic, or rather it was not just an ability to demonstrate familiarity with German grammar: crucially it reflected a familiarity with content or subject matter. My second discovery was this: a good, accurate knowledge of the grammatical system of the language helps in the 'decoding' of in-coming messages. In other words, knowing what the grammatical information should be, even if it gets swallowed by the speaker, allowed me to carry out what is nowadays known in the trade as 'conversational repair'. This became axiom 2: a detailed knowledge of the grammatical system of a language is essential for comprehension. I made a further important discovery relating to a good grounding in grammar: I analogised accurately. That is, as I acquired new idioms and expressions, I was able to label them grammatically and thus 'store' them in a way which allowed me to 'regenerate' them rather than 'recall' them.

The consequence of the combination of those two axioms was this: I discovered that I could talk about the same things without using the same language all the time. This can be formulated as axiom 3: fluency = familiarity with subject matter and familiarity with grammatical structure. In other words, I discovered that fluency entails having many ways of saying the same thing. If I had to choose the most important discovery I ever made about language-learning, it would be that: having many ways of saying the same thing. And if you think about that, such an ability entails a very good knowledge of grammar indeed.

As the year wore on, however, I became concerned at the lack of practice I was getting in my other languages, especially Russian, but also French. I tried to tackle the problem by going for long walks in the seclusion of the surrounding forests. I would walk alone for an hour or so, talking to myself alternately in Russian and French, just to keep things going. Obviously I did not relish being overheard! These walks reinforced the validity of axiom 3, at least for me: language does not exist on its own: if you want to speak French for fifteen minutes, what are you going to say? Familiarity with structure is not enough; familiarity with subject matter is equally important.

I developed these axioms independently. We might note in passing that, firstly, they are simple; secondly, they were arrived at empirically.

Thus far I have been talking principally about language learning. What about language teaching?

My exposure to language teaching was as an Assistent in the Gymnasium in Simmern, where I was employed to teach English. What I rapidly noticed at the Gymnasium was the approach to *teaching* English. For a start, English was the working language. As it happens, in my Department in those days Russian was the working language, so the idea of using the language under study as the medium of instruction was not entirely new to me. What was new was the relative unimportance of translation from German into

English. Of much greater importance was the ability to re-tell in English something either read or listened to in English. I refer, of course, to the 'Nacherzählung'. This seemed to me to make much better sense. Time was spent interacting with the language of study, rather than with the native language. What was also clear was the obvious ability on the part of German schoolchildren to *use* English. I returned to Glasgow, spent two enjoyable years in Junior Honours and Senior Honours and graduated in 1964. I had the greatest respect for the institution. I had indeed, in the words of that lecturer, been dragged through a hedge backwards and had survived. I was also, possibly, a little less inadequate than I had been when I entered Ordinary.

I spent the next year in Moscow, not in libraries, I must confess, but in conversation. The experience of that year confirmed the experiences of my year in Germany. Above all it confirmed the force of Axiom III. To this day I am more fluent in German as regards certain subjects/experiences, and more fluent in Russian as regards others. In the autumn of 1965 I enrolled in a postgraduate Diploma course in Soviet Studies at the University of Glasgow. During that year I applied for and was offered a post teaching Russian at the University of Lancaster. Moreover, I was appointed not just to teach Russian, but to develop all the Russian language courses in what was a brand new Department. I shall say something about that in due course.

At this point, however, I want to tackle theory. I am going to discuss three competing language teaching methods in relation to the three axioms which I introduced a moment ago: namely, (a) the *grammar/translation* method; (b) the *audio-lingual* method; (c) the method associated with the term *communicative competence*, and I am going to show that none of them meets all the criteria of those axioms.

Historically, (b) can be seen as a reaction to (a) and (c) as a reaction to (b) [Who said the laws of the dialectic didn't work?!]

(a) grammar/translation is an example of a cognitive model of language learning; i.e. it is rule-based;

(b) the audio/lingual approach is an example of a behaviourist model: learning by analogy;

(c) the communicative competence approach is an example of a mixture of both.

Axiom 1: fluency is acquired through repetition;

Axiom 2: a thorough knowledge of grammar is essential

Axiom 3: fluency = grammar + familiarity with subject matter

I've already explained the basics of the grammar/translation approach. Let us see how it meets the requirements of those axioms:

repetition: fluency is not a goal of the grammar/translation method. Repetition is confined to the operations involved in translating a passage from English to the FL. But since the basic idea is that passages should be *unseen*, it follows that no actual FL learned from translating passage A is likely to crop up in passage B (cf. Chomsky's point about new sentences). On the other hand, translation from the FL into English is often neglected. Often it is used as a means of establishing whether a student understands the original passage, rather than as a means of refining the student's awareness of translation problems. In other words, it tests comprehension rather than translation skills. The traditional essay in the FL is on a topic about which the student probably has not read anything, so here again the repetition is of activity without consolidation. Finally there is the 'conversation class', about as useful, in my experience, as the translation from English into the FL. There are two points one might make: firstly; Why do we think that 'conversation' is part of the FL curriculum? Secondly, do students want to converse about anything? I can remember many a dire, badly-attended conversation class where we sat for an hour in embarrassment trying desperately to say something (anything!) about the topic under discussion. Again, repetition without consolidation. There would be a different topic the following week, and a different one the week after that. . . . However, and I want to stress this point, this does not mean that the Foreign Language Assistant is somehow redundant. My point is that FLA's should be integrated much more into the teaching programme of the Department than they have been traditionally. And since I believe fundamentally that the foreign language in question should be the medium of instruction to the extent that that is possible, clearly the more teachers there are with native-speaker ability the better.

grammar: the grammar/translation approach does contribute towards the student's acquiring a thorough knowledge of the grammatical system in terms of morphology and syntax, especially morphology (i.e. the endings). Translation of very simple sentences designed to elicit particular FL grammatical forms is arguably the most efficient way, despite the popularity of the Cloze text, i.e. a text in the FL with the endings missed off and which the student has to replace. Grammatical rules can be very useful. Testing grammatical knowledge by translating English, however runs up against this problem:

I am having a very nice time in France > У меня есть очень хорошее время во Франции (Je suis ayant un très joli temps en France/Ich bin habend eine sehr schöne Zeit in Frankreich).

Look! No grammatical errors! But these are grotesque sentences, the production of which the grammar/translation approach encourages.

familiarity with subject matter: there is no reason why grammar/translation cannot adapt to this requirement, but in its classic form it has always eschewed repetition of topic and concentrated on the *new/unseen*. Yet a judicious juxtaposition of English and FL material in relation to specified topics could serve as a means of helping the student to learn how the FL handles certain questions, providing thereby the essential input on usage, without which the student is doomed to write English syntax with FL words.

I have given an account of the 'classic' form of the grammar/translation approach, conscious that there are many variations and adulterations. Nevertheless in 1994 one is still struck by the importance given to the ability to translate from English into the foreign language as witnessed by the compulsory status it enjoys in finals examinations throughout Britain, despite the fact that that particular ability is judged to be so difficult to acquire that in the outside world almost no one pays money for that particular skill, and despite the fact that it does not correlate necessarily with other skills, such as translation from the FL, essay-writing, or oral fluency. The irony is that, with the modern emphasis on 'transferable skills', that is the skill which is least transferable, yet one on which students spend an inordinate amount of time.

I shall now give thumb-nail sketches of the other two approaches:

The audio/lingual method which gained ground in the 1960s was a reaction to the grammar/translation method. The origins can be found in American structuralist linguistics and Skinnerian behaviourism, especially the influence of B. F. Skinner's *Verbal Behaviour*. Skinner's basic thesis was that humans learn language via a system of stimulus/response mechanisms. Language is learned behaviour and language learning is basically a mechanical process of habit formation. The chief mechanism is analogy.

Habit formation is essentially a matter of repeating particular forms of behaviour until they become automatic. So,the theory went, if you could determine the 'basic sentence patterns' of a language and then get learners to repeat them often enough, they would become automatic, and learners, on the basis of these patterns would learn 'by analogy' to produce novel patterns. This made a lot of sense in the era of structuralist linguistics, which was essentially devoted to 'discovering' the basic patterns in previously undescribed Amerindian and other exotic languages. Let us see how this model of language learning relates to my three axioms. As regards the first, it appears to meet the requirement of repetition. Unfortunately, the repetition in the audio/lingual model is of form only, detached from content, and detached from context.

The audio/lingual model worked like this: imagine basic sentence pattern x:

noun + verb + noun = e.g. *John learns Russian*. On the basis of that pattern I might 'analogise' to *Mary studies German*. But how would I know which nouns and verbs were appropriate for that pattern? In Russian, for instance, that pattern could accommodate three verbs of learning, each one requiring a different case. According to the theory, I would find out by trial and error. (It should be noted, by the way, that the study of grammar, in this approach, is strongly discouraged.) Now, if you consider that these three verbs (which are not necessarily interchangeable) have six present tense forms, associated with eight different pronouns and that these verbs select one of three cases and that there are about 26 case endings for adjectives, if you include hard and soft varieties, which you have to, and about perhaps 15 or so for nouns, and you want to produce a sentence in Russian like *We are studying foreign languages*, you have, conservatively, about 149,000 chances of making a mistake. One begins to see that learning by trial and error might not be the most efficient way of proceeding. The idea that such complexity could be assimilated via a system of basic sentence patterns is actually preposterous. The load placed on the short-term memory is simply too great. Especially when you consider that the role of the short term memory is to forget things. In practice, however, the constant repetition of uncontextualised 'sentence patterns' in language laboratories was widespread in the 1960s, encouraged by the producers of language laboratory hardware and software. In my estimation it was a highly inefficient way of learning a language, and I was delighted to learn later on that no less a figure than Noam Chomsky agreed with me! His famous demolition of Skinner's theory of language acquisition had huge repercussions for a whole range of fields in the linguistic sciences and beyond.

If the audio/lingual approach only apparently responds to axiom 1, as regards axiom 2, it is downright inimical. The study of grammar was deemed to be deeply harmful to the acquisition of language. The audio/lingual approach did not address axiom 3, since the whole notion of analogy based on uncontextualised sentence-patterns means that a fundamental skill in language acquisition is left out of account, namely the ability to use language to get something done.

We come on now to the communicative competence approach. Chomsky's demolition job on Skinner was only one part of the equation. The other was Chomsky's own theory of language learning, set out in his theory of generative grammar. For Chomsky language learning is rule-based. Human beings have the innate capacity to acquire a finite set of grammatical rules on the basis of which they can generate an infinite number of sentences. The nature of these rules is abstract and complex, and they have in any case given way to Chomsky's second revolution. If his first was 'transformational grammar', which revolutionised the way many linguists thought about language in the 1960s, the second was 'government and binding theory', which has revolutionised the way many linguists thought about language in the 1980s and continue to think about it in the 1990s.

What I found exciting in Chomsky's approach was the idea that different surface syntactic structures (as they were known) could represent identical underlying semantic structures. The idea, for instance, that there was an important connection between sentences such as *The architect built the house* and *The house was built by the architect*, however that connection might be demonstrated (and I am not going to do that), equated with my discovery in Germany that repetition of *topic* and *setting* meant that you got practice in talking about the same thing but using different language each time. In other words, if you had to express things like your name, your age, your provenance, your hobbies, your plans, etc, etc, you did not carry in your head a stock of basic sentence patterns à la Skinner, you had a set of rules which allowed you to generate an infinite series of sentences about a recurring set of topics. True, a lot of the sentences were very similar, but they were not identical. As Chomsky said somewhere, you could consult the holdings of the Library of Congress

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and not come upon the same sentence twice.

So Chomsky was very good news. His theory, however, had one major drawback. It did not account for conditions under which someone would generate one particular sentence and not another. As was pointed out at the time, notably by Dell Hymes, Chomsky might have important things to say about *linguistic* competence, but he failed to account for a person's *communicative* competence.

Dell Hymes's notion of 'communicative competence', backed up by the work of other ethnomethodologists opened up a vast area for research into what it meant to 'know a language'. We can probably best illustrate Hymes's theory by referring briefly to his famous acronym SPEAKING, each letter of which word refers to an important parameter. [We can show these on a transparency. [**S**ettings, **P**articipants, **E**nds, **A**ct sequences, **K**eys, **I**nstrumentalities, **N**orms, **G**enres.] Most of these terms are self-explanatory. 'Keys' relate to the tenor of the communication: mock-serious, formal-academic, etc. 'Instrumentalities' is an awkward term, covering oral and written modes of communication and varieties of language, such as dialects and registers. The acronym encapsulates what a speaker/hearer needs to know in order to be communicatively competent.

An example which illustrates the point is this lecture I'm giving. How do we know it is a lecture? In terms of Hymes's acronym we have a **setting**: lecture-hall; **participants**: lecturer (me), audience (you); **ends**: the goal and outcome of a speech event. My goal is to reach the end of this lecture, which I trust will also be the outcome; **acts**: I am engaged in performing a series of speech acts, attempting to convince you of something by way of argument, exemplification, persuasion, etc; **keys**: this refers to the tenor of my lecture: formal/academic, let us say, rather than, mock-serious; **instrumentalities**: I am using a version of standard English rather than, say, the doric. Speaking in the language of Oor Wullie or the Broons would (still, but for how much longer, I wonder) count as inappropriate; **norms**: norms of interpretation – we apply such norms to this speech event to determine whether it counts as what it is supposed to be (i.e. we have our idea of what a lecture is and we wonder whether this event corresponds to that idea sufficiently closely for it to count as an example); **genre**: relates to the previous parameter. If this event matches our expectations, it counts as an example of the genre 'lecture'.

We see, therefore, that knowing a language, for Hymes, means knowing what language to select in relation to the parameters contained in the acronym. Much of what Hymes means by his acronym has been reformulated by scholars working in the field of discourse analysis. Here the notion of 'text' is useful as a kind of metaphor for spoken and written language in *use*. If we regard what we speak and write as 'texts' produced in particular 'contexts' for particular purposes, it becomes clear that language use is a creative process in which our choice of words and phrases can be of crucial importance: what are we saying/writing to whom and why? Our superior? Colleague? Bank manager? Friend? Relative? Are we reporting, requesting, disputing, congratulating, commiserating? Text processing is not just a linguistic matter. Intelligence is involved. A language syllabus based on a 'text' approach produces some interesting results. Good language learners can produce mediocre texts. Poor language learners, not especially showing an aptitude for language learning as such, can produce highly encouraging work. Such a syllabus is also highly relevant when we begin to speak about 'transferable skills'.

The work of Harvey Sacks, of Goffman and Schegloff, which complemented that of Hymes and Gumperz, made an immense difference to my understanding of what goes into 'communicative competence'. Their investigations into the structure of talk, theories of turn-taking, how people know how to behave linguistically in different settings with different interlocutors opened up a dimension totally absent in the barren structuralist wasteland of the 1960s. This American research, which was influenced so much by Chomsky's work, whether this influence was reflected in research designed to support or refute that work, had its counterpart in Europe. The seminal work by Austin and Searle, again in the late 60s/early 70s, in the field of speech acts ushered in the era of pragmatics, which in turn linked in with text linguistics. At the same time, a lot of interest was shown in grammars deriving from the Saussurean tradition and in the work of the neo-formalists via the Prague School of linguistics. Halliday's systemic grammar, which emphasised clause structure as systemic choice, linked into his notion of language functions. Language functions in turn linked into pragmatics.

This work in the fields of theoretical grammar and applied linguistics was extremely stimulating. The more profound depths of deep syntax and deep semantics escaped me. I never got to grips with the mysteries of the deep structure of the lexicon. However, theories of grammar which sought to account for my axiom 3, continued to attract my attention. Soviet grammars such as Shaumjan's applicational model and Mel'chuk's sense/text model, especially the latter, were useful in allowing me to see the interaction of meaning, word and grammatical structure. Mel'chuk in particular was anxious to account explicitly for the phenomenon of synonymy at the structural level, not in relation to different levels of a grammatical system as such, but synonymy in a textual sense. In Mel'chuk's work, it seemed to me, grammar made contact with the real world of communication. Zolotova's work in semantic syntax, in which she argues persuasively against the notion of 'basic sentence patterns', together with Richard Hudson's work on word grammar supported my empirical discovery that fluency depends on your ability to handle actual words, and that the actual words you handle best are those relating to the topics with which you are most familiar.

This theoretical work formed the underpinning of developments in language teaching in the 1970s and 1980s. Particularly influential was the work undertaken for the Council of Europe by people like David Wilkins resulting in 'threshold levels of competence' in language-learning syllabuses in European schools. The 'basic sentence patterns' of the 1960s were replaced by a 'communication driven' selection of grammar and lexis. Whereas previously grammar syllabuses had contained items such as 'declension of nouns', 'conjugation of verbs', 'formation of participles', etc, we now had 'the Russian for greetings', 'expressing time relationships', 'expressing agreement, disagreement', etc. This was a great improvement over 'basic sentence patterns', but the new formulation, in its effort to link language to communication, ran into the problem of how to present the grammatical structure of the language systematically. I suggest, in fact, that in its approach to the teaching of grammar, the communicative competence approach had more in common with the audio-lingual approach than was realised at the time. Again there was excessive load placed upon memory rather than analysis. That is, learners were encouraged to learn a series of formulae for expressing various communicative purposes, rather than to acquire a system of grammatical rules which would allow them to regenerate the formulae, rather than to recall them. This difference between 'regenerate' and 'recall' to my mind is absolutely crucial. Approaches which favour recall strategies over regenerating strategies I regard as far less efficient.

How far, then, does the communicative competence approach correspond to my three axioms? In relation to 1, repetition is a feature of communicative competence syllabuses, but the repetition is not of linguistic patterns only but of communicatively motivated formulae. It thus meets the criteria of axiom 1. As regards axiom 2, the approach as it has been commonly put into practice has probably failed to meet the requirement. One of the features of the pedagogy of communicative competence has been the emphasis on communicative success, rather than on grammatical accuracy. Indeed teachers are positively encouraged to downplay grammar and play up the communicative role of language. One of the dangers, therefore, is the promotion of fluent illiteracy. In respect of axiom 3, however, it is the most relevant approach of the three we have discussed. The communicative competence principle of selecting language to fulfil communicative needs marries well with the notion of determining what subject matter students should become familiar with.

Well now, back to me! What about teaching strategies in relation to my three axioms? What practice led to what theory? I arrived in Lancaster in 1966 with two main perceptions and two main goals. The perceptions were these: (i) a sense of having been dragged through a hedge backwards; (ii) a sense of real achievement in respect of two foreign languages. The goals were respectively: give my students the same experiences. Give them the sense that they had been stretched beyond what they thought they were capable of; pass on to them the insights I had acquired in the area of foreign language acquisition with reference to Russian.

That was the intention. Reality, of course, always falls short of the ideal. I galloped into Lancaster, Don Quixote-like, lance at the ready, keen to do battle – and, of course, found myself in the middle of the 1960s: Flower power. Peace, Man! Stay cool! Students said things like: 'I'm really interested in exploring the limits of my personality' or 'I want to examine the waves I create in my environment'. What they didn't say were things like: 'I'd really like to be dragged through an intellectual hedge backwards'. I exaggerate – a little!

So how did Don Quixote set about pedagogically realising his three axioms? Well, I haven't time to go into the details. There was a fair bit of trial and error. But by 1975 or so I had come to certain conclusions, conclusions which I regard as still having validity. I am going to describe the syllabus we constructed at Lancaster and then demonstrate how it reflects my axioms.

The description of a syllabus, however, does not necessarily tell you much about the pedagogical principles underlying it. A given syllabus does not tell you how individual teachers will implement it. Yet the pedagogical atmosphere in which a syllabus is worked through is important. I want therefore to preface my remarks on syllabus construction with a few words on the pedagogical principles which guide my teaching. These are:

(a) make it crystal clear to students what you expect them to do and why you expect them to do it. The 'why' is crucial;
(b) do not prescribe how they do it;
(c) make them slightly apprehensive about the consequences of not doing it. [note: 'slightly apprehensive', not 'gibber with fear', not 'paralyse with terror' – 'slightly apprehensive' means gently provoking the stirrings of an academic conscience: 'today I will make an exception and not watch *Neighbours*', 'tonight I will not go clubbing, I will do my Russian language homework', that sort of thing.]

Above all, I regard the acquisition of literacy in the foreign language to be the prime goal of a university foreign language course. Nothing less will do. It is the pen, let us remember, that is mightier than the sword. Not the tongue. I have two slogans which act as unshakeable guiding principles in my classroom. They are, firstly: Мы ведем борьбу за грамотность! (We are engaged in a battle for literacy); secondly: Долой паразитизм (Down with parasitism!) These are designed to remind students that (a) they are engaged in a battle, and that not all of them are necessarily going to win it; and that (b) the last thing we need in battle are parasites who live off the efforts of others.

That's all I have to say, really, about teaching as such.

At Lancaster I planned my syllabus in response to two questions: (a) what skills and combinations of skills do students require for the study of X?; (b) what Russian language texts (oral and written) do they require which will (i) deal with the topics required; (ii) exemplify the use of Russian in the treatment of those topics? And of course the answers boiled down to a range of reading, writing, speaking and listening skills, but in particular configurations and in relation to different purposes. The writing skills included: note taking; summarising and essay-writing; reading skills included: intensive and extensive modes (intensive = close study/analysis, extensive: large chunks (novels, etc)); listening skills included learning to cope with a lecturette, lecture, talk, conversation; speaking skills included dialogue, monologue, etc. The texts included excerpts from a wide range of material from newspapers to philosophical articles, belles lettres, etc. But these texts were selected in relation to particular topics and the topics in turn were determined by what I thought students of Russian studies should know about.

The skills were inter-linked and repetitive, so axioms 1 and 3 were realised. Moreover, the repetitions, since they related to subject matter as well, led to consolidation. Put at its simplest, students reading and writing about literary, historical and political matters in Russian got better and better at reading and writing about them. They also got better at discussing them, since the role of the so-called 'conversation class' was to get students to discuss their work in Russian. I need hardly add that Russian was the working language, i.e. the language of instruction.

There was absolutely no room in this syllabus for translation from English to Russian, and Lancaster University Russian department was probably unique in the history of British Higher Education modern language departments in never having had an English > Russian translation figure either as a class exercise or as an examination. The 'weekly prose' had its weekly counterpart, namely a summary in Russian of a passage of Russian. Class time was taken up by close analysis of the linguistic and textual features of the passage, with special constructions being selected for close scrutiny and manipulation. That way we were able to discuss matters of semantics and syntax in relation to some at least of Dell Hymes's acronym. The irony is, of course, that Lancaster students would have made a good fist of translating into Russian a passage of English from the topic range they had studied, since they were familiar with the registerial features of Russian appropriate to that topic range. Axiom 2 was also realised, since the study of grammar was built into the syllabus as a separate – dare I say it, non-examinable but compulsory 'module' (called unit in those days).

I shall not go into the history of the closure of the Russian Department at the University of Lancaster. Suffice it to say that opinions vary about the validity of the reasons. In 1982 I transferred to the School of Slavonic and East European Studies at the University of London (SSEES, as it is known within the ranks of the cognoscenti). The classical 'grammar/translation' method was in full bloom. My sojourn in London was spent persuading my colleagues that there were other ways of doing things. We had more or less transformed things to the Lancaster pattern when I applied for and was offered the Chair here at Glasgow. But when I left, SSEES had a language syllabus which demands a lot on the part of both teachers and students, but which contributes to what I think is widely acknowledged: SSEES Russian graduates are among the best in Britain. I hesitate to draw a causal connection, but I do not hesitate to assert that nothing in the programme hinders them from so becoming. Thanks to the insistence on Russian being the working language and that 'conversation classes' as such should disappear, students now work in Russian on a range of what might be called text-processing skills. One class is devoted to written registers, another to spoken registers. The texts relate to topics which one might reasonably expect a future honours graduate in Russian to be able to handle: topics, in other words, which stretch them intellectually and which relate to one or more disciplines in the field of Russian studies. My post of 'Reader' was replaced by two 'Lecteurs' – renewable five-year appointments without the requirement to do research. SSEES appointed two outstanding Russian women, trained in the teaching of Russian as a foreign language. SSEES got a good bargain: the equivalent of the salary I received as Reader pays for thirty-two hours a week of superlative language teaching by trained native-speaker teachers, plus a full marking load, their full share of administrative responsibilities, and their collaboration in the production of in-house materials.

Well now, here I am in Glasgow. Don Quixote has come back. I want to spend the last few moments speculating about how my three axioms might be operationalised here.

If we take them in reverse order, axiom 3 provides the rationale for various types of decision. 'Familiarity with subject matter' provokes the question: 'what subject matter?' The answer to that gives the rationale for the selection of texts and informs decisions about the selection of vocabulary and grammatical topics. It also provides the rationale for using the FL as the language of instruction, since the language then becomes genuinely communicative and students are exposed to the 'text processing skills' which are basically what language proficiency *is*;

Axiom 2: 'grammar is essential': this is obviously true in a context in which we are waging a battle for literacy;

Axiom 1: 'fluency = repetition': yes, but repetition of what? Emphatically it does not mean repetition without consolidation. It does not mean repetition of 'basic sentence patterns shorn of context'. It should mean repetition of particular configurations of linguistic skills in relation to selected subject matter, the latter determined in relation to what the students should be able to *do* in the foreign language in question. This is not an attack on the Stoff of FL, not an attack on language as substance or product. It *is* an attack on the repeated performance of actions which do not contribute to the student's making progress.

In our department we have started revising our courses. My departmental colleagues will realise that my proposals are in line with my axioms, although I have not spoken about these axioms as such. I couldn't really, since I wanted to talk about them in my inaugural lecture. I have now done that. Thank you for your attention.

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Russian in a weekend?

Sue Purcell

Many teachers and students alike may regard the idea that it is possible to spend a weekend and no more learning Russian as ridiculous. Many of us will have spent years learning a foreign language before we felt able to say anything and so may regard a weekend course as no better than useless.

I run successful and well-attended intensive weekend courses for Surrey adult education service. Numbers for regular weekly adult education classes have been declining over the past couple of years but there is increasing interest in weekend courses. For adult learners time and money are frequently in short supply. Many business people need or would like to learn Russian but their work commitments prevent them from attending a weekly class. Others are put off by the cost of a thirty or forty hour course of evening classes, especially since they have to pay up front before they know whether they will enjoy the course.

The attraction of weekend courses from a learner's point of view is that they are relatively cheap, since there are only likely to be eleven or twelve hours of tuition in total. Moreover, the learner avoids the common problem of missing individual lessons and falling behind the rest of the group.

It may well be that one or two of the students who enrol for a weekend Russian course regard it as a taster; they may go on to sign on for a more regular course at the next opportunity. Experience has taught me that this is unlikely. The overwhelming majority of people who attend a weekend course will never enrol for another Russian course (unless it is next year's weekend course!) at the adult education institute.

Planning

This fact must be borne in mind when the teacher plans the syllabus for the weekend. The students must feel that they have learnt enough Russian to enable them to say and understand something when in Russia. They must be given the confidence to have a go at speaking Russian.

A weekend course must be very carefully designed and every minute optimised. It is no use basing it on the same language that you would cover during the first 12 hours of a longer course.

The language covered must be pared right down to basics. The teaching or discussion of grammar should be kept to a minimum, otherwise half the weekend will be spent on explanations. The choice of words and phrases to be covered during the weekend should be carefully considered with irregularities avoided as far as possible. Keep the language taught simple but, at the same time, useful and relevant to the learners' purposes. The whole alphabet must be presented and practised. Even if the words and phrases you intend to teach do not contain the rarer letters, such as the hard sign, all letters of the alphabet should be introduced, pronounced and a brief explanation given at the very least.

My weekend courses usually run for six hours on the Saturday and five on the Sunday – with lunch breaks of course. I tell the students that we shall be covering the language they will need for various situations – briefly introducing themselves, ordering drinks and meals in cafes and restaurants, asking the way, shopping and discussing arrangements. Dividing the course content into several topic areas motivates the students by giving them the confidence to feel able to cope in lots of different situations.

Obviously, there is only so much Russian that the average adult can absorb in an intensive eleven hour course and it would be counter-productive to keep on pushing more and more new language at the students. The important thing is to make sure that the language for each situation overlaps as much as possible. There are certain key phrases which should be taught since they are so flexible – they can be used frequently and virtually anywhere and at any time; such phrases and words as

у вас есть...?
дайте, пожалуйста, ...
извините, пожалуйста
можно?
сколько стоит...?
сколько с меня?
вот...

as well as, of course, the greetings and courtesies

здравствуйте
спасибо
пожалуйста
до свидания

Since when we start on the Saturday morning the students know nothing in Russian, I have to teach them not only vocabulary but also the alphabet. They do not know each other yet and as they will be spending a lot of time together over the next two days it is a good idea to begin with introductions. To make it as simple as possible I stick to the use of я, кто вы? and кто это? at this stage as well as the answers да and нет. For further explanation and suggestions for this introductory stage of a course, see my article 'Adult education – the first lesson' in *Rusistika*, June 1993.

By now the students have already been exposed to nine letters of the Russian alphabet and more can be introduced gradually by showing pictures and giving the Russian words пиво, вино, водка, вода, пепси-кола, лимонад, кофе and чай, allowing time for pronunciation practice before writing them on the board.

In a cafe

By giving the students the words пожалуйста and спасибо, although I do not recommend writing these words up on the board just yet because of the new letters, they already know enough Russian to order a drink simply in a cafe. I distribute pictures and, playing the role of the waiter ask for people's 'order'. They, of course, merely express their order thus:

чай, пожалуйста etc.

I might also ask an either/or question to elicit their preference

— чай или кофе?
— чай, пожалуйста.

I choose the vocabulary carefully to ensure that I use only masculine or neuter words so that I do not even have to broach the subject of the accusative case.

The use of realia, perhaps actually having a coffee break at this stage to encourage people to say what they want will ensure that the language is thoroughly practised.

I now give the expressions с лимоном, с сахаром and с молоком and the numbers one to four, drawing attention to the new letters. This leads on to pair work using diagrams as prompts, where each member of the pair takes turns at playing the role of waiter and customer. I make sure that the numbers two, three and four are only used with coffee, but I don't draw attention to the reason.

It is important to try and encourage your students to shed their inhibitions and really throw themselves wholeheartedly into a play-acting role. Even if they have already said the words several times in previous conversations, encourage your students to punctuate their phrases with здравствуйте, пожалуйста, спасибо and до свидания in the appropriate places, so that it will become a habit when they find themselves in the real life situation.

Activities for the coffee break

By now you will be half way through the first morning session and your students will be tired. It is a good idea to have a break every one and a half to two hours, not necessarily a time of doing nothing – a change of activity should be sufficient. After the effort of remembering, pronouncing the words and putting together sentences learners appreciate a few minutes spent quietly doing something at their own pace. Reading exercises are ideal at these times – as students recognise an unfamiliar word using letters they have just learnt it gives them a sense of achievement.

A reading exercise does not have to be a list of words to be read out aloud. It can take the form of a puzzle, for example, finding the odd one out:

Толстой, Достоевский, Чайковский, Пушкин
Манчестер, Берлин, Ливерпуль, Лондон
Чехов, Римский-Корсаков, Прокофьев, Мусоргский
Светлана, Татьяна, Юрий, Раиса
футболь, гольф, теннис, парк

or an exercise in matching, such as:

Киев	Австрия
Лондон	Узбекистан
Бонн	Англия
Вена	Германия
Ташкент	Украина

Another relaxed, productive and enjoyable way of spending ten minutes is to let students unjumble a group of letters to make a word. If you have a Russian version of Scrabble you can use its tiles, otherwise make your own from small squares of card. Distribute envelopes or small bags containing all the letters of one word which the students have to discover by juggling around with their letters. An envelope might contain the letters т, о, м р and е, for example, which would eventually be rearranged into the word метро. To start with, use words which have been introduced so far during the course, but later on you could use Russian first names or towns, the English spelling of which will be familiar to the students but not the Russian. This activity is very valuable in helping learn the alphabet.

I like to combine coffee breaks with watching a Russian language video where the language the students have just learnt is repeated several times by native Russian speakers. The first five lessons of the BBC course Russian Language and People are simple enough and consolidate the language introduced over the weekend course. This series is very dated now but interesting cultural information is given and Russians are shown in normal, everyday situations using simple language.

My next aim is to teach у вас есть... and у меня/нас есть... Some explanation of the soft sign will be needed here but otherwise the expression can be combined with the drinks vocabulary introduced earlier and practised until it becomes easy to say and remember. There are numerous role-playing possibilities for exploiting this construction e.g. a dialogue can be produced using diagrams as prompts or one partner can be given two or three flashcards of drinks which he does not show to his partner and which represent the only stock in 'his' cafe; the other partner tries to find out what's available by asking У вас есть вино? У вас есть лимонад? etc. One word of advice – do not attempt to get involved in teaching the construction У нас нет лимонада etc; stick to the simple answers нет, да or да, есть.

In a restaurant

After a break for lunch you can then move from a cafe situation to ordering meals in a restaurant. Of course, much of the language used already can be used in a restaurant as well. Dialogues can become gradually more complicated and interesting by the addition of new vocabulary, particularly words which introduce the students to new letters of the alphabet e.g. меню, борщ, шампанское, мороженое. This is also a good point to introduce more numbers, perhaps up to 10 and how they affect the words рубль and доллар following. I also like to introduce the expressions сколько с меня?, сколько человек? с вас... and дайте and I tell the students to listen out for я слушаю вас.

I show a simple menu on the OHP utilising a mixture of words learners will find most useful and those which can easily be guessed.

МЕНЮ - $10
борщ
суп с грибами
икра
грибы в сметане
- - - -
бефстроганов
котлеты по-киевски
шашлык
рыба с грибами
- - - -

мороженое
фрукты

Include whatever dishes you like on the menu. If you plan to use a recorded conversation for listening practice, use vocabulary from this to help the students understand later.

The above menu is a good basis for 15 to 20 minutes of pair work; by now the students will know what to do. To add more interest to the dialogues and to help those students who dry up when asked to say something out of their own head, as well as having students make their own choice from the menu, give them roles to play e.g. they are a vegetarian, they love mushrooms, they want a traditional Russian meal etc. Before the students are set to work in pairs or small groups, demonstrate, by the use of mime or flashcard and drawing prompts, the sort of simple dialogue that can be built up using only the language learnt in the previous few hours:

— Здравствуйте. Я слушаю вас.
— Дайте меню, пожалуйста.
— Пожалуйста, вот меню.
— Спасибо. Один борщ пожалуйста и беф-строганов.
— Хорошо. Мороженое или фрукты?
— Мороженое, пожалуйста.
. . . .
— Вот борщ.
— Спасибо.
— Пожалуйста.
. . . .
— Сколько с меня?
— С вас десять долларов.

Students may be able to devise even longer dialogues beginning у вас есть стол? and including discussions about drinks.

By the time you have slotted in reading exercises, a few taped conversations for listening practice and any games it will be close to the end of the first day of the two day course. I like to introduce a few more numbers, say up to 30, so that they do not appear too daunting on the Sunday.

Most tourists to Russia are more likely to hear numbers, rather than have to use them themselves. Concentrate, therefore on developing students' comprehension by playing bingo with a limited range of numbers and writing down numbers pronounced on tape. To give students practice in pronouncing numbers devise pair work activities using сколько стоит?

Before the students go home, probably very tired with their heads spinning, it is worth spending 10 minutes recapping on what has been covered that day, including how many letters of the alphabet have been introduced, how many are left and key phrases taught.

Shopping

The topics I keep for Sunday are shopping for souvenirs, asking the way, times and days of the week and saying more about oneself. I start first thing with shopping for souvenirs since most of the language needed will have been covered on the previous day: у вас есть...? дайте, пожалуйста, сколько стоит...? etc. Students who have not been to Russia may be interested in looking at souvenirs you have brought in; realia also makes the presentation of new vocabulary more interesting and may help it stick! Use your discretion about how much new vocabulary to introduce. People will want to buy different things but the following words will probably prove useful: самовар, матрёшка (this may be the first time the students have met the letter ё), ушанка, открытки, марки, платок, икра and perhaps красный, белый, чёрный. It might be appropriate to introduce some bigger numbers. I also like to familiarise the students with the very useful word можно. You can combine this word with verbs such as можно посмотреть? if you like, but on an intensive weekend course it is probably not necessary. I prefer to practise the intonation of можно and tell students that it can apply in so many situations if accompanied by an appropriate gesture e.g. showing a packet of cigarettes, holding your camera up, pointing to a free chair etc.

With the use of pair or group role-playing activities an hour to an hour and a half should be enough for the students to feel confident and eager about trying out their Russian in a shop. When presenting the colours I will have made sure that I have brought in different colour shawls to demonstrate красный/белый/ чёрный платок. Your students in their free conversation will undoubtedly want to say чёрный икра, красный вино etc. Let them! Resist the temptation to introduce adjectival endings and other grammatical concepts. Constantly remind yourself of the limited aims of this intensive two day course.

Getting around town

Learning and practising how to ask the way and understand directions takes us to Sunday lunchtime. The key words which the students need to know are идите, налево, направо, прямо and possibly далеко. Like numbers, directions are the sort of thing students are more likely to hear than produce when in Russia, so concentrate on comprehension skills. Snippets of conversations can be played where the student has to trace a route on a map and see where he has been directed to, after which he can tell you in Russian what his question was. Chapter 3 of the BBC textbook Russian Language and People contains a useful listening exercise where students just have to draw arrows representing the directions given.

To ask the way all the student needs to know is the word где. It is helpful to teach the expression извините, пожалуйста to start off a conversation with a stranger. I prefer to teach извините rather than скажите as it can be used in more situations – apologising, asking people to let you pass on a bus etc. as well as attracting someone's attention. Flexibility and versatility are the watchwords of the content of a short intensive course.

If you included words denoting different places such as ресторан, кино, метро, Гум, вокзал, Красная площадь, Большой театр, Кремль, почта, туалеты, буфет etc. in earlier reading exercises, students will have a ready stock of questions for role-playing practice. To give students a chance to use directions I give out a simple town plan with various buildings shown on it but not labelled. I ask the students to pretend I'm a passer-by and they are to ask me the way to any place they like. Someone will say

Извините, пожалуйста, где метро?

I direct them to an unmarked building on the map; they say спасибо and maybe это далеко? then it is someone else's turn until all or most of the buildings have been labelled. So that they can check their understanding as well as have practice in actually giving directions the students now pair up and take turns in asking the way to the places marked on their maps and answering, checking that they both agree.

Discussing arrangements

By the afternoon session on the Sunday the students definitely will be tired although few will want to give up at this stage. If I think the students are up to it I teach the remaining numbers up to 100 concentrating on the students' comprehension skills. Numbers lead quite nicely on to time and as students will have already got used to saying три доллара, пять долларов etc. during previous role-playing activities, substituting часа and часов for доллара and долларов should present no difficulties.

The days of the week are fairly difficult to pronounce and remember for beginners but they will probably prove useful when in Russia so should be presented and their pronunciation practised. Tell students you do not expect them to learn the days of the week by heart at this stage – they can always refresh their memory just before their trip. For the time being they can refer to their notes during the pair work. To practise times and days role-playing situations where students ask about their holiday itinerary can be devised, using little new language apart from когда.

— Когда экскурсия в Большой театр?

— Экскурсия в Большой театр в четверг в семь часов.

You can either plan the itinerary yourself, thus controlling the language to be used (avoiding using feminine nouns, for example) or allow learners to plan and ask about their own ideal trip, maybe around London or their home town as well as Moscow.

Socialising

To round off the weekend I go back to introductions and talking about oneself. Students should by now be able to manage меня зовут... and как вас зовут? я англичанин/англичанка plus other nationalities such as русский, американец and any other nationality which applies to anyone in the group. I spend a few minutes talking about the different names Russians have and how you should address people. Many learners will not have been aware of the existence of the patronymic before and will find this interesting and relevant. An idea for a reading exercise is to complete a family tree where one or two members of each generation are missed off and their first name and patronymic listed separately.

I give the words турист, бизнесмен, инженер, программист and a few other easy to remember professions such as журналист and банкер and I ask students to say as much about themselves as they can. If people want to know the Russian equivalent for their own job I tell them. We usually play some sort of game where I give each student a 'business card' giving them a fictitious identity, nationality and profession and they have to 'mingle' and introduce themselves and find out about everyone else. To give a purpose to the activity you could set tasks e.g. find out who else has the same job as you. Alternatively, to ensure that everyone talks to everyone else prepare a list of all the 'people' on the cards plus their details, but make a few deliberate mistakes; the task is to spot the mistakes by questioning everyone else for their details.

Before the students leave I give them information about how they can continue their study of Russian if they wish. I tell them about classes starting, useful addresses and suggest a couple of textbooks for home study and revision such as the BBC Get By in Russian course book and its accompanying tapes. If anyone is interested I recommend more substantial course books.

Students will not automatically remember everything they have been taught over the weekend but they will have notes and handouts to refresh their memories just before their trip. Even if they learn nothing more than the alphabet and courtesies it will make a big difference to their enjoyment of their trip to Russia and giving up their weekend to study will have been worthwhile.

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Слова с религиозной семантикой в русском языке

Г. Н. Курохтина

«Спасибо»... Слово, так часто употребляемое в русской речи... А многие ли знают, что происходит это слово от выражения «Спаси Бог!» или «Спаси тебя Бог!»? Так говорили на Древней Руси, если хотели кого-то поблагодарить или пожелать кому-нибудь удачи. Постепенно предложение от частого употребления слилось в одно слово, утратив конечный глухой согласный. И в наши дни никто уже не осознаёт это слово, как нечто связанное с Богом.

В современном русском языке существует большое количество фраз, выражений, содержащих такие «святые» слова, как Бог, Боже, Господи и некоторые другие, имеющие ту же религиозную семантику. Кажется очевидным тот факт, что несмотря на все гонения и притеснения церкви в советское время, религиозный дух, который был присущ русскому народу ещё в девятнадцатом веке, сохранился в языке. Конечно, нельзя игнорировать тот факт, что религиозность людей, их вера в Бога не могли не пострадать, не претерпеть значительных изменений, но язык трудно поддаётся идеологической обработке, особенно его наиболее «неофициальная» сфера, сфера разговорной речи. А попытки воздействовать на язык, а через него и на сознание людей, делались неоднократно. Очень наглядно демонстрирует это положение хотя бы сборник пословиц и поговорок «Где труд, там и счастье», изданный в 1962 году в издателстве «Профиздат». Посмотрим, какие поговорки предлагаются этой книгой в разделе «Бог». «Тому бог не нужен, кто с наукою дружен», «Без бога шире дорога», «Трудно богу с нами: рай на земле мы строим сами», «Не Микола да Илья пророк, а косилка да тракторок» и т.п. Всё это не является фольклором в истинном понимании этого слова. Подобные «пословицы» создавались массовыми тиражами работниками советского агитпропа. Как говорится в «Предисловии» к указанному сборнику, он «предназначен для профсоюзного актива, агитаторов, пропагандистов, работников низовой печати, клубных работников, кружков художественной самодеятельности», то есть для людей, в чью задачу входило идеологическое воспитание народных масс. Трудно себе представить, что такие пословицы и поговорки использовались в реальной разговорной речи. Их скорее можно было увидеть на плакатах, транспорантах, изобиловавших в то время повсюду: и в городе и на селе. В живой же речи сохранились те пословицы и поговорки, которые передавались веками из поколения в поколение русских людей и выражали их истинное отношение к окружающей действительности.

Итак, в речи русских людей сохранилось множество древних выражений, имеющих религиозную семантику. Но говоря о «святых» словах, нельзя обойти вниманием и их «антиподы» — слова типа «чёрт», «дьявол», «бес». Ещё до недавнего времени многие пожилые люди (особенно религиозного образа мыслей) старались избегать в своей речи этих слов, так как, по традиции, считалось грехом поминать чёрта. Произносить это слово значило накликать беду. Русские известны своей верой в различного рода приметы, как хорошие, так и дурные. С покон веку повелось считать, что чёрт всегда находится где-то рядом с человеком и ждёт случая ему навредить, насолить. С этим связана одна из наших привычек плевать через левое плечо (где предположительно и находился дьявол, следящий за всем происходящим) в случае, если мы обсуждаем что-то важное для нас, например, планы на будущее, или наших детей, или погоду и т.д. Итак, если вы хотите, чтобы ваши слова сбылись, чтобы хорошая погода не испортилась, а дети не заболели, обязательно после своих оптимистических слов плюньте три раза через левое плечо и скажите: «Чтобы не сглазить!» По значению это равносильно английскому «**Touch wood!**» или «**Fingers crossed!**» Глагол «сглазить» тоже связан с одним из суеверий о том, что «дурной глаз» может испортить любое дело.

Выражений, содержащих слова религиозного содержания, очень много в русском языке. Но их можно разделить на несколько групп в соответствии с интенциями, выраженными в них. Обычно такие выражения бывают очень экспресивными, и очень важно учитывать интонацию, с которой они произносятся. Так, большую группу составляют восклицания, выражающие раздражение, негодование или отчаяние. Например:

Боже! О, Боже! Боже мой! Боже ты мой! Бог ты мой! Господи! О, Господи! Господи ты Боже мой! Господи, помилуй! Боже милостивый! Бог знает что! и нек. др.

Необходимо отметить, что разная степень проявления чувства выражается с помощью интонации и различной силы ударения на интонационном центре.[1] Обычно в таких фразах интонационный центр находится на первом слове. Понижение тона сопровождается усилением словесного ударения, что делает эти предложения очень энергичными и экспрессивными. Часто в многокомпонентных высказываниях такого рода возникает второй интонационный центр в конце предложения. Например:

↘ ↘ ↘ ↘
Боже ты мой! Господи, ты Боже мой!

Эмоциональная насыщенность этих предложений так велика и спектр переживаний ими выражаемых так широк, что он захватывает не только негативную часть шкалы эмоций, но и положительную тоже. Так, например, перечисленные выражения можно встретить в резко противоположных контекстах:

Боже мой! Какой ужас! Какое несчастье!
Боже мой! Как красиво! Какое счастье здесь быть!

Господи, когда же кончится это безобразие!
Господи, какое счастье, что ты наконец приехал! и т.д.

Из всех перечисленных выше выражений, пожалуй, только три не могут быть использованы в положительном смысле. Это «Господи, помилуй!», «Боже милостивый!» и «Бог знает что!».

Есть ещё один важный момент, на котором стоит остановиться, когда речь идёт о произнишении подобных высказываний. В современном русском языке всё ещё существует традиционная норма произношения слов «Бог» и «Господи». По традиции, в некоторых словах церковного происхождения в литературном языке рекомендуется произносить фрикативное [г] на месте буквы «г» в отличие от взрывного [г], произносимого во всех других случаях.[2] В настоящее время эта традиционная норма подвергается влиянию письменной формы языка, и в произношении молодого поколения русских уже часто можно услышать [г] взрывное в слове «Господи». Но слово «Бог» по-прежнему произносится с [х] на конце (звук [х] — это глухая пара звука [γ]). Видимо, это связано с тем, что произношение [бок] вызывает неуместные ассоциации с омонимичным словом «бок». В падежных же формах слова «Бог» наблюдаются колебания произношения. По-прежнему существует традиционное произношение со звуком [γ]: [боγа], [боγу], [боγьм], — но такое произношение уже считается скорее устаревшим. Его можно услышать в речи людей старшего поколения, причём чаще в речи людей образованных, знакомых с литературной нормой или получивших воспитание в семьях старой русской интеллигенции. В речи молодых людей всё чаще можно услышать [г] взрывное в упомянутых выше формах.

Наряду с перечисленными уже фразами, содержащими «святые» слова, выражающими разные оттенки раздражения, нельзя не упомянуть и о фразах, содержащих слова «чёрт» и его синонимы. Как уже упоминалось выше, раньше это слово было табу, особенно в речи религиозных людей. Сейчас отношение к ним изменилось, и выражения типа: «Чёрт знает что!», «Чёрт побери!», «Чёрт возьми!», «Чёрт бы побрал...!» стали неотьемлимой частью разговорной практики абсолютного большинства говорящих по-русски. Чуть реже встречаются выражения типа «Дьявол!», «Бес тебя возьми!», «Тысяча чертей!» и нек. другие. Они до сих пор продолжают оставаться очень экспрессивными, и степень их выразительности может варьироваться с помощью интонационных средств.

Весьма частотными являются восклицания, выражающие облегчение, благодарность Богу: Слава Богу! Слава тебе, Господи!, а также фразы с выражением просьбы, мольбы. В последнюю группу входят такие выражения, как: Ради Бога! (Бога ради!), Христа ради! Ради всего святого! В этих фразах интонационный центр обычно бывает на последнем слове (по типу ИК-2). При большем эмоциональном начале речи возможно интонирование этих предложений с двумя интонационными центрами (по типу ИК-5) с повышением тона в начале предложения и с сильным понижением в конце:

↗ ↘ ↗ ↘
Ради Бога! Ради всего святого!

Ещё одну группу составляют фразы, выражающие разногласия, несогласие с собеседником по поводу его слов или действий. «Ну, Бог с тобой!» употребляется после бесплодных попыток уговорить собеседника, предоставляя ему тем самым полную свободу действий. Иногда фраза «Бог с тобой!» употребляется немного в ином контексте, выражая недоверие или удивление по поводу чьих-нибудь слов. Например:

— В субботу приезжает Андрей.
— Да Бог с тобой, неужели!

В конце неразрешенного спора можно сказать своему собеседнику: Бог нас рассудит!, а в ответ на извинения собеседника в том случае, если вы не чувствуете себя в состоянии простить его в состоянии, вы можете сказать: «Бог тебе судья!» Чувство сожаления по поводу своих грубо или несправедливо сказанных слов, слов сказанных сгоряча или в порыве гнева может быть выражено с помощью фразы: «Господи, прости мою душу грешную!» Эта довольно длинная фраза обычно произносится как одна синтагма с интонационным центром на первом слове в быстром темпе, скороговоркой, или в более медленном темпе как две синтагмы: \\Господи, прости мою душу грешную\\ или \\Господи, \прости мою душу грешную!\\ Сокращённый вариант этого выражения употребляется внутри предложения в качестве вставной конструкции и в произношении не выделяется в отдельную синтагму:

\\Ах, он подлец, прости Господи!\\

Интересно также остановиться на выражении «ей-Богу». Русские очень часто употребляют это сочетание в своей речи, если хотят подтвердить справедливость своих слов, убедить собеседника в их правдивости: «Ну ей-Богу, а не вру (я говорю правду)!» Интонация при этом очень важна. Основной интонационный центр находится на слове «Богу», на котором происходит сильное понижение тона (ИК-2). Иногда понижению тона предшествует резкое его повышение (по типу ИК-3) на частице «ей». Это дополнительное движение тона придаёт выражению большую эмоциональность и убедительность.

То же самое сочетание может выражать и другую интенцию: раздражение, недовольство по поводу чьего-то поведения, сказанных кем-то слов:

(Ну) что ты, ей-Богу, ведёшь себя как маленький ребёнок!

При быстрой речи рассматриваемое сочетание не выделяется в отдельную синтагму и произносится вместе с первой частью предложения. Выражение «ей-Богу» можно считать более разговорным и экспрессивным синонимом сочетания «честное слово», которое является более нейтральным и может употребляться в различных речевых стилях.

Речь русских изобилует поговорками, пословицами, фразеологизмами разных видов. Многие из них содержат религиозную лексику в своём составе. Ниже приводится список некоторых из этих высказываний.

«Ни Богу свечка, ни чёрту кочерга». — Так русские описывают человека ни на что не годного или вещь, которую трудно применить в данной ситуации. Синонимичные выражения: Ни то, ни сё; Ни рыба, ни мясо.

«Сравнил(а) Божий дар с яичницей». — Так говорят, когда кто-нибудь сравнивает что-нибудь (или кого-нибудь), достойное восхищения, с чем-нибудь (или кем-нибудь) ничего не стоящим (по мнению говорящего).

«Бережёного (и) Бог бережёт». — Употребляется обычно в качестве совета быть осторожным, осмотрительным, не рисковать, а также в оправдание чьей-либо осторожности.

«Бодливой корове Бог рог не даёт». — Так обычно говорится о человеке, который хотел бы сделать что-то (часто не очень хорошее), но не имеет возможности осуществить желаемое. (Например, у драчуна и забияки маленький рост и слабое тело).

«Заставь дурака Богу молиться, он и лоб разобьёт (расшибёт)». — Говорится о недалёком, неумном человеке, когда он чрезмерным усердием вредит делу.

«На Бога надейся, а сам не плошай». — Так говорят в том случае, когда советуют кому-нибудь не рассчитывать на удачу или чью-либо помощь, а действовать самому. Синонимическая поговорка: «Святой Боже пахать не поможет».

Религиозное сознание верующих людей отражалось в их речи. Так, вера в то, что Бог всегда сопутствует нам выразилась в поговорках: «Все мы под Богом ходим», «Без Бога не до порога». С той же верой в могужество Бога люди приветствовали человека за работой: «Бог в помощь!» или провожали кого-то в путь со словами: «Да благословит вас (тебя) Бог!» Неиссякаемый оптимизм русского народа сконцентрирован в поговорке: «Всё что Бог ни делает — всё к лучшему». О глупом человеке русские скажут: «Его Бог умом обделил», о некрасивом — «Бог красотой обошёл (обделил).» Если с человеком случается несчастье или неприятность после того, как он поступил неправильно, ему обычно говорят: «Это тебя Бог наказал!» Подобных примеров можно привести множество. В них выражается религиозное сознание русского народа, его традиции, связанные с русской православной церковью. В заключение, хотелось бы привести отрывок из известного произведения А. Солженицына «Матрёнин двор»[3] в котором нарисован портрет прекрасной русской женщины, которую автор считает солью земли русской. Рассказывая о религиозности Матрёны, Солженицын пишет: «Не сказать, однаком чтобы Матрёна верила как-то истово. Даже скорее была она язычницей, брали в ней верх суеверия: что на Ивана Постного в огород зайти нельзя — на будущий год урожая не будет; что если метель кружит, кто-то где-то удавился, а дверью ногу прищемишь — быть гостю. Сколько жил у неё — никогда не видел её молящейся, ни чтоб хоть раз перекрестилась. А дело всякое начинала «С Богом!» и мне всякий раз «С Богом!» норовила сказать, когда я шёл в школу». Нет ничего показного или ханжеского в поведении героини, но всё её существо как бы наполнено истинной верой, что проявляется в простых, немудрящих словах. Таким образом, можно сказать, что язык, несмотря на все ограничения и давление со стороны общественной жизни страны, продолжает развиваться по своим внутренним законам, сохраняя то, что соответствует духу и характеру его носителей.

Примечания

1. Терминология и принципы классификации интонаций, используемые в статье, взяты из работ Е. А. Брызгуновой. См., например: Е. А. Брызгунова. Звуки и интонация русской речи, Москва, 1969.
2. Звук, о котором идет речь ([г] фрикативное) часто в транскрипции изображается с помощью греческой буквы «γ» (гамма).
3. А. И. Солженицын. Собрание сочинений в 6-и томах. «Посев», 1970, т. 1, стр. 210.

Доска

I wonder if I could make the following additional contribution to Ruth Sobel's excellent and informative articles on new forms in the language? These observations are based on a recent visit to Moscow, and relate in the main to business terminology. The terms concerned have a wide currency, however, as a result of the attention given to this area of language by the media.

I have restricted my examples largely to forms which have been borrowed from English, though I am aware that many existing Russian forms have recently developed new additional meanings.

There is already an established pattern of formation of nouns of agency based on English/French -er/-eur forms. To these have recently been added

дилер (in the business sense, not cards!).
менеджер
дистрибютер
брокер

All these have additional meanings in English, and it should be pointed out that only the business and commercial senses have been adopted. They all form adjectives in -ский.

The people represented by these terms might in their dealings have contact with an инофирма – this being иностранная фирма and a superb illustration of the irrepressible habit of Russian to operate in acronyms. A more brutal introduction in this area is офф-шорный, although evidence that this is not firmly rooted is provided by the fact that the same notice or advertisement may contain the Latin form 'off-shore'.

Russian business people may well be very interested in the state of фютчерс. This could, like дивидент (note the spelling!), be a long-term resident in the language, and it is amusing to speculate how Russian will cope with this singular form with a plural meaning.

Маркетинг, with its adjectival form in -овый, became familiar in the language soon after the full impact of economic change, though there had been reference to it earlier. It has now been joined by a range of similar forms:

холдинг
форвардинг
рейтинг
мейлинг
форфейтинг
факторинг
поллинг
лизинг

All these are part and parcel of daily practice in the офис, perhaps by a means of a факс. The office may perhaps have been the object of дизайн интерьеров! The arrival of another -ice term, сервис, is interesting in that it seems to carry the meanings of both 'service' and 'servicing'. It could be that the general term сервисинг will appear, but I have not spotted it so far.

The worlds of electronics and IT have provided some amusement with the arrival of флоппи-диски.

Most видеосендоры involve a картридж, are viewed by means of a монитор, and recorded with the help of a таймер. Up-market equipment will contain a device for автотрекинг (see above), and you will be able to сканировать, and the process is, of course, сканирование.

If your PC (ПК?) has the correct интерфайс it will enable you to use a принтер. This is a surprising borrowing in a way because of the availability of possible Russian based forms that would describe the object in question.

Much electronic equipment is portable, and is supplied in a reinforced carrying case. This has given Russian the form кейс. One can quite appreciate the specialist application which has ruled out чемодан – or any other existing form. Кейс has, however, expanded beyond the original meaning – witness the following report in the Moscow press:

> За полчаса до закрытия в Пермкомбанк вошли трое неизвестных и заняли очередь к одному из окошек. Когда очередь подошла, один из них передал клерку записку с требованием немедленно выдать всю наличность, а двое других достали из *кейсов* автоматы и объявили присутствующим сотрудникам банка и клиентам, что это ограбление. (Kommersant, № 36 6–12 Sept. 1993).

Other random new arrivals which seem destined to remain are акриловый – simply because the substance is now more widely available – and контейнер, because this form of freight handling is now more common. It should be noted that because the latter does not denote an animate object it forms an adjective in -ный.

It is interesting to note the recurrence of certain English spelling forms in all these borrowings notably the 'ai' diphthong and the long 'a' sound as in 'case', also the willingness to adopt English verbal noun forms in '-ing'. This is, I think, purely a chance factor.

Two more words which are a direct challenge to existing forms but, for the present at least, represent very specialised sectors of meaning are персональный – in the sense of 'personal stereo', 'personal computer' etc., and конфиденциальность – in the sense of legal or business confidentiality. A sub-class of what might be called more obviously street borrowings now edging their way into more formal language is represented by:

супермаркет
шоп
шоу (e.g. авиашоу)
прайс-лист
нетуорк
ноухау

It will be interesting to see whether some of these nouns form their plurals in the recognised way by adding -с (as if an English plural) and then -ы/-и (to achieve a Russian plural) i.e. шоп – шопс – шопсы (on the pattern of бут – бутс – бутсы or гирл – гирлс – гирлсы).

All the above forms are representative of usage as at September 1993 in the рублевая зона (to add a gloss to Ruth Sobel's рублевое пространство).

Let's hope while you are there you do not fall foul of a ракет, operated by a ракетер!

Note

Examples for this article were taken from the commercial press, Moscow evening television, conversations with Russian business colleagues, and from personal observation.

[*This material was supplied by Colin Bearne.*]

Ugolok

This ugolok is almost exclusively made up of colloquial expressions: new and not so new.

1. «отстежка» в валюте – a payment in currency, by way of a bribe or a sweetener on top of rouble earnings
2. «повести», его повело – to be carried away (he got carried away due to excitement etc)
3. «снять» – to pick up (a man, a girl)
4. «наличка» – cash
5. «микроволновка» – microwave oven
6. «обдираловка» – rip off
7. «накрыться» – to be discovered (while doing something criminal)
8. «кидать» – to rob someone, to attack
9. «обтяпать дело» – to arrange a deal
10. «встать на уши» – to do the impossible
11. «работать локтями» – to be pushy, to push through
12. «ревун» – siren in a private flat or house, part of a burglar alarm
13. «катран» – illegal gaming house
14. «обжорка на халяву» – free nosh
15. «за мной не пропадет» – I'll owe you one
16. «подбить бабки» – to sum up

RUTH SOBEL

Putyovka and Privyet!: Teacher-led materials development groups and professional development: a case study of the York–Sheffield Project

Bob Pullin

Two sets of published materials, *Putyovka* by *Judith Haywood*, and Privyet by *Jane Nashvili* are now available direct from the authors. Further details of the materials, including a sample illustration and where to obtain them are printed after this introduction.

Introduction

This article is intended as a celebration, dedication and report/evaluation on the completion of the York–Sheffield Materials Development Project .

Celebration

Celebration is particularly justified by the successes achieved, against all the odds, by ***Judith Haywood*** and ***Jane Nashvili*** both full-time teachers of Russian at Firth Park School, Sheffield and the Sheffield High School for Girls, respectively. By 1991, all five regional groups involved in the Project had near-completed draft materials (described later in sections 2.4.1. and 2.4.2. of the report) ready for printing and dissemination. However the final collapse of the Soviet Union, necessitating major rewriting and the remaking of extensive authentic recorded materials obtained at much personal cost to the participating teachers, proved too much for several groups. Their materials were consigned to local use by those whose labours had produced them. The names of the group convenors and a brief description of the draft materials they produced are listed in the appendix and paras. 2.4.1/2, in acknowledgement and appreciation of their work.

Despite all the additional demands brought upon teachers by the implementation of the National Curriculum and other external changes, we should celebrate the fact that Russian teaching continues to thrive in some 300 secondary schools, due to the exceptional commitment and enthusiasm of Russian teachers, whose hallmark is, above all, their unique personal and professional dedication.

Dedications

If the first dedication justly belongs to Judith Haywood and Jane Nashvili for bringing the 'Putyovka' and 'Privyet' materials to completion and making them available to other teachers through the Project, the second must be due to The Nuffield Foundation, without whose financial assistance the York–Sheffield Project and the in-service work of the regional groups would not have been possible.Over the years, The Nuffield Foundation has financially supported numerous Russian ventures, including publications of the former Association of Teachers of Russian, the development of Iskra and most importantly the first major pioneering full time major languages development projects in Leeds in the mid 60s, The Nuffield Modern Languages Project, whose Russian team produced 'Vperyod'.

The third dedication must go to David Rix, who published much-needed Russian teaching materials as a schoolteacher at the Thomas Bennett School in Crawley in the early 60s, before going on to direct the Nuffield Russian Project, the Schools Council Russian Project, the Schools Council Modern Languages Project and latterly the University of York Language Teaching Centre. David was the inspiration, grant-holder and director of the York–Sheffield Project. Despite this fact, his name does not appear at the head of this article. Sadly by the time this is in print, David will have taken early retirement from York University after more than 30 years total dedication to the development and maintenance of Russian teaching in the UK. The successful completion of this, his final Russian project and the materials it has produced are a fitting but totally inadequate tribute to him for the unstinting and wholly reliable, selfless help and support he has given to several generations of Russian teachers who have benefitted from his courses in York and in general.

Putyovka 1

by Judith M. Haywood

Putyovka 1 has been developed from the Firth Park Beginner's Materials. It is intended for pupils **beginning in Key Stage 3** and has been designed to comply with the demands of the **National Curriculum.**

Target Language Instructions are given **in the target language**, and where appropriate the tasks do not involve the use of English.

Format The course is presented as **a set of worksheets** which **can be photocopied** freely **within the purchasing organisation**. Most of the worksheets are A4, but are large enough to be reduced to A5 without any loss of clarity, so that it is possible for the teacher to make a booklet if they so wish.

Cassette The materials are based on the **37 listening exercises** recorded on the **accompanying cassette**. Each listening exercise is numbered and is accompanied by follow-up exercises developing either speaking, reading or writing skills. A transcript of the cassette is included in the teacher's notes.

There are 6 units of work:

Zdrastvuite!	*Topics 1–6*
Kiosk	*Topics 7–9*
O sebe	*Topics 10–15*
V gorode	*Topics 16–23*
Moi hobbi	*Topics24–32*
Shkola i rabota	*Topics 33–37*

Each unit (with the exception of 'Shkola i rabota') contains:

Presentation material
Phrases to remember
Listening / reading / writing / speaking exercises
Self-assessment/progress chart for speaking

Language master labels A set of masters to be stuck on **Language Master cards** is also included. These could also be photocopied and stuck on card to make a set of reference materials for pupil use or enlarged and turned into flashcards.

Teacher's notes and Answer sheets are also provided to enable **speedy marking** by pupil or teacher.

Putyovka 1 **costs £50 and is available from Mrs J. M. Haywood, 1 The Causeway, Dore, Sheffield S17 3EA. When ordering, please enclose a cheque for £50 payable to J. M. Haywood.**

A sample page of the materials is shown on the next page.

PRIVYET!

by Jane Nashvili.

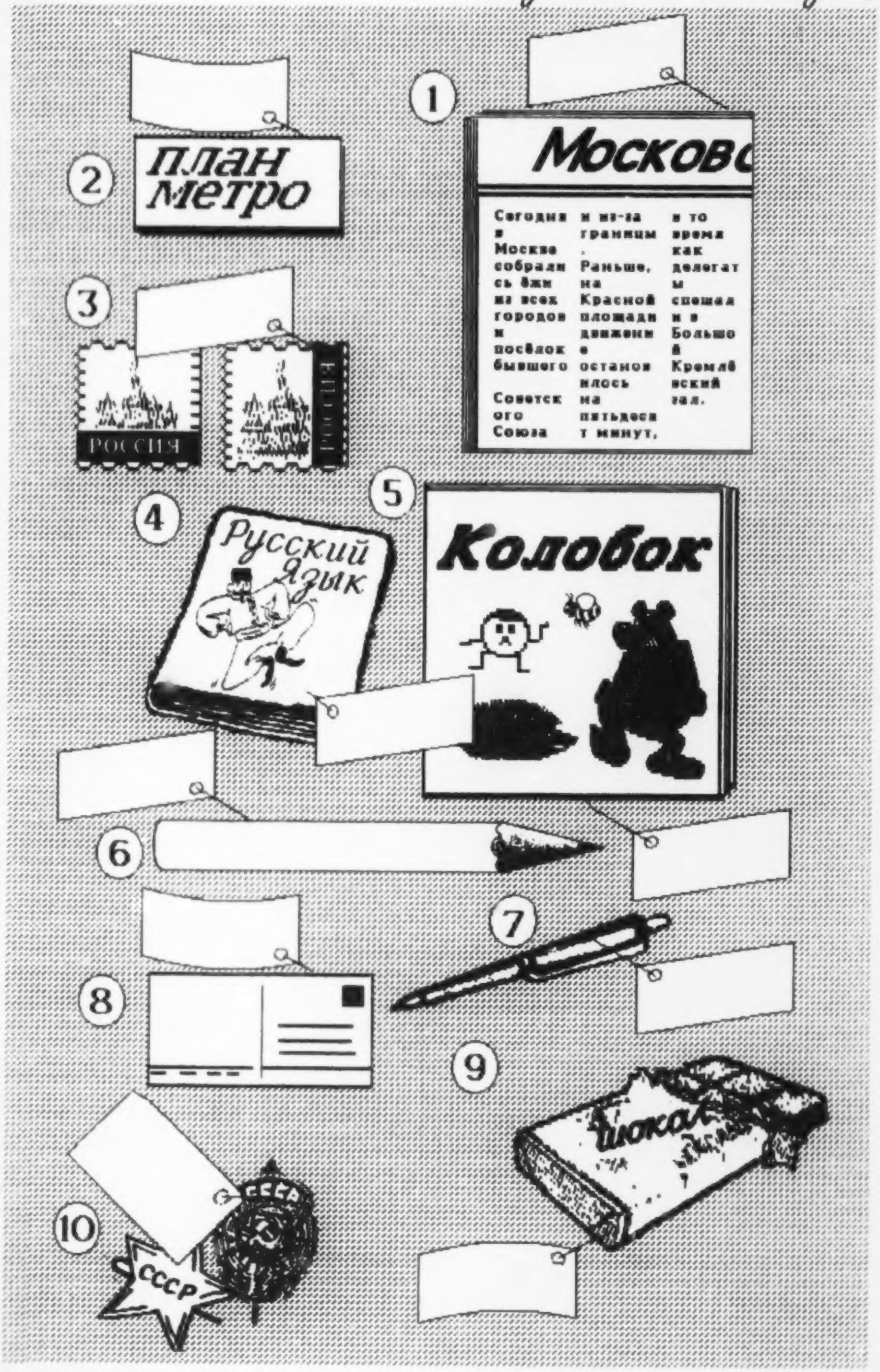
Privyet! is a two-year **LISTENING, SPEAKING and WRITING course** designed for school pupils who have done **a minimum of one year's Russian**. It is based on the **NEAB's Basic Level GCSE** course. It consists of **11 units.** The themes are: **school exchanges; contacts with penfriends; assisting Russian visitors to this country; holidays in Russia.** Pupils are involved directly in the activities rather than being asked to 'witness' what other people are doing.

There is no gradation of difficulty, so that Privyet can be adapted to meet the teacher's requirements. It can therefore be used:

****As part of a two year course;***
****Selectively, by those who prefer the 'pick and mix' method.***

The emphasis is on **individual and pair work**, and for this reason teachers are encouraged to make pupil copies of the

9 *Сколько стоит . . ? Слушайте кассету.*


1
Москов
Сегодня в Москве собрались дж из всех городов и посёлок бывшего Советского Союза и из-за границы. Раньше, на Красной площади движение остановилось на пятьдесят минут, в то время как делегаты спешали в Большой Кремлёвский зал.
2
план метро
3
РОССИЯ
РОССИЯ
4
Русский язык
5
Колобок
6
7
8
9
шокол
10
СССР
СССР

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cassette. This opens up the possibility of **home-based preparation** for classroom listening, as well as straightforward exercises done at the individual pupil's own pace away from the classroom. The tape is also a **revision aid.**

Pupil's Book

***A4 format, 173 pages**

*Contents list of each chapter is combined with a **list of language objectives** which serves as a checklist

*Illustrated throughout with **colour photographs** and **black and white drawings**

*Pupils **instructions in Russian**

Cassette

***Fifty-five recordings** made with the help of the pupils of School No. 169, St Petersburg

***Copiable** within the purchasing institution

Cassette Transcript ***Photocopiable** within the purchasing institution.

A start-up pack of *Privyet!* materials, containing *the cassette, the cassette transcript and six pupil's books,* costs £50 including postage and packaging. Additional pupil's books are available at a cost of £5 each.

The materials are available direct from Mrs Jane Nashvili, 17 Minster Road, Ecclesfield, Sheffield S30 3XS. Please send payment with orders, making cheques payable to Mrs J. Nashvili.

A sample page from the materials is shown on the next page.

York–Sheffield Russian Project: final report and evaluation

1. Background

1.1 Aims

The project was launched in September 1988 at the York University National In-service Course for Teachers of Russian following two previous teacher-led courses at Sheffield in 1986 and 1987.

The project had three main aims:

– to develop and support a network of teachers producing materials for GCSE and diversification of first foreign language teaching in schools;

– to promote teacher development through the exchange of teachers' ideas and experiences within the networks and a series of in-service courses;

– to support existing materials development initiatives and promote further publication of course material with the Pushkin Institute, and the Russkii Yazyk Publishing House in Moscow.

1.2 Organisation

At the 1988 York Russian In-service course, five regional groups were established: London and East Anglia; Midlands; Oxford and West Country; Sheffield; and Scotland. A further group was subsequently formed for teachers in Liverpool and Manchester. Convenors were appointed to organise the groups at regional level, and the work of the project and national in-service events were co-ordinated by David Rix at the Language Teaching Centre, University of York, and Bob Pullin at the University of Sheffield Division of Education. A list of the Regional Groups and Convenors is provided in the Appendix.

1.3 The work of the Regional Groups

Over 80 teachers of Russian were involved in the regular meetings of the six Regional Groups between 1988–91. During this period the more successful groups met often, some every three weeks, others monthly. These meetings proved very valuable occasions for teachers to exchange ideas and share classroom experiences, particularly in teaching methods and materials and materials production. The Group reports highlight this aspect of professional development as one of the Project's most valuable achievements. In addition to raising professional awareness and expertise, the regional Group meetings produced a range of varied teaching materials which are described later in section 2.1.

Четвертое задание

Despite everything you heard at the Information Desk, you still need to queue and ask about the things you want to buy.

* Послушайте **запись номер 42** несколько раз с паузами.
* Переведите следующие вопросы на русский.

	Место для русского перевода:
1) Where do you sell...?	
2) Which floor do you sell ... on?	
3) Is there a .... department?	
4) Are .... on the .... floor?	

Пятое задание

* Послушайте **запись номер 43**.
* Запишите, где продаются носки, шапки, часы и сумки.
* Напишите эту информацию на таблице в Третьем задании.

Шестое задание

* Работайте с партнером
* Посмотрите на таблицу (в Третьем задании).
* Выберите пять предметов.
* Спросите у партнера, на каком этаже они продаются

Русский сувенир

These materials included beginners' courses for mixed-ability secondary school classes, materials for diversification projects and supplementary GCSE materials. The regional Convenors and Project co-ordinators reported on these materials, which are listed and described further in para 2.4, at national residential in-service courses for teachers of Russian in York (April 1989), Nottingham (September 1990) and Sheffield (September 1992).

1.4 The role of the project co-ordinators

In the Project's initial stages the two national co-ordinators actively promoted the case for Russian as a first foreign language, within the DES policy of diversification of first foreign language teaching in schools, with wide-ranging activities.

Contact was established with the ten DES-funded LEAs financed to promote language diversification and with the Oxprod Project. An account of the Project's work was given at a meeting of language advisers and ESG co-ordinators at the Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research in London. Articles were published in the Times Educational Supplement and the Journal of the Association of Teachers of Russian. A chapter for Russian was contributed to a book, *Which Language? Diversification and the National Curriculum.* An account of the Project was published in *Education.* An interview reporting the Project was broadcast on the BBC Russian Service.

To demonstrate the potential of Russian as a first foreign language David Rix introduced Russian at Brayton High School, Selby, where he successfully taught the language to a class of mixed ability pupils in Years 7 and 8 for two years, prior to his appointment as Director of the Language Teaching Centre. Building on the success of the first two years, the school now has an established Russian course, three full time teachers of Russian, a native Russian assistant, an 'A' level Russian course in conjunction with the local sixth-form college, and a thriving home-to-home exchange link scheme with Novgorod. A video of Russian teaching in action at Brayton School, made by the Language Teaching Centre's Diversification Project, was demonstrated as an example of good practice to the members of the National Curriculum Modern Foreign Languages Working Party and is regularly used at in-service courses and conferences.

Bob Pullin was appointed to the DES Modern Foreign Languages Working Group to represent Russian teaching in their deliberations.

In 1992, in the Resource Guides for Teachers series, the Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research published *Russkii Yazyk – Russian*, summarising the case for Russian in the secondary school and providing practical guidance on organising and resourcing teaching. David Rix compiled the handbook with Joan Macrae, Principal Teacher of Modern Languages at Armadale Academy, Lothian Region, Scotland.

2. Realising the project's aims

2.1 Materials production

Convenors for the six Regional Groups which undertook materials development and writing, were appointed at the University of York Language Teaching Centre In-service course entitled 'GCSE and diversification: Meeting the Needs' in September 1988. The Regional Groups began their work from October 1988, producing materials at different levels according to their local needs and the expertise of their participating teachers. Most of the Groups had draft materials to display and demonstrate at the 1990 University of Nottingham in-service course. By this stage it was already obvious that the materials being produced by the Groups varied in extent and quality. Some were clearly relevant to the needs of a much wider teaching area and had national appeal, whilst others had only regional value or were suited to a particular examination Board's requirements, and others were of only limited value to those who had produced them. The materials produced by the Groups are listed as of national, regional or local relevance and described further in para 2.4.

2.2 Promoting teachers' professional development

The Project promoted the professional development of teachers of Russian through the work of the Groups, regular meetings in Sheffield and York for the Group Convenors and the organisation of national residential in-service courses at the Universities of York, Nottingham and Sheffield.

In October 1992 a questionnaire was sent to all the Regional Convenors to evaluate the work of the Project and determine the groups' needs for financial support for the publication and dissemination of the teaching materials produced.

In their responses the Convenors stressed the value of having the opportunity to meet other teachers regularly. Many teachers of Russian still work in isolation and consequently the chance to meet other professionals and exchange experiences, teaching ideas and materials provided them with both professional support and stimulation. Only through discussion of a variety of ideas and strategies to meet a common goal were they made aware of their own considerable strengths and weaknesses: '*. . . we exchanged teaching ideas and had the chance to meet other teachers of Russian.*' (Sheffield teachers) – in many instances there is still only one Russian teacher in a school. '*Yes of course. It was good INSET. We bounced ideas off each other, learned from each other, got new ideas from younger members, adapted old ideas.*' (ISKRA teachers).

In similar vein the Convenors' meetings in Sheffield and York enabled the Group representatives to see their work in a broader perspective and to introduce new ideas to their Group members. It was through the Group Convenors' meetings that a degree of uniformity in expectation and performance, content and format of materials was maintained.

The national three-day residential in-service courses at York (1988), Nottingham (1990) and Sheffield (1985, 1986, 1992) have for some time been the highlights in Russian teachers' professional calendars, as independent evaluation has well demonstrated. These courses were further enhanced by the regular input of the Project members in 1990 and 1992.

2.3 Support for existing materials development projects

During the three-year period 1989–92 the Project gave financial and professional support to four significant materials development projects. Two of these, the ISKRA teaching materials project led by Ken Smith at the Cleeve School and the NOVYE DRUZYA project co-authored by David Pearce and Fiona Crawley in conjunction with the Pushkin Institute and Russkii Yazyk Publishing House, Moscow, were independent projects. Jane Nashvili's course materials, PRIVYET, and Judith Haywood's beginners course, PUTYOVKA, were either initially part of the Project or later became part of it.

Three of the four parts of ISKRA, and NOVYE DRUZYA are already published and in use in schools.

2.4 A list of the materials produced/supported by the project

2.4.1 *Materials produced by the Project and recommended for national dissemination*

(a) *'PRIVYET'* Produced by Jane Nashvili. A basic level GCSE course.
  - for students who have studied Russian for two years
  - for developing listening, speaking and writing skills
  - a two-year course comprising a pupil's booklet, teacher's notes and a C60 cassette tape recorded in Russian schools
  - in A4 format

(b) *'PUTYOVKA'* Produced by Judith Haywood. A beginners' course for 11–13 year olds.
  - to develop listening, reading, speaking and writing skills
  - comprising 6 units on the themes: Introductions, Kiosk, Family, Asking the Way, Free Time, School and Work
  - containing: presentation and practice material in a pupil's booklet on A4 photocopiable masters and an audio cassette

(c) *'V DOROGU'* Produced by Lynne Mowatt and Midlands teachers. A pack of teaching materials for teaching the topic 'Free time'.
- for young (11–12 year old) beginners
- embracing all four skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing
- comprising a pack of A4 photocopy masters, teachers' notes and cassette

(Materials on other topics produced in draft form: Personal identity, Family, Shopping and Directions)

This project was unfortunately withdrawn in 1992.

2.4.2 *Materials Produced for more restricted use*

(a) Produced by the Liverpool Group:
- Role play dialogues with tapes
- Materials for practising Verbs of Motion
- Materials for practising Imperatives
- 'Trivial Pursuits' cards for oral practice
- Copies of the text of the BBC Russian Language and People programmes
- List of grammar points covered in Russian Language and People programmes
- Copies of the transcript of the BBC Russian Language and People serialised drama 'Do Svidanye Leto'
- Text of the theme song 'Do Svidanye Leto'

(b) Produced by the Oxford and West Midlands Group:
- Audio recordings for developing listening comprehension
- for advanced students preparing for A level examinations
- Authentic off-air materials recorded in Russia over the last two years. Content of limited continuing value as topic nature of content dates quickly.

3. Project evaluation and conclusions

The project was initiated at a time of unprecedented educational change. The participating teachers embarked upon their collaborative work to meet the particular demands for change brought about by new GCSE examinations and the policy of diversification. As this work developed and draft materials were ready for completion and dissemination in 1990, further radical changes were demanded by the National Curriculum. The breakup of the former Soviet Union in 1991 necessitated further fundamental revision of the teachers' work which in many cases proved overwhelming.

Against the foregoing background it is not surprising that the Project's main value lay in the *process* of professional development experienced through teachers' collaborative work in the production stages of the Project rather than in the *product*. Nevertheless a range of quality teaching materials, albeit patchy in their coverage, were produced by members of the Project.

Overall the Project achieved the three aims set for it to varying degrees. For those teachers in the Project, it provided significant opportunities for personal and professional development. It also had a positive effect on Russian teachers' morale in the broader context. From its inception the existence of the Project and the cachet afforded it by the Nuffield imprint had a positive effect on teachers' morale and expectations at a time when this was badly needed. Overwhelmed by the pressures imposed on them externally, teachers found this expression of support very positive. The very announcement of the existence of the Nuffield grant at the 1988 York Conference lifted teachers' spirits. This morale boost was consolidated by the Regional Groups' planning meetings attended by many Russian teachers convened over wide areas of the country and the two national co-ordinators, in Oxford, Sheffield and Edinburgh in 1989. Once functioning, the Regional Groups provided Russian teachers with a regular forum for exchanging views: *'Yes, certainly in the first year teachers found it very useful to get together and talk about problems peculiar to Russian teaching and exchange ideas. For teachers new to the profession this was certainly useful.'* (Midlands teachers) – and updating themselves on the changing language scene and revising their understanding of teaching strategies, materials and methods: *'The main thing was that we thought about and discussed audio material and its application and production.'* (Experienced group of Oxford and West Country teachers)

It was in this area of ongoing professional development and renewal that the Project's main value was perceived: *'. . . we find both these (materials) and the discussions very valuable and we hope to continue with these meetings on this basis'* (Convenor, Liverpool/Manchester Group).

The Project, with the financial and moral support it could lend, certainly facilitated and enabled other significant work to be undertaken in the field of materials production. The Project's support, both financial and moral, helped the Russian teachers realise:

(i) Part 3 of the 'Iskra' course, embracing 636 pages and now published by Stanley Thornes and Co;
(ii) 'Novye Druzya', by David Pearce and Fiona Crawley, published by Russkii Yazyk, Moscow;
(iii) Jane Nashvili's 'Privyet', available September 1994;
(iv) Judith Haywood's 'Putyovka', available September 1994.

In the third area of materials production by the Regional Groups, it has to be reported that mainly due to the relentless pace of change, both in UK education and the former Soviet Union, teachers did not manage to produce materials. Albeit justified by different circumstances in each case, the only groups which did not successfully produce materials for their own use were those which covered huge areas and consequently suffered additional travel and communication problems. We have to conclude that teacher-led materials production will inevitably produce disparate and uncoordinated teaching materials, lacking in cohesion and unity of content and form. Were the quality of the teaching materials alone the major aim of a funded project, we would therefore conclude that investment in a single team of writers engaged upon a single course would prove more productive and cost effective.

Teacher-led groups, however, are particularly effective in the in-service area as a means of providing professional development and meeting particular local and regional needs. Further work in this area would be beneficial.

APPENDIX

List of participating regional groups and convenors

MIDLANDS
Mrs Lynne Mowatt
28 St Peter's Close
Water Orton
Birmingham B46 1RG
021 472 1238 (work)

OXFORD and SOUTH WEST
Dr Nicholas Fennell
Winchester College
Winchester
0962 853768

LIVERPOOL/MANCHESTER/WIRRAL
Gillian Johnson 051 928 3750
(Materials Contact:
Mr Chris Cooke
17 Pleasington Close
Noctorum
Birkenhead L43 9HN)

SHEFFIELD
Mrs Jane Nashvili
17 Minster Road
Ecclesfield
Sheffield S30 3XS
0742 467274

LONDON and EAST ANGLIA
Mr Philip Hood
now at
110 Clarence Road
Handsworth
Birmingham B21 0EE
021 551 6851

SCOTLAND
Mr Rob Crawford
48 Argyle Crescent
Edinburgh EH15 2QD

VIII Congress of MAPRYAL. Regensburg, Germany, 21–26 August 1994

This, the eighth Congress of MAPRYAL, was the first to be held outside the countries of the former Soviet bloc, and Regensburg, a charming medieval town in Bavaria with a new university established in 1967, was chosen for the venue. Organised by Prof. Erwin Wedel, a member of the University staff and a dynamic administrator, the Congress attracted delegates from over 40 countries and more than 300 speakers, sub-divided into five sections representing language, literature, methodology, cultural topics and translation techniques. There were also a number of 'thematic meetings', including a fascinating session on the present position of the Russian language outside Russia. ALL, whose group of speakers comprised David Gillespie, Norman Ellis, Kathleen Parthé, John Dunn, Lara Ryazanova, James Davie, Lindsay Sylvester and Terry Wade, was represented in each of the five sections. Members of the UK group also chaired a number of sessions. Abstracts of all the papers appeared in the published papers of the Congress.

A departure from established practice at earlier congresses was that speakers were grouped thematically into blocs of three or four and that ten minutes or so was allowed for discussion after each paper. The work of the Congress was extremely intense, and it was supplemented by a book fair, at which Russia was represented by the St Petersburg publishing house 'Zlatoust'. There was also a reception at the City Hall, at which delegates were addressed in excellent Russian by the mayor of Regensburg, Herr V. Annuss, and most delegates joined in a memorable river trip down the Danube to Weltenburg Monastery. One of MAPRYAL's recent publications, *Who's Who in Russian Linguistics*, was on sale at the Congress. It contains profiles of more than 650 linguists, including several dozen from UK, and is available from Oy Libri Academici Ab, PO Box 833, FIN-00101, Helsinki, Finland.

The next Congress is to be held in Bratislava in 1998, but MAPRYAL also runs an annual programme of events, the most immediate and interesting for teachers of Russian being the VIII International Russian-Speaking Olympiad for School-Children, to be held in Moscow at the end of June or in early July 1995. Heats for this event, at which British school-children have performed extremely well in the past, will be arranged by the Exchanges Representative on the Russian Language Committee. Places for seven British school-children have been reserved at the 1995 Olympiad.

Another important event, also to be held in Moscow in 1995 (Moscow University, 23–27 January) is an international conference devoted to the centenary of the birth of V. V. Vinogradov, under the title 'Academician V. V. Vinogradov and Russian Philology'. Vinogradov's linguistic interests were so wide-ranging that virtually any relevant topic will be considered by the Conference Organisers. The Congress concluded with the General Assembly of MAPRYAL, at which Terry Wade was re-elected to the Association's Presidium. Any enquiries about MAPRYAL should be addressed to him, alternatively to Mr V. Tatarinov, MAPRYAL Secretariat, Moscow 117485, Pushkin Institute, ul. Volgina, 6. Tel. (+7) 095 330-89-92. Fax. (7) 095-330-85-65.

Prof. T. Wade,
MAPRYAL representative

Russian weeks 1995

Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh, Scotland

September 95

Heriot-Watt University will be running its **Annual Russian Vacation School** between **18–22 September** in 1995. Three levels of courses are planned: an intensive introductory course for beginners and elementary and advanced 'bridging-refreshers' courses.

Easter 95

An additional course is also being considered for the Easter vacation period – an Intermediate level course aimed particularly, but not exclusively, at those about to sit Higher/A-level examinations.

Heriot-Watt University, which is situated in mature parkland on the edge of Edinburgh, with easy access to Edinburgh airport, the two Edinburgh railway stations and major roads, is particularly convenient for both non-residents from within central Scotland and residents from further afield.

For further details and information or to join our pre-registration or mailing lists, please contact: Christine Wilson, Tel. 031-449-5111 ext. 4215, Languages Department, Heriot-Watt University, Riccarton, Edinburgh EG14 4AS, Scotland.

Kruzhki Report

I am very glad to report some more interesting news from our recently 'discovered' kruzhok in *Liverpool*. In April, the former Chairman and founder-member Dr Jesse Davies gave a talk on the life and works of Lermontov. Dr Davies is the author of 'The Fey Hussar', the first full biography of Lermontov. She chose 14 poems to illustrate her talk, which she read herself in her own translation, and each was followed by a reading of the original by Tanya Lomova. Our convenor reports that this was a most informative and interesting evening. The May meeting was a talk by Sandra-Lynne Jones entitled 'Na Materik'. Sandra-Lynne lives in Ainsdale and read Russian at Oxford University. She has travelled widely in Russia and Siberia and spent many months in Siberia teaching English, first on Kamchatka and then in Yakutia. She has visited and lived in settlements of native aboriginal Siberian peoples, whose languages she has also studied. She has written a book on her experiences. The talk was illustrated by recordings made in situ and photographs. The title is taken from a song popular on Kamchatka and means 'To the mainland'. The year ended with a buffet supper for members and their guests.

The *Northern Ireland* kruzhok held a meeting in February at which Aleksandr Kabakov, senior staff member of 'Moscow News' and novelist, gave a talk on 'The Russian press in the post-Communist period'. The first meeting this year took place in October, when Robin Breen and other graduates and students gave an informal account of their recent experiences of life in Russia and other CIS countries, entitled 'A Year in Kazan'.

In *London*, our summer meeting followed the tradition of having lighter fare during the exam period, so I myself gave a slide-talk on my trip in summer 1993 to Northern Siberia, on a cruise along the river Lena. This was an unusual and exciting venture, providing much food for thought on life in these often primitive settlements. I have been enthusiastically recommending this trip, but unfortunately the cruise company did not run it this year, due to 'lack of demand' as well as internal transport problems in Russia.

The *Thames Valley* kruzhok report a return visit from Kate Leeming, of the Trans-Siberian Cycle Expedition (see June issue), who had visited Chernobyl. She spoke of the problems there and showed slides. The situation is appalling, and a similar catastrophe could easily happen again. Radiation is penetrating the soil and children fall sick. They are in desperate need of medical aid, although she says that many children are now receiving treatment. *Thames Valley* are planning their usual pre-Christmas social and musical evening with the Garth School Balalaika Group. Sofia Potyomkin, with her Russian Club 'Tishinok' will provide music and dance, as well as examples of their craft work which Sofia teaches them; this is all based on 'narodnoye iskusstvo', and the children are shown how to make them in the correct Russian style.

Finally, some good news from Birmingham, where it is hoped to set up a new kruzhok. Anyone in the area interested in this should get in touch with Chris Elliott at 63 Greenhill Road, Moseley, Birmingham B13 9SU (Tel. 021 449 4154). More of this in the next issue!

Joan Smith (London)

Grammar and communication: the *ab initio* Russian course *Курс русского языка*

Robin Aizlewood

There is currently a number of projects under way for *ab initio* Russian courses in higher education, and in April 1994 a conference was held at the University of Portsmouth as part of the *ab initio* Russian project there.[1] One of the projects has been developed over the last four years at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, London University. With assistance from Mike Kirkwood, now Professor of Slavonic Languages and Literatures at Glasgow University, and Natal'ia Kurashova of SSEES, I have written an *ab initio* course, *Kurs russkogo iazyka*. The course was first developed alongside existing materials; it was produced in a pre-publication version for the academic year 1993-94, and a revised version in two parts is being published at the School for 1994–95. It has a clear structure and grammar-communicative core, but it is intended for flexibility of usage, so that it can be used as a framework for both teachers and students to work around.[2]

In this article, as part of the wider process of discussion of *ab initio* Russian, I will describe the approach adopted in the course. *Kurs russkogo iazyka* has been written primarily with intensive, or semi-intensive, higher education courses in mind, with an assumption of a certain general language awareness on the part of the student or the need for its provision (this need is addressed in the course itself, though it may need supplementing). However, the relevance of the approach and issues raised, not to mention the practical applications of the explanations, exercises, worksheets, dialogues, reading materials etc. taken separately, extend beyond the particular target group that the course primarily has in mind.

The first aim and guiding principle of the course has been to produce a core that combines grammar and communication, where grammar is realised in communicative context or contexts.

The question of how to combine grammar and communication confronts any designer or purveyor of an *ab initio* Russian course. However, the balance of the two, and the resolution of how to combine them, may vary considerably, depending on factors such as the aims of the course, its length and intensiveness, the level of the students, and their previous language learning experience. Moreover, this question does not exist in isolation for *ab initio* Russian courses, but relates to broader issues. In the first instance these concern the aims, design, and practice of Russian language degree courses overall, since the *ab initio* course may be followed by two or three more years of study. But naturally such issues have a broader application too, both in the Russian field (GCSE, A Level, adult education, etc.) and in the whole area of language learning and teaching.

In the design of *Kurs russkogo iazyka* the combination of grammar and communication has been approached on both theoretical and practical levels. Such a combination may be both aim and, hopefully, end result, but the relationship between the two and the way they are combined in practice still need to be elaborated. On the theoretical level, the course can initially be described as grammar *led* and aimed at communication, while gradually this relationship moves towards one which can be described as grammar *based* and aimed at communication. Grammar is always realised in communicative context or contexts, but as command of the language develops the relationship between the two shifts: not in kind, since without grammar there is no guarantee of effective communication, but in application.

The communicative side of the course is developed in terms of contexts that involve both topics (location, transport, study, etc.) and functions (negating, agreeing, expressing attitude, etc.). The combination with grammar works in both directions, with the logic of one leading to the other and *vice versa*. This combination is the key practical principle and the learning process provides the course's coherence. The communicative material is not ordered into a narrative, such as foreign tourist/student in Russia, but it does have a logic: namely, the student's learning of Russian in order to use it, both in a broad range of standard communicative contexts and for continuation with Russian. A number of communicative contexts are therefore brought into play: (1) the context of the class and learning process; (2) the student, other students, and teachers – experience, interests, everyday life, etc.; (3) meeting Russians in this country, corresponding with Russians; (4) the Russian social and cultural context; (5) studying Russian politics, history, literature etc.; (6) visiting, studying, and living in Russian itself.

In aiming to be both life and study related, *Kurs russkogo iazyka* presents the language with the students' point of view in mind, as well as from a Russian perspective. Among the various communicative contexts that a course may cover, the most immediate real context in which the students find themselves is that of the class, fellow students, and the learning process. Maximum use of Russian as the working language is standard good practice in class, but this fact can also be incorporated into the course book and deliberately exploited. Beyond this, it is the student's own everyday life in this country that provides the readiest ground for communication, but – to state the obvious – this is not in every respect a mirror of Russian life. More generally, this whole area can promote a comparative awareness of languages in their social and cultural context, while also leading towards the important task of describing and explaining life in Britain to a Russian.

While the combination of grammar and communication has been the underlying aim of the course, my concern and interest in designing it have focused very much on how to progress through Russian, on questions of order of presentation, progression, and consolidation.[3] The guiding principles here have been the following:

(1) Grammar is introduced according to a logic that facilitates gradual and progressive acquisition, but acquisition harnessed to usage.

(2) The course proceeds through a combination of progression and consolidation, both moving forward and covering ground in gradually widening circles, i.e. in a spiral; this applies to both grammar and communication.

(3) The course aims to exploit the interaction of reception and active usage in the acquisition of the language.

The first practical principle in devising an *ab initio* course is that it should proceed by small steps one after another, i.e. it should be simple and gradual. The aim is to apply the appropriate control over communicative contexts and grammar for a given stage in the course, so that expression can be safe but effective. But these steps form part of a global scheme covering the whole order of grammar introduction, i.e. the order in which the cases are introduced, the presentation of tense and aspect, etc. This means that the simple gradual progression of the one by one approach needs to be balanced against the gradual consolidation of more than one case or category. An additional aim is to allow flexibility and openness for creativity around and beyond a given stage, and also to look forward to what is to come, to the next step or turn of the spiral. *Kurs russkogo iazyka* seeks to provide a framework, and as appropriate to cater, for such questions as 'How do I say this in Russian?' or 'Why is it that here?'.

A spiral, however, looks back as well as forward. This means that revision is not just a matter of periodic consolidation in a linear progression, but is a constant part of the forward movement, as is naturally the case in subsequent stages of language acquisition and retention. The task is to build this constant revision in to the continuity of the course, as well as having periodic pauses for consolidation. For example, having introduced the genitive singular case, the task becomes the arrangement and ordering of material so that the use of the genitive recurs regularly in a series of communicative contexts, different or related, over two or three units/lessons. Exercises also have an important role to play in the scheme of continuous revision and consolidation. The primary function of any given exercise is obviously to practice the particular form or usage of the moment, but there will almost always be additional language around this particular point which can be systematically exploited. To this end items of both vocabulary and grammar can be repeated over a number of lessons as an aid to acquisition and retention, although not so as to intrude on the primary objective of the individual exercises. The tail is not to be neglected, but it should not wag the dog.

The overall aim of *Kurs russkogo iazyka* is to develop all four skills, both separately and together, and the course rests on the interrelation and differentiation of passive recognition and active usage. The differentiation of these two sides of language acquisition encourages the student to advance comprehension and recognition way ahead of active usage and to pursue these skills in their own right. This leads into the provision of supporting materials, especially for reading, around the central core. We ourselves have produced, and are continuing to produce, a range of such materials, some of which correlate closely with individual parts of the course, while others diversify and lead the student up and away. Such materials can naturally be supplemented from other sources according to individual needs and preferences.

But recognition and active usage are also interrelated, and this interrelation can be exploited. In accordance with standard procedure, a grammatical point may be presented in the context of actual usage, and encouragement to recognise what is going on is designed to lead more or less directly into active usage. Yet between this and the kind of recognition which may lead to active usage at a distance (or never), there lies a large expanse of territory. This area can be addressed and – again – systematically exploited. Thus in the lesson or two before the introduction of active usage of a particular form, for example, possessives or the prepositional case, a series of examples requiring no manipulation can be given in exercises or other material. The task is to provide and then use awareness or acquaintance with structure not only to enable students to comprehend, but also to set up the orientation towards gradual and long term preparation for usage. It naturally takes time to consolidate command of a language, and this approach, while it is no panacea, does provide a framework for gradual acquisition by spreading the process before as well as after the point where active usage of a particular form is the issue of the day.

It follows that all the main endings, and all main areas of grammar, should be introduced for recognition as soon as appropriate. In *Kurs russkogo iazyka* this is spaced over a short period when enough of a base has been prepared. This facilitates early acquaintance with a broader range of material around and beyond the core. Such material may still be controlled for difficulty but need not be limited at all in terms of the grammatical structures encountered; and when they are encountered, there is a framework for the student's awareness, however imperceptibly, to be advanced. For example, at a certain stage the oblique plural case forms lend themselves readily to gradual acquisition 'in advance', not just passive recognition. Some examples may occur as lexical items from early on, such as десять часов, пять минут, сто рублей, по вечерам, к друзьям, с друзьями, на занятиях etc. The next stage can be to work from concrete examples encountered in passing: thus, в магазинах can serve as a model for в киосках, в барах, в ресторанах, в гостиницах etc.

The introduction of grammar as or through lexical items is a familiar tactic, which in *Kurs russkogo iazyka* I have attempted to exploit in a systematic way, i.e. as part of the course's basic strategy. The grammar may be explained at the time or retrospectively, as appropriate. Some grammatical forms, such as prepositionals in -у, are always acquired in this way, but the potential application is much wider. For example, a stock of imperatives is readily acquired as lexical items and the transition to productive command need not be a challenging one. With cases, the easiest introduction through lexical items typically involves the use of prepositions: the genitive singular endings might be introduced through Коля из Петербурга/из Москвы, the instrumental endings through чай с лимоном, бутерброд с сыром/с колбасой.

One final and very important issue to be taken into account in the design of a course concerns the problems, pitfalls, and mistakes that typically arise, the points that are difficult to grasp, difficult to use, or, for whatever reason, prove difficult for the student to acquire. Here an invaluable input is our own experience of learning Russian and our sympathetic observation of students in the same process. From one point of view, it makes sense that if it takes a long time to gain command of a particular usage, then the sooner this is introduced or addressed the better, so that the course allows the time and repetition needed for this to be achieved. From a certain point of view again, it also makes sense that a problem should preferably not be avoided by delaying it, which may only store up a bigger problem for the future, and that it should be seen in perspective or even, perhaps, that it should be seen coming. This may imply providing appropriate awareness of the broader picture. In particular, progress through larger areas that cause problems should proceed simply and gradually, so that large problems are avoided by being broken up into a series of small steps. Thus the acquisition of aspect use may be approached by differentiating usage as much as possible according to tense and context; for example, the simple perfective future forms пойду, поеду can readily be introduced soon after the present tense forms иду, еду.

However, in the handling of problem areas, as also in the exploitation of passive recognition and lexicalisation, the need for balance, control, coherence, and coordination must be maintained. While introducing something as soon as possible may accord with the principle of simple and gradual progress in a narrow way, introducing too much too quickly may work against this principle in its global operation.

To summarise, the approach adopted in *Kurs russkogo iazyka* seeks to do the following:

(1) to balance control and limitation with openness and flexibility;
(2) to proceed by steps that are simple and gradual, where gradualness has narrow and broad dimensions;
(3) to make the steps spiral so that consolidation is an integral part of acquisition;
(4) to exploit systematically the relationship between passive recognition and active usage;
(5) to exploit systematically the potential for lexicalisation of grammar as the first stage in acquisition.

These strategies underlie the course's core of grammar combined with communication, while around that core the individual skills can be further developed and an increasing diversity of materials can be introduced.

Notes

1 For a description of the project, see Paul Rastall, 'The Portsmouth *ab initio* Russian project', *Rusistika*, 7, 1993, pp. 13-15; a set of papers was prepared for the conference: *Working Papers in Russian Language Teaching*, ed. Paul Rastall and James Davie, Portsmouth, 1994; the proceedings of the conference should be published shortly.

2. It is planned to make the course available for distribution, either for use as a main course book or as a resource for teachers' use and reference and for students' self-access.

3. The question of the order of grammar introduction is addressed in Paul Rastall, 'Problems of Russian Grammar in an Ab Initio Course', in *Working Papers in Russian Language Teaching*, pp. 42–52; and also in my 'Progressing through Russian', to be published in the proceedings of the Portsmouth conference.

Заимствование иноязычных слов и отраженная синонимия в лексике русского языка

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Социально-экономические условия, развитие общественных формаций и культурно-исторические отношения между народами являются основой для возникновения языковых контактов. Это приводит к взаимовлиянию и взаимообогащению контактирующих языков, что отражается на их словарном составе.

Приток иноязычных слов в лексический состав русского языка обьясняется прежде всего необходимостью номинации новых реалий, появление которых обусловлено социально-экономическими и культурно-историческими причинами. Появление заимствованных слов обусловливает, с одной стороны, количественный рост словарного состава, с другой – качественные изменения в лексико-семантической системе языка. При этом количественная и качественная стороны процесса заимствования теснейшим образом связаны друг с другом: каждое новое слово, появившись в языке, не только увеличивает число лексем, но и неизбежно вступает в те или иные системные отношения с другими словами, и если в составе заимствующего языка наличествуют тождественные или близкие по значению лексемы, то взаимодействие нового лексического элемента с уже имеющимися/исконными или ранее заимствованными из других языков/приводит к сложным семантическим процессам и отражается на структуре вокабуляра. Следствием заимствования может быть появление как лексических дублетов, так и близких по значению слов, но различающихся смысловыми оттенками, или принадлежностью к разным стилям речи, или экспрессивной окраской, т.е. возникновением внесенной синонимии. При этом компоненты синонимических пар и рядов могут оказаться производящими основами для образования новых слов, что приводит к возникновению отраженной синоними [ср.: *азбука* – *алфавит* и *азбучный* – *алфавитный*; *атака* – *штурм* и *атаковать* – *штурмовать*; *атеизм* – *безбожие неверие*; *атеист* – *безбожник неверующий* и *атеистка* – *безбожница неверующая* и т.д.]

Синонимию можно представить как оппозицию, левая сторона которой «чужое», а правая – «своё», например: *абзац* – *отступ*, *красная строка*; *автономия* — *самоуправление*; *адвокат* — *защитник*; *акцент* – *ударение*; *биография* — *жизнеописание*; *рецензия* – *отзыв*; *архитектор* — *зодчий*; *проблема* – *вопрос* и т.п. Стороны могут быть представлены более чем одним словом, например, *авиатор*, *пилот* – *летчик*; *новатор*, *пионер*, *инициатор* – *зачинатель*; *начинатель*, *застрельщик* и т.п. В таких случаях каждый член оппозиции противопоставлен каждому правому члену, например: *авиатор* – *летчик*; *пилот* – *летчик*. Следовательно, многокомпонентный синонимический ряд как бы заключает в себе несколько синонимических пар, которые могут быть противопоставлены и в плане словообразовательной синонимии.

Для определения роли и участия того или иного иноязычного слова в формировании и синонимического ряда необходимо выяснить язык – источник [и язык – посредник], из которого оно заимствовано. Так, в русский язык лексемы *авиатор* и *пилот* заимствованы из французского и находятся в синонимических отношениях с собственно русским образованием *летчик*; французское *гид* и итальянское *чичероне* образовали синонимический ряд с дериватом *экскурсовод*; древнееврейское *бегемот* стало синонимом греческого *гиппопотам*; испанское *аллегатор* [проникшее в русскую лексику через английский] способствовало возникновению синонимического ряда с греческим *крокодил* и индийским *гавиал*; греческое *алмаз*, пройдя через арабский и тюркский языки, стало синонимон французского *бриллиант* [СИС, ССАН, ССАл, ССРЯ]

Стремление носителей языка обозначить явления и реалии своими языковыми средствами способствует образованию новых лексических единиц, которые оказываются в синонимических отношениях с иноязычными двойниками. Здесь можно отметить следующие особенности образования синонимии: (1) иноязычное слово служит основой для образования новой лексической единицы: *термометр — градусник*; *гид — экскурсовод*; *галерея — галерка* [разг. «верхний ярус в театре, цирке и т.п.»]; *фляга — фляжка* «плос сосуд для води, вина и т.п., предназначенниы для ношения с собой»; *синологкитаевед*, *синология — китаеведение* [ср. *китаист — китаистика*]; (2) основой для образования нового слова служит собственные слова и морфеми: *дерматолог — кожник* [разг.], *ларинголог — горловик* [прост.], *абсцесса* [спец.] гнойник, нарыв; *ориенталист — востоковец — восточник* [разг.]; *дефис — черточка*; (3) синонимия возникает на базе иноязычных обозначений: *синто — синтоизм* «средневековая религия японцев, впоследствии принявшая форму культа [обожествления] императорской династии»; *окулист — офтальмолог* [спец.] — ср. рус. *глазник* [разг.] *дендрарий — дендропарк* и т.п.

В процессе конкурентной борьбы может произойти архаизация одного из компонентов синонимической пары [или ряда]. И здесь немаловажную роль могут сыграть словообразовательные связи. Так, синонимия *кошелёк — портмоне* возникла на базе деривата [от рус. *кошёл*] и французского *портмоне*, которое оказалось в пассивной лексике благодаря активности употребления собственного обозначения [ср. производные: *кошелёчек*, *кошельковый*, *кошёлка*, *раскошеливаться*, *раскошелиться* [ССТ, I, с. 486]. В то же время более употребительным может оказаться иноязычный компонент. Так, в паре *кожник — дерматолог* собственно русское обозначение является разговорным словом, а вхождению его двойника в общелитературный язык способствуют производные *дерматология* и *дерматологический*. Ср. также пару и дериваты *переводчик — толмач*, *толмачить — перевод*, *переводчица*, *переводческий*, *перевоцной*, *непереводимий*, *непереводимость*, *переводить — перевести* [ССТ, I, 736; II, 237].

Активности Функционирования иноязычного слова и формированию отраженной синонимии могут способствовать и морфемы, которые существуют в словообразовательной системе русского языка. Так, на базе немецкого *шаблон*, итальянского *трафарет*, английского *стандарт* и греческого *стереотип* возник синонимический ряд с семантикой «общепринятый образец, которому слепо следуют, подражают», а на его базе образовалась синонимия *шаблонность — трафаретность — стандартность — стереотипность* и *шаблонный — трафаретный — стандартный — стереотипный* [ССАН, СИС, ССТ]. По этой причине возникла синонимия слов *магометанин — мусульманин* [ср. рус. *правоверный*], *магометанка — мусульманка* [ср. рус. *правоверная*]; *магометанство — мусульманство* [ср. ислам [ССРЯ, ССАН]

Отраженная синонимия может возникнуть и с помощью разных словообразовательных элементов. Так, синонимы *соперник — конкурент* дали пары *соперничать — конкурировать*, *соперничество — конкуренция*. В этом случае как бы происходит «сопротивление» и стремление заимствованного слова сохранить свое иноязычное происхождение. Ср. также синонимию слов: *архитектор — зодчий*, и *архитектура — зодчество*; *дезинфекция — обеззараживание* и *дезинфицировать — обеззараживать*.

Причиной возникновения отраженной синонимии может быть и приспособление иноязычных слов к тем законам, которые существуют в словообразовательной системе заимствующего языка. Так, вхождение латинизма *информация* в синонимический ряд *сообщение — извещение — оповещение — уведомление* «передача какого либо известия, сведений» и его приспособление к системе русского глагола привело к формированию видовой пары *информировать — проинформировать* [ср.: *сообщать, извещать, оповещать, уведомлять, осведомлять, информировать, доводить до сведения, давать знать, повещать — сообщить, известить, оповестить, уведомить, осведомить, проинформировать, довести до сведения, дать знать, повестить* [ССАН]. Ср. также синонимию слов: *дежурный — дневальный* и *дежурить — дневалить; дрессировать, обучать, натаскивать — выдрессировать, обучить, натаскать* и *прессированный — учёный* [ССАН]; музыкальные термины *инструментовать — оркестровать* и *инструментовка — оркестровка* [ССРЯ].

Синонимы могут быть противопоставлены также по словообразовательным связям и степени употребительности [функциональной активности]. Так, в русском языке термины *языкознание, языковедение, лингвистика* и *глоттология* семантически не различаются, являются лексическими дублетами. Однако *языкознание* и *лингвистика* более употребительны, чем *языковедение*, а *глоттология* используется редко. Зато *языковедение, лингвистика* и *глоттология*, в отличие от языкознания, образуют относительное прилагательное *языковедческий, лингвистический* и *глоттологический*, но сравните также деривационные отношения, связанные с именем лица *языковед* и *лингвист*. Лингвистика же, в отличие от *языкознание, языковедение* и *глоттология*, являются компонентом сложных слов *интерлингвистика, металингвистика, неолингвистика, психолингвистика, социолингвистика* и т.п.

Возникновению отраженной синонимии могут способствовать и антонимические отношения, существующие между лексическими единицами. Так, заимствование антонимов из английского *экспорт — импорт* и французского *экспортер — импортер* «физическое или юридическое лицо, занимающееся экспортом или импортом, т.е. вывозом или ввозом товаров в целях их продажи или использования в других странах» привело к возникновению синонимов *импортировать ввозить, экспортировать — вывозить, импорт — ввоз, экспорт — вывоз, импортный — ввозной, экспортный — вывозной* [СИС, ССРЯ, ССТ].

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Editorial Note

The new ALL Russian Committee (1994–1997) had its first meeting in September. We look forward to working together and we hope to provide even more communication and information for you in *Rusistika* about Russian courses, events and new language materials being produced throughout the country. Letters and comments from readers would also be most welcome; if space allows, extracts of these could be published in future issues. The Committee extended sincerest thanks to Dr. Riitta Pittman for her sterling work as Reviews Editor for the Journal. The new appointment to this post will be announced in the June 1995 issue.

Margaret Tejerizo

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Reviews

Russian for You by Melanie Hardman and Andrew Jameson. *Lancashire College 1994. Manual and two cassettes: £34.95*

Even the worthiest Russian teaching materials, it has to be admitted, are seldom in the vanguard of modern language teaching resources. It is especially encouraging then to review a pioneering Russian course, specifically designed to meet the needs of students and teachers in open learning or supported self study situations.

The package comprises an A4 format manual of ten units, an alphabet and numbers reference card and two cassette recordings designed for interactive use. The manual is word-processed, and could benefit from more attention to layout, bold headings and so on, but for all that the authors have made very good use of authentic materials which give the course a good Russian feel. The cassette recordings are of a good quality and make use of clear native speaker voices.

Russian for You is aimed first at students studying on their own by correspondence with a tutor. It could equally well be used by students without a tutor – the authors have taken pains to ensure the materials are user-friendly – indeed, *Russian for You* could be used in any independent learning situation, including schools and colleges where teachers are becoming interested in maximising learner autonomy. Owing to the open-learning framework of the course, *Russian for You* does contain a considerable amount of English.

The manual contains full instructions of the procedures of effective independent learning, which naturally demand considerable self-discipline on the part of the student. The language content is functional and topic-based, oriented towards the primary language needs of a tourist or business person. The student listens to the speech functions in dialogues which are printed in the manual and is intended to assimilate them by a straightforward method of repetition and reproduction, in interaction with the audio cassettes. Vocabulary, structures and grammar are fully explained in the manual in simple, non-academic terms, and the interactive presentation and practice of the spoken language is recapitulated in 'quiz' sections (all answers are provided in the manual) and oral tasks to be recorded onto a blank cassette for tutor assessment. Review and self assessment feature regularly, but the onus is very much on the student to review the material for him/herself, by going back over the units.

As well as aural-oral development through the dialogues, skills of 'gist' reading and listening also have a place in each unit, and in common with all the language material and tasks, a premium is placed on specific relevance to the needs of the leisure or business traveller; it is in this context that the dialogues are situated. Full, and sometimes intriguingly quizzical notes of background information – 'When in Russia' – are also included in each unit. Although *Russian for You* is for adult learners and does not intend to cover all the areas of the GCSE syllabus, most of the material is relevant to GCSE, and since the most important features of elementary Russian grammar are progressively introduced, *Russian for You* could be adopted for any practically based *ab initio* course. Students on more academically oriented *ab initio* courses could still use *Russian for You* most profitably as a preparation for the essential language they will need when they visit Russia.

A well-organised learner who wants to use the language as quickly as possible for practical purposes will find *Russian for You* accessible, reliable and effective – all the material is essentially related to the performance needs of the learner right from the very first unit.

Interested teachers and students should contact Lancashire College, Chorley, PR7 1NB

MARK FELSTEAD

Сборник рассказов, by V. V. Sorokin. *Russlit, Moscow, 1992. 128 pp. ISBN 5 86508 028 8.*

Как я и как меня, by Igor Yarkevich. *IMA-press, Moscow, 1991. 96 pp. ISBN 5 7070 0047 X.*

Синий фонарь, by Victor Pelevin. *Tekst, Moscow, 1991. 340 pp. ISBN 5 85950 0130.*

Contradictory, swiftly changing, sometimes frightening, but always challenging, contemporary Russia has brought to the fore a handful of new writers who are of interest to those with a relevant knowledge of Russian literature and culture. The main principles of these writers' art – freedom of form, irony, innovation and lack of ideology – have come to dominate contemporary Russian literature.

Vladimir Sorokin, one of six pretenders to the Booker prize in 1992, writes in an 'alternative' style to that prescribed by the Soviet tradition. But strange as it may seem, he carries on the older tradition of the Russian modernism of the early 20th century (absurdism, futurism, oberiuts) and he has much more in common with such trends than with the works of his immediate Soviet predecessors.

The difference between the modernists and Vladimir Sorokin is manifest in their relationship with the reader. Обериуты, for instance, remained intellectuals, idealists, and educators of the masses, and they tried subtly to instil in the reader their hopes for political change. Sorokin, on the other hand, declares his political and social indifference, saying that he does not care about perestroika or 'stagnation', democracy or totalitarism. As a conceptualist writer, he tries to distance himself from his prose and from culture in general. His main interest lies in juxtaposing various speech styles, from 'high' and literary to bureaucratic or obscene.

In this collection of his works, Vladimir Sorokin satirises Soviet aesthetics, working in the style of Realism and exploring typically Soviet themes: the routine heroism of industry, subbotniks, socialist competitions. In a story, Деловое предложение, a meeting in the editorial office of an institute's bulletin about the diary of a geological expedition, suddenly culminates in a scene of jealousy and reconciliation between two homosexuals, one of whom (the editor-in-chief) gives a human head as a present to his friend. The author imperturbably carries on in a flat style, leaving it to the reader to be shocked.

Sorokin takes up the position of an external observer who understands that culture and chaos exist alongside one another. Some of his sympathy can be detected, however, in the meticulousness with which he registers all the peculiarities of speech of his characters, whether helpless, ignorant or perverted. Nevertheless, the author does not present any hint of a moral opinion and the reader is left alone to feel disgust or fear.

Unlike Sorokin, Igor Yarkevich does not withdraw the author's self from the narration, but takes refuge in the figure of an idiot-narrator, which is well-loved in the Russian literary tradition. This figure provides a convenient device for the presentation of a new distinctive perspective upon the sadness of contemporary reality. His facility for stylistic variation allows him to capture the speech and ideas of different groups within society with uncommon accuracy, and his often ironical depictions rarely miss their target. An orgy of rhetorical devices, full of older literary echoes, sly references, elevated diction and cultural myths, is inventively blended with sex, violence, obscenities and various unglamorous bodily functions. For instance, two short stories Как я обосрался and Как меня не изнасиловали clearly refer to the traditional Russian literary theme of 'childhood–adolescence–youth', but in a new, macabre way.

Victor Pelevin writes in the relatively rare genre of satyrico-philosophical fantasy. He regards fantasy not only as entertainment, but also as a means for presenting an analytical and paradoxical view of reality. History and modernity, ideas of the West and the East, sublime thought and mean reality get entangled in Pelevin's stories. His anti-Utopias, pseudo-philosophical treatises and tangles of consciousness remind us of Borges.

His world is the realm of dreams, talking sheds, philosophising chickens, white collar workers who turn into werewolves, and so on. This world is borne out of the author's enthusiasm for information science, mysticism, metaphysics, knowledge of Chinese philosophy, and most importantly, his great pain for contemporary Russia.

TATIANA STYRKAS
Oxford

The Columbia History of Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century, edited by Joseph Held. *Columbia University Press, New York and Oxford, 1992, 435 pp. Maps, Bibliography, Index. £19. ISBN 023 107 6967.*

Since this book was sent to press, the subject of one of its chapters has dwindled to a rump and been wracked by civil wars, another has split in two, and the country that lies in the background of the whole story has ceased to exist altogether. Yet, while hazardous for publishers, these events if anything make the need for books which explain or at least place in context the paroxysms of Eastern Europe all the more pressing.

Despite occasional lapses of coverage – Hungary's twentieth century history is deemed to begin after the fall of Béla Kun's revolutionary 'Council' regime in 1919, and the slim chapter on Romania is rather lacking in detail on the political origins of the country's present ruling figures – this book will provide a convenient reference source. The comprehensive chronology of events will also be helpful to many readers in this respect. Moreover, the reader seeking the overall flavour of East European history in the present century will readily find it here.

A very bitter flavour it is, too, in these country-by-country accounts. From the title we gather that no rosy-hued ideal of a Central European 'Third Way' is to be presented. Instead, the region's character as a site for the playing out of the interests, often conceived in ignorance or vindictiveness, of the larger powers of Europe is amply revealed. But the victims in Eastern Europe have repeatedly turned into the victimisers, in a dreadful spiral of 'who–whom': this indigenous pattern of political failure, intra-regional strife, repression, war and genocide also receives unblinking attention. Indeed Stephen Fischer-Gelati provocatively argues in his introductory essay that neither external political pressure nor world economic conditions account for the distinctive history of the region: rather its own political immaturity has been most decisive. Conditions are no more propitious for democracy now, he concludes, than they were at the end of World War I.

Not all of the contributors are quite so pessimistic; nevertheless they all betray signs of writing in the 'morning after'. If nations are doomed to repeat their own history, then the prognosis for Eastern Europe is certainly bleak. But are they? Most of these essays give rise to that conclusion not through argument or analysis but simply by relentless cataloguing of disaster after disaster. Few of the contributors adhere to Andrzej Karbonski's injunction that 'a historian or political scientist asked to discuss political, economic, and social developments in a single country over several decades must first choose an approach likely to produce some interesting results.' To the extent that analysis is undertaken, it often amounts onto to loose invocations of 'tendencies' in the political culture. Both explanation and prediction are in consequence extremely vague.

Still, this one might argue is a weakness of political science as a whole, which just happens to be shown up rather starkly by the dramatic events discussed here. This book is not alone in not completely meeting our need for an explanation. The need for setting the drama in context, however, it certainly does meet. As such it is timely and useful, if not very uplifting.

STEPHEN WELCH
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Moscow Graffiti: Language and Subculture, by John Bushnell. *Unwin Hyman, Boston, 1990. 263 pp. £11.99 (paperback) ISBN 0 044 451 693.*

Any visitor to Moscow in the 1980s can hardly have failed to notice the proliferation of bizarre and apparently unintelligible scrawls on many of the public surfaces of the capital, with the notable exception of the metro. While the majority of observers attributed little significance to the appearance of such graffiti, John Bushnell detected something serious in the profusion of unofficial English, Russian and pictorial statements. From 1983 to 1988 he roamed the streets of Moscow and several other Soviet cities collecting graffiti wherever it was to be found and discussing its meaning with whoever was prepared to offer an opinion. The result of these labours is a lucid and fascinating book which not only explores the phenomenon of graffiti in Moscow as it emerged in the 1980s, but also offers important insights into the social revolution that began to stir in the Soviet Union from the late 1970s.

Bushnell begins his account of Moscow graffiti, and the subcultures that produced it, with a discussion of the form and function of graffiti in pre-revolutionary Russian society, particularly the tradition of religious and children's graffiti. In later chapters the author moves on to consider the emergence of graffiti in the contemporary period. Charting the development of a common graffiti argot – formed from Russian slang, English and pictographs – Bushnell demonstrates how this new language became an important vehicle of expression for a range of subculture groups – hippies, pacifists, punks, heavy metal fans and youth gangs. In one of the most interesting chapters, the author probes the structure and significance of the graffiti that appeared in the stairwell of Mikhail Bulgakov's onetime residence in Moscow.

While Bushnell's account of the development and form of graffiti is often fascinating – notably his description of the different types of graffiti employed by various groups and the way in which the English language and western symbols were incorporated into Russian graffiti – the most intriguing aspect of Bushnell's book is the way that he ties the appearance of graffiti and changes in its structure to the broader socio-cultural changes in Soviet society that dated from the late-Brezhnev period. Contradicting the 'stagnation' image of Soviet society in this period, the author shows how the appearance of graffiti was in fact the product of a high degree of social dynamism, in particular the decoupling from official norms and institutions of significant social groups – the so-called breakdown of 'value consensus' that accompanied the rise of a Soviet urban subculture.

In this pioneering work the only matter to be regretted is that Bushnell did not extend his analysis to the explosion of overtly political graffiti that appeared in the late 1980s. It is to be hoped that Bushnell returns to this subject in the near future.

N. J. MELVIN
Chatham House, London

Шотландский архитектор В. Гесте в Москве. *Формирование новой образной концепции Москвы — русского регулярного города на традиционной основе.*

Архитектор Татьяна Ручинская

(1) (The second part of this article will appear in December 1995).

Основной принцип художественного единства Москвы XVII века это подобие природы и градостроительства. Гидрография и рельеф вот два древних определяющих начала композиции города. К акваториям тяготела вся композиция городских и природных пространств Москвы. А основные высоты рельефа акцентрировались архитектурными сооружениями: как лес зрительно усиливал рельеф города, так архитектурные сооружения подчеркивали высокие точки рельефа: бровки долин, линий водоразделов и речные поймы.[1,2]

При столь сильном влиянии природы на композицию города лишь в конце XVIII века происходит осознание Москвы как природного феномена. Архитектор Николай Львов в конце XVIII века дал краткий очерк развития Москвы и образную характеристику города-живописного сада: «Неровность местоположения, по которому разбросаны в беспорядке разнообразные каменные великолепные древние и новые здания, перемешанные с хижинами и зеленью садов... составляют множество прекрасных видов... между коими почитается вид с Воробьевых гор, откуда весь город по течению Москвы-реки, между долин и холмов извивающийся, как цветник представляется».[3]

Немецкий философ Людвиг Гейнрих Конрад Якоб, приехавший в Россию в 1807 году, в главе об «Изящном садоводстве» перечисляет средства с помощью которых должен строиться сад. Это «такое искусственное разделение растений, чтобы из них выходила прекрасная игра цветов».[4] «В прекрасном саду надлежит всему быть расположенным так, чтобы все казалось произведением природы».[5] Как растения являлись главными компонентами сада, так и вертикали в объемно-пространственной структуре Москвы являлись канвой восприятия города. Так в начале XIX века была структурирована и развита образная концепция Москвы как живописного сада, построенного по образцу с природой, где природное начало, призвано играть структурную роль, а функция архитектурных сооружений состоит лишь в «украшении природы».

Первая четверть XIX века открыла новую страницу в истории планировки и застройки Москвы. «Пожар Москвы способствовал ей много к украшению,» — писал русский поэт А. Грибоедов. Очевидно в этом высказывании он имел в виду тот исторический рубеж, которым стал пожар Москвы, на пути формирования новой образной структуры города.

В этот период планировочную структуру города пытались осознавать планиметрически. Ведь в основе перепланировки Москвы после пожара 1812 г. лежала концепция классического города, совершенно иная, чем традиционно русская.

В преуведомлении литературного критика А. А. Писарева к книге, «Начертание художеств или правила в живописи, скульптуре и архитектуре с присовокуплением разных отрывков касательно до художеств, выбранных из лучших сочинений» сформулирована основная идея классического города: «В архитектуре должно стараться соблюсти всякую выгоду и приличность. Первая отвечает за прочность, сохранения здоровья и спокойствия, вторая заключает в себе единообразие правильность и простоту; по всему... могут быть присоединены вкус и украшения».[6]

Русский писатель Н. В. Гоголь в 1833 году, как бы оглядываясь назад на начало XIX в. повествует о том во что превратились русские города «с изменением художественного вкуса, когда стремление к «аттической простоте... обратилось в моду...». «Самые вредные направления в архитектуре внушила мысль о соразмерности... в отношении к окружающим его зданиям... Эта соразмерность состояла еще в том, чтобы строения, как бы велико не было в своем обьеме, но непременно, чтобы казалось малым. Дома старались делать как можно более похожими один на другого; но они более были похожи на сараи или казармы, нежели на веселые жилища людей. Совершенно гладкая их форма ничуть не принимала живости от маленьких правильных окон, которые в отношении по всему строению были похожи на зажмуренные глаза оттого новые города не имеют никакого вида; они так правильны, так гладки, так монотонны, что прошедши одну улицу, уже чувствуешь скуку и отказываешься от желания заглянуть в другую. Это ряд стен и больше ничего».[7]

Становится ясно, что городское пространство в русском классицизме понималось не как естественная среда для построек, являющаяся органической частью всего изменчивого природного окружения, а как «материал» которому надлежало приобрести структуру, подчиненную законам предельно ясных и стабильных, в идеале вечных геометрических форм. В этом аспекте сложившееся представление о регулярности в композиции города, получившей в России уже с начала XVIII века значение официальной доктрины, стало естественной и неотьемлимой частью того градостроительного идеала, который лежал еще в основе преобразовательной деятельности Петра I.

После пожара 1812 для создания проекта реконструкции Москвы требовался опытный архитектор-планировщик. Выбор Александра I пал на главного архитектора Царского Села В. Гесте,[8] приехавшего из Шотландии.

В. Гесте предлагал на традиционную радиально-кольцевую схему Москвы наложить идеальную планировочную решетку, состоящую из сети главных площадей вокруг Кремля и второстепенных регулярных площадей, образованных на месте пересечения основных магистралей города из которых он выделил вьездные, рыночные и церковные площади. Гесте оперировал круглыми, овальными, квадратными геометрическими формами площадей. Приехав в Россию из Шотландии, Гесте хорошо представлял значение этих форм в градостроительных композициях Британии и старался применить их в проекте перепланировки Москвы.

Особенно В. Гесте занимала тема круглых площадей в Москве. Ведь круглая форма площадей была характерна для английской планировочной традиции и В. Гесте мечтал воплотить эту идею в новой планировке Москвы. Тема круга впервые была представлена в английском горде Бате в композиции площади Королевы, которая была спроектирована в 1729 г. Джоном Вудом. Данная композиция была оригиналом всех последующих круглых площадей от Бата до Пиккадили, от Эдинбурга до Москвы.

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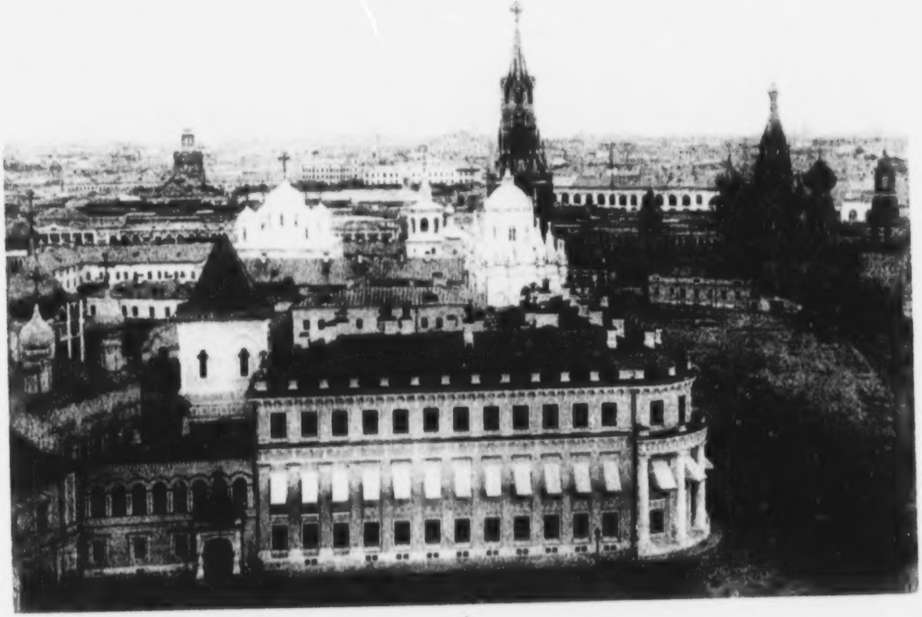
Список иллюстрации

- I Панорама Москвы с колокольни Ивана Великого, сер. XIX века. Архив музея Архитектуры имени Щусева.
- II. Площади вокруг Кремля и Китая города по проекту В. Гесте и Комиссии Строений.

1. Моховая площадь.
2. Охотный ряд площадь.
3. Театральная площадь.
4. Никольская площадь.
5. Ильинская площадь.
6. Варварская площадь.



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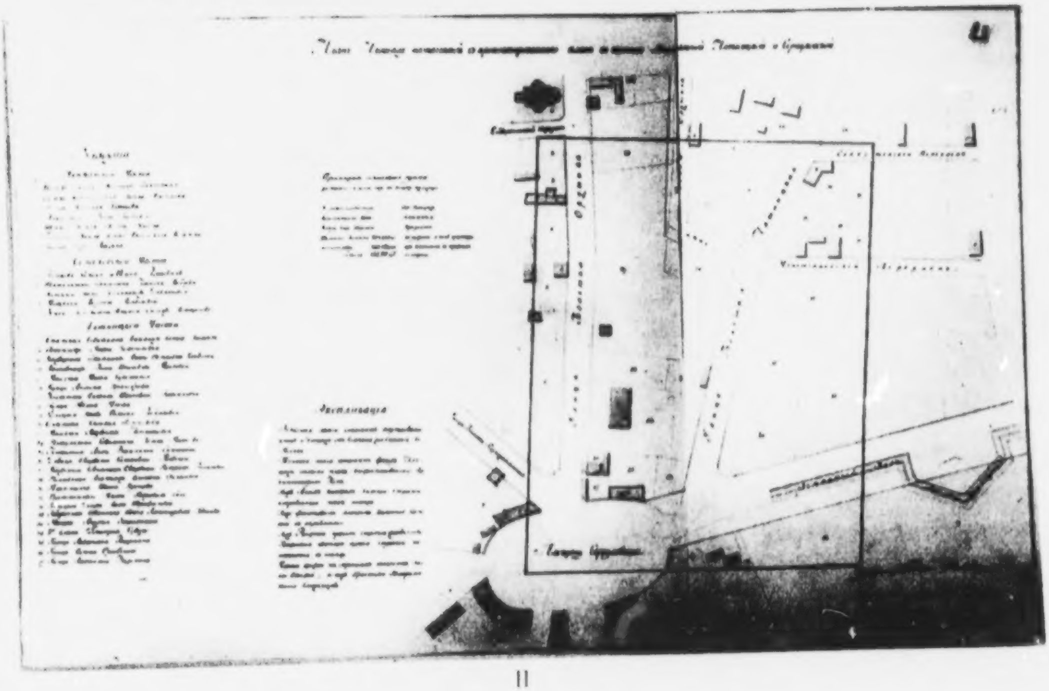

II

Notes for contributors

Contributions

The Editorial Board welcomes previously unpublished articles which will further the cause of the learning and teaching of Russian language and culture.

Contributions are expected to fall into one of these categories:

a) Articles of about 3000 words.

b) Brief (up to 1000 words) items of information, notes on innovative practice, discussion points (including those arising from previous articles).

c) Reviews usually of about 300 to 400 words (longer reviews or articles may be accepted). The guidelines below are intended to help contributors:

Presentation

Articles should be submitted either on computer disk (plus hard copy) or typewritten (daisywheel output preferred).

a) Computer disk: Copy is particularly welcome on floppy disk accompanied by printout. Send one file in the formal of your word processor and another in ASCII form (plain text file).

English text can be accepted in any of the following disk formats:

Apple Macintosh.
Amstrad PCW 3" (not 3.5").
IBM compatible 5.25" or 3.5" (latter preferred).
Acorn A3000/Archimedes range in MS-DOS format only.
BBC 40 or 80 track.

Russian text (or Russian and English mixed) is readily acceptable on Amstrad PCW 3" or Apple Macintosh disk (in the latter case depending on the Cyrillic font used) LocoScript PC files may also be acceptable.

Other permutations and formats may be accepted by arrangement with the Editor. Disks will be returned to contributors when no longer required.

b) Typewritten: Type with double spacing. Typewriters or word processors should be set at 44 characters (the equivalent of the line length), as this will help the Editor plan the arrangement of the journal. Handwritten Russian words amid predominantly English text (typewritten or word processed) are also acceptable if written in a clear hand. Please send two copies of the article and keep one for yourself. One copy of the article should be a 'clean' original (i.e. with no corrections and not a photocopy) to enable the printer to scan it. If there are any changes or corrections these should be made on the second copy.

Give your article one short title (not a title and a subtitle), and divide it up with brief subheadings.

Give full references for all sources quoted. Journal policy is to put these at the end of the article and not at the bottom of the page.

Illustrations

Photographs are particularly welcome, as are charts, diagrams and tables where relevant. Please send these at the same time as your article.

Timing

In order to be considered for including in the following issue, articles should normally be sent in by 1st January and 1st July. Where topicality is of the essence, shorter deadlines are possible by negotiations with the Editor.

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РУСИСТИКА

December 1994 No. 10

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DECEMBER 1994 No 10

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РУСИСТИКА

The Russian Journal of the Association for Language Learning

Special tributes

Starting Russian

Sinister sisters

JUNE 1995
No 11

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A message from the Chair of the Russian Language Committee

This is a very special issue of *Русистика* in that it is dedicated to Sheelagh Graham, Terry Wade and Marcus Wheeler, all former editors of the journal, and who have all made outstanding contributions to Russian teaching and learning. We wish them all a very happy retirement.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank all those who responded to the 'flyer' sent out with the last issue of *Русистика*. Your responses provided very useful information for the Russian Committee and enabled us to prioritise the issues you feel are important. At the Committee's meeting in February a number of important decisions were taken about these issues; these included:

- plans for the publication of materials to help Russian teachers make the case for Russian to pupils, parents, headteachers and governors
- plans to ensure that members receive constant updates about the availability of teaching materials (via *Language World* and *Русистика*)
- consideration of all possible means of reducing the cost of INSET days and weekends.

On the basis of your responses (and of comments made at the Birmingham Russian Weekend in November 1994), a range of themes and speakers has been selected for two INSET days (October 1995 and June 1996) and for *Language World* in 1996.

Clearly, one of the major concerns of our members is speedy access to information; we hope that the *Доска* section of this edition will be helpful in answering some of those questions. To facilitate the response to queries we have committee members with responsibility for materials and methodology, professional development, policy, branches and exchanges. Please don't hesitate to ask us if you think we can help – you will find our names inside the front cover and can be contacted through the Association's office.

Daphne West

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Special Tributes

This is a special edition of *Rusistika* in which we wish to mark in some small way the work of three outstanding British Russianists. By the end of 1995 Professor Terence Wade, Professor Marcus Wheeler and Sheelagh Duffin-Graham will all have retired from 'active service' to Russian studies. I am sure that readers of *Rusistika* will wish to join the ALL Russian Committee as we extend our warmest thanks to them for their extraordinary and tireless efforts to promote Russian over the years. All three served as editors of the former A.T.R. journal. It has been my great privilege to know all three personally; their remarkable contributions to the field of Russian studies are expressed in the short tributes which follow. Many people wished to contribute to this special edition. Restrictions of space have meant that a couple of these articles will now appear in December 1995.

We wish all three a happy *and* productive retirement.

Editor

Professor Terence Wade

I first met Terry Wade in 1979 at a meeting in his home of the West of Scotland kruzhok. One item on the agenda was a review of that year's Scottish Exam Board Russian papers. As a beginning teacher of Russian in a local school, I felt somewhat in awe of the Head of a University department but was soon to discover that Terry gave all Russian teachers their place and wanted to encourage and support them in every way. He did this with a total lack of pretentiousness and with great good humour. Over the years that followed, he helped to run a Russian club for pupils in the Washington Street Arts Centre in Glasgow, gave talks in schools, worked for many months with teachers to prepare Communicative Russian Materials, CRAMP, organised Sixth Year Studies Literature seminars in his home for the benefit of teachers and encouraged us to attend kruzhok meetings and Scottish Slavonic Seminars. For us he was a link with a more specialised world and he made it easy for us to participate. He gave many a fascinating talk to the kruzhok and showed warm appreciation of other speakers. On nights when meetings took place in comfortable living rooms, he still had the most pertinent questions to ask the speaker at the end.

I would like to report that Russian teaching was in good heart in this area but the contrary is true. With French, German and other languages now being taught in many Primary schools and the requirement in Strathclyde Region that all pupils should do four years of the same language to Standard Grade, minority languages are being squeezed hard. The heady days of Scotland's first school exchanges with Russia, less than six years ago, now seem to belong to another era. Just when Russia is opening up and there is every reason to teach its language and culture, the opportunities for doing so are diminishing. The talk is of Scotvec Modules being the most feasible way of keeping a Russian foot in the door but the position of Modules in the curriculum can be insecure and subject to short term change. Meanwhile qualified Russianists continue to train as teachers but whether they will get the chance to teach is by no means certain.

I know I speak for all West of Scotland Russian teachers, past and present, in saying that we have been lucky to be practitioners during Terry Wade's time at the University of Strathclyde.

Joyce James, Boclair Academy, Glasgow

Terry Wade retires this year from his post of Professor of Modern Languages at Strathclyde University, where he has successfully shepherded the Russian section through all the vicissitudes of the last fifteen years. He will, however, be better known to readers of this journal for his numerous other activities which have in one way or another furthered our profession. He was for many years a leading light in the Association of Teachers of Russian, editing the *Newsletter* and the *Journal of Russian Studies* and serving a term as Chairman. During his period of office he was responsible for the cautious supervision of the merger with other bodies to form the Association for Language Learning, and he has continued to act as doughty defender of Russian interests in the new organisation. On the international stage, he has been an active participant in the affairs of MAPRIaL and for a number of years has been a member of its Presidium.

Terry is, of course, no less well known for his conference papers and publications devoted to a wide range of topics connected with modern Russian grammar and vocabulary. These culminated in the appearance of his *Comprehensive Russian Grammar*, which has already become a standard work, and which in the English-speaking world (and beyond) is clearly going to be an essential reference work for any serious learner of Russian for many years to come. I am sure all readers of *Rusistika* will wish Terry a long and happy retirement.

J. A. Dunn, University of Glasgow

Sheelagh Duffin-Graham

Sheelagh Graham has written on a variety of topics in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Russian literature, including, on several occasions, Anna Akhmatova, as well as such relatively neglected figures as A. K. Tolstoi (on whose lyric poetry she produced the first monograph in any language) and Aleksandr Tarasov-Rodionov. She is also editor of the Proceedings in twentieth-century Russian literature from the Fourth World Congress of Soviet and East European Studies, held in Harrogate in 1990.

The main subject of Sheelagh Graham's research, however, has been Nikolai Gumilev, on whom, despite formidable difficulties of access, she amassed valuable unpublished materials over a long period of time, both through repeated, patient visits to Soviet archives, and through her numerous personal contacts: especially in Moscow and Leningrad; in Kishinev, with Gumilev's second son, Orest Nikolaevich Vysotskii; and with his distinguished émigré editor, G. P. Struve. Much of this material appeared in her jointly edited *N. Gumilev. Neizdannoe i nesobrannoe* (Paris: YMCA Press). The book was published to coincide with the centenary of Gumilev's birth in 1986, at a time when he was still proscribed in Russia; and it has been widely drawn upon in academic editions published there since his rehabilitation. Gumilev's centenary was also marked in the West (but not in his homeland) by a first international conference devoted to his work – which Sheelagh Graham organised single-handedly at Ross Priory in Scotland. Her editing of the excellent Conference Proceedings marked a further significant advance in the serious study of the poet; and it seems fitting, after her many endeavours on his part abroad, that one of her last conference papers and publications before retirement should have been at the first international conference on Gumilev to be held in Russia, in St. Petersburg in 1991.

M. Basker, University of Bristol

Professor M. C. C. Wheeler

Marcus Wheeler is best known to recent generations of anglophone Russianists as the author of *The Oxford Russian–English Dictionary*: the first reliable and comprehensive western-produced reference work of its type, which, followed in 1984 by P. S. Falla's companion English–Russian volume, went through two editions and various impressions, from its first appearance in hardback in 1972 until its last appearance in paperback 20 years later, before both volumes were subsumed into the revised *Oxford Russian Dictionary* in 1993. But the dictionary, on which he had laboured for many years, in the days when the card-index stood in for the word-processor, is only one – albeit the major – string to Marcus Wheeler's bow. He started the Department of Slavonic Studies at Queen's University, Belfast, in 1967, building it into a highly successful research department in the days before research brought in the money. The department at Queen's, happily, still survives, although it was forced to contract, thanks to a combination of circumstances to which crude economics, falling student numbers and the 'Troubles' all contributed. On the external administrative front, Marcus Wheeler formed the Irish Slavists' Association in the mid-1970s, an organisation which very much still flourishes and which gave birth to the annual periodical *Irish Slavonic Studies* (published from Belfast from 1980 until 1989, when it transferred south to Dublin), as well as being the mainstay of the Belfast Russian Circle of the GB–USSR Association. As a teacher, his survey courses of Russian and Soviet history achieved well-deserved popularity and admiration, as did his innovative special option for honours students in Soviet Foreign Policy. As a scholar, he is equally at home in Polish studies, publishing on Mickiewicz and Joseph Conrad, as well as on a range of Russian linguistic, historical and literary topics. May we (slightly belatedly!) wish him a long, happy and productive retirement!

Neil Cornwell (Professor of Russian and Comparative Literature, University of Bristol; member of the Department of Slavonic Studies, Queen's University, Belfast, 1973–1987)

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Sisters on the sinister side: Gumilev as critic of women writers

Catriona Kelly University of London

For various reasons, both national and international in origin, modernism did not provide Russian women poets with a particularly congenial working atmosphere. Though Russian modernists did not generally argue directly, as some of their Romantic predecessors had, that women were congenitally incapable of writing poetry, they valued the 'masculine pen' just as highly, and their manifestos directly opposed vigorous masculinity to feeble femininity. The Acmeists were no exception to this general rule, with male poets given the role of bellicose discoverers and namers of the outside world, while women poets are left to depict what ordinarily passes for manhood in contemporary Russian society. And, as Sheelagh Graham herself has demonstrated, difference in gender played an important part in shaping the most familiar *personae* in the poetry of Gumilev and the early Akhmatova: the 'Christian officer and gentleman, the Russian patriot, the poet-martyr' versus the 'beautiful young woman [. . .] exercis[ing] sexual power over men, using if necessary the wiles of the harem'.[1]

For all that, though, the effects of modernism on women's poetry were by no means wholly negative; women were not always forced into 'femininity' in the most conventional sense. As I argued in my *History of Russian Women's Writing 1820–1992*, the ideologies of Acmeism and the different brands of Futurism, with their emphasis on *slovo kak takovoe* (the word in/for itself), could act as important correctives to the mystical Symbolists' sometimes sentimental cultivation of 'the feminine voice', irrespective of how that voice actually chose to express itself.[2] No small part of this was due to the high standards of poetry criticism that prevailed after 1910. During Russian Romanticism, elegance of expression is the standard criterion of assessment for women's poetry, and reviews of it rarely rise above commonplaces.[3] This was no longer the case by 1900. Certainly, there was often a patronising note in reviews (take those of Bryusov, for instance, who managed to alienate all the major women poets of his day). But at least women's work was generally now treated to rigorous examination, rather than vituperation or indulgent flattery, as before.

This is perhaps particularly true of Gumilev's criticism, such as his *Pis'ma o russkoi poezii*. As Pamela Davidson has shown in her discussion of Gumilev's Ivanov reviews, the poet was by no means always free of bias.[4] However, his necessarily compressed observations on women poets are on the whole accurate, scrupulous, and remarkably free from fatuous generalisations about 'femininity'. This is not only true of his famous comments on Tsvetaeva and Akhmatova's early work, where there is in any case an element of Q.E.D., since these reviews did so much to make the reputations of the two poets. (Though even here it is impossible not to admire the acuity of Gumilev's observations on *Chetki*, which combine respect for Akhmatova's natural authority with sensitivity to structural and technical limitations, especially in the area of stanza composition.) More telling is the fact that Gumilev's remarks still seem judicious in instances where they have not done as much to establish reputation. The early Elizaveta Kuz'mina-Karavaeva is a poet of one theme, her poetry made monotonous by youthful romanticism and melancholy; the most interesting aspect of *Skifskie cherepki* is the title. Mariya Veselkova-

Kil'shtets' collection *Staraya usad'ba* charms because of its subject, but is slight and rather dilettantish. 'Sergei' (actually Vera) Gedroits' poetry is so bad one wonders why she bothers publishing it; vanity can certainly be ruled out as a motive. (In fact, Gedroits was later – fortunately – to give up writing her genuinely dreadful poems, and to find a new path as the author of remarkable fictionalised autobiographies.) Gippius' poems are memorably described as 'so often lacking in colour, imagery or movement that they resemble huge pearls'. Lyubov' Stolitsa's work is 'courageous, powerful, and finished', but with a kind of 'lisping lubriciousness [syusyukayushchee sladostrastie]'. Sofiya Dubnova is an avid reader of Blok, rather than a poet. Equally convincing are Gumilev's enthusiasms: he was cleverer than his literary colleagues in recognising that Nadezhda Teffi's collection *Sem' ognei* (Seven Precious Stones – dismissed by Bryusov in the words 'these jewels are all paste') was a clever book and a witty one, a self-conscious manipulation of Symbolist masks, and identified the talent of Elena Tager (writing as 'Anna Regatt') at a very early stage of her career.[5]

This is not to say that Gumilev's comments invariably avoid superficial categorisation. His comment, when discussing 'Anna Regatt', that 'Akhmatova has appropriated almost the entire sphere of female experience, so that every contemporary poet has to pass through her work' is self-evidently absurd even in terms of such crude indicators as age and class, let alone of the possible range of female emotion (anger and vengefulness, for instance, being noticeably absent from the early Akhmatova). But the remarkable thing is that Gumilev recognises the need for many different types of women poet – they are not all expected to write like Akhmatova – and that he sets such high standards for their work.

All the more remarkable, perhaps, since Gumilev was not one of the various early twentieth-century male poets who actively furthered the careers of women writers (not even taking much of a part in promoting Anna Akhmatova or the other woman poet with whom he was romantically involved, Elizaveta Vasil'eva, better known as 'Cherubina de Gabriak'). On the face of it, Gumilev had no women followers as distinguished as those of Vyacheslav Ivanov (Adelaida Gertsyk, Vera Merkur'eva and Marina Tsvetaeva) or Maksimilian Voloshin (Elizaveta Vasil'eva), or Aleksandr Blok (Akhmatova, Kuz'mina-Karavaeva, Dubnova, and just about every schoolgirl in St Petersburg). Certainly, Gumilev did much, at a later stage, to encourage the career of Irina Odoevtseva, who prided herself on being the only woman poet in the re-formed Tsekh Poetov. But Odoevtseva, whilst not an incompetent poet (in the vein of, say, Gedroits), wrote work that is (in my view) almost devoid of originality and interest.[7]

Thus far, then, Gumilev's poetic associates seem to bear out the Gumilev of the manifestos, rather than the Gumilev of the reviews. There is, though, an intriguing indication that another woman poet, Anna Prismanova (1892–1960), was briefly associated with the Union of Poets in 1921, not long before his death and her emigration to Paris. She is said to have been invited by Gumilev himself to join the studio.

There is only one source for this story, a brief memoir of Prismanova published in 1990.[7] Data on the poet's life are scanty and unreliable (even her date of birth is sometimes given as 1898); according to some accounts, it was Moscow, rather than Petrograd, that she moved to after leaving her birthplace in Libau (now Liepaja), Latvia, which would rule out any Gumilev connection. However, one hopes that the story is true. Prismanova was unlike Odoevtseva in two ways: she was no beauty, but she was a genuine poet. Her work, moreover, has the solid technique allied to exact observation of the physical world that are associated with the practice (if not always the theory) of the chief Acmeists. Prismanova devoted some of her best poems to her birthplace, a small port not conveniently aestheticised as Petersburg had been, but of which she wrote hauntingly, in a manner both realia-heavy and self-consciously formal, with a strong sense of visual geometry. In her poem 'The Triangle', for example, she uses the 'triangle' of the title not only as a symbol for an emigre poet's triangulation of desire (childhood seen from middle-aged exile both as point of origin and as point of nostalgia), but as a concrete image for the features of the city – cliffs, warehouses, seagulls, fish-heads. The effect resembles semi-figurative modernist painting, with Prismanova's curious lexis and syntax (for the 'clumsiness' of which she was reproached by some contemporary critics), her insistent use of alliteration, taking the place of *impasto*. Prismanova's idiosyncratic eye constantly delights: the child's sailor-suit turned to a 'tricolor' by the rain, Prismanova riding her cardboard horse through 'snaky' flats. But there are many verbal pleasures here too: the church spires as a 'tripod' of the heavens, the sea with its 'three-tiered waves that knock you from your feet as rulers do', and that are also seen more fancifully as the 'trident' of Neptune; the 'murderous length' of the rains in the final stanza, an image playing on the 'knight's sword' of the sun mentioned in stanza two. Densely argued, elaborately artificed, but also the product of a strong, though sublimated, sensuality, 'The Triangle' is a remarkable piece, which answers all Gumilev's most stringent demands on those he reviewed and taught, and so I am letting it stand here as a monument (whether so intended by Prismanova or not) to his work as a critic of women's writing:

Обычно угловат над морем мыс,
кончается углом рисунок лодок,
краеугольна печь рыбачьих мыз,
и треугольны головы селедок.

Глаз маяка, от солнца золотой,
слепит рыбачий глаз, как рыцарь
шпагой.
Широкий пляж с янтарной мелкотой
распластан между дюнами и влагой.

Почти забыты мною латыши,
остыла я к воде и к водолазу,
но первый угол здания души
я прислоню к либавскому лабазу.

В окне дитя, схватившись за косяк,
в матроске сине-красной с белым
бантом,
висело как живой трехцветный стяг,
воскресным увлекаясь музыкантом.

К несчастью, музыкальный город был
настроен на дождливую погоду,
и чайки, снизив треугольник крыл,
зигзагами предсказывали воду.

Но вдоль квартир, имевших вид змеи,
картонная меня возила лошадь,
а в сквере ноги быстрые мои
сверкали в Треугольника калошах.

Подняв три церкви равной высоты
(о, свод с тремя небесными ногами!),
казался город мирной суеты
треножником, стоящим над снегами.

Морской старик с соленой бородой
тремя зубцами бился там о гавань.
Был треуголен парус над водой,
в которой плотник Петр Великий
плавал.

С убийственной длиною шли дожди,
стремительно шел ветр, влагой полный,
и сногсшибательные, как вожди,
шли к берегу трехъярусные волны.[8]

NOTES

1. Sheelagh Graham, '*Amor fati*: Akhmatova and Gumilev', in Wendy Rosslyn (ed.), *The Speech of Unknown Eyes: Akhmatova's Readers on Her Poetry*, Nottingham, 1990, pp. 247–56. On women and Western European modernism, see especially the pugnacious study by Susan Gilbert and Sandra Gubar, *No Man's Land: The Place of the Woman Writer in The Twentieth Century*, 3 vols., New Haven, 1988–94, esp. vol. 1.
2. Catriona Kelly, *A History of Russian Women's Writing, 1820–1992*, Oxford, 1994, pp. 152–80.
3. On criticism of women's poetry during Romanticism and after, see especially Diana Greene, 'Nineteenth-Century Women Poets: Critical Reception Versus Self-Definition', in Toby W. Clyman and Diana Greene (eds.), *Women Writers in Russian Literature*, Westport, Connecticut, 1994, pp. 95–110.

4. Pamela Davidson, 'Gumilev's Reviews of Viacheslav Ivanov's *Cor Ardens*: Criticism as a Tool in the Polemics of Literary Succession', in Faith Wigzell (ed.), *Russian Writers on Russian Writers*, Oxford, 1994, pp. 51–65.
5. A convenient recent edition of Gumilev's criticism, with name index, is *Pis'ma o russkoi poezii*, Moscow, 1990 (item nos. from this edition cited in brackets, preceded by the letter nos. in Roman figures.). The remarks on Akhmatova come from 'Pis'mo' no. XXIV (item 38); on Kuz'mina-Karavaeva, no. XVI (item 24); on Veselkova-Kil'shtet, no. XV (item 23); on Gedroits, no. VII (item 15); on Gippius, no. IV (item 12), on Stolitsa, no. XII (item 20), on Dubnova, no. IX-X (item 18), on Teffi no. V (item 13). The review of Tager was originally published in *Zhizn' iskusstva*, 1st November 1918: it is item 42 of the above edition. For Bryusov's review of Teffi, originally published in *Russkaia mysl'* 1910, issue 8, see *Sobranie sochinenii v 7 tomakh*, vol. 6, Moscow, 1975, p. 320. Justin Doherty's new study *The Acmeist Movement in Russian Poetry: Culture and the Word*, Oxford, 1995, which incorporates material on Gumilev's criticism, was published after this article had gone to press.
6. It seems only fair to point out that some critics have a higher opinion of Odoevtseva's poetry than I do. See for example Ella Bobrow in Marina Ledkovsky, Charlotte Rosenthal and Mary Zirin (eds.), *Dictionary of Russian Woman Writers*, Westport, Connecticut, 1994, pp. 471–4.
7. See V. Perel'muter, 'Neuslyshannyi golos', *Ogonek*, 1990, issue 31, p. 31. Interestingly enough, one of the only references to Prismanova in anyone's memoirs is in Odoevtseva's *Na beregakh Seny*, Paris, 1983, pp. 126–9, which claims that Tsvetaeva spent her last evening in Paris in the company of Prismanova and her husband Aleksandr Ginger.
8. Anna Prismanova, *Bliznetsy*, Paris, 1946, p. 52. (The poem is republished in Prismanova, *Sobranie sochinenii*, ed. Petra Couvée, The Hague, 1990, pp. 67–8.)

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'Will the real Aleksandr Zinov'ev please stand up?'

Prof. Michael Kirkwood
University of Glasgow

Between 1976 and 1986 Zinov'ev wrote a string of books and innumerable articles in which he described in exhaustive detail his vision of communist society. More than any other writer he laid bare its defects. Between 1986 and the present he has written another string of books and articles and given innumerable interviews in which he describes in detail his derisive attitude to the policies of Gorbachev and El'tsin. If in his earlier work he appears to be an energetic anti-communist, despite his protestations to the contrary, by 1993 he appears to be just as energetically in favour of the system he so mercilessly exposed. How do we explain this paradox? Is he merely *homo sovieticus* in reverse? That is, does he merely reverse his views, like a great many of his countrymen, only in the opposite direction? After all, he himself has acknowledged that he will argue a particular point of view, only to reverse it when he feels like it, out of a spirit of 'contrariness'.[1]

Part of the answer is to be found in Zinov'ev's changing attitude to the West. He left the Soviet Union in 1978. Much of his earlier work was written while he was still in Moscow. His view of the West, while well-informed, was not based on personal experience. In the early works he regarded the West as the greatest defender of civilisation. At the same time he regarded Soviet communism as civilisation's greatest enemy. Sixteen years of experience of the West have disillusioned him.[2] Moreover, his enforced absence from the Soviet Union has led him arguably to idealise it in his memory. Whereas before he argued that Western anti-Communist propaganda would lose out to Soviet anti-Western propaganda,[3] now he regards the West as having orchestrated an overwhelmingly successful campaign against the Soviet Union, aided and abetted by 'traitors' (his word) like Gorbachev and El'tsin, Iakovlev and Shevardnadze. But whereas Stalin was prepared to drop communist ideology during the Second World War and appeal to Russian patriotism, Zinov'ev now regards *communism* as the salvation of Russia, and its demise he regards as a defeat for his native land. Russia has now been 'occupied' by the 'enemy' and the Russian people face extinction as a great historical nation. The West has triumphed.

This has resulted in Zinov'ev's having to swallow two bitter pills. The first relates to the collapse of a system whose demise he had practically ruled out.[4] The second is his perception of defeat. Zinov'ev seems to have swallowed the first pill effortlessly. Not surprisingly, given Zinov'ev's character, the second has stuck in his craw. What, then, is interesting is not so much the fact of Zinov'ev's radical change of opinion as the evolution of that change. The rest of this paper will seek to chart that evolution by reference to his writings during the period since the advent of Gorbachev to power in March 1985.

His position on events between 1985 and 1992 have been set out in a series of books and articles, the following of which I regard as key:

(a) *Gorbachevizm*:[5] in which he discusses the threat of crisis; it covers broadly the period to which Geoffrey Hosking has alluded as 'Perestroika Mark 1'.[6] Zinov'ev completed the manuscript in 1987;

(b) *Katastroika. Istoriia perestroiki v Partgrade*:[7] a hilarious account of how perestroika works in practice Soviet conditions with *homo sovieticus* as the enactor. It was published in 1990. Here Zinov'ev shows the first sign of doubt that the Soviet system will survive and talks about a real crisis;

(c) *Konets kommunizma?*: written as a counter blast to Z. Brzezinski's *The Grand Failure*.[8] The earliest version of this work appeared in Italian in 1990 under the title *Il superpotere in URSS* with a subtitle 'Il communismo e veramento tramontato?'.[9] A later version, similar but not exactly the same, appeared in French.[10] A Russian version under the title *Konets kommunizma* (now without the question mark) was published in 1994 in a single volume with *Kommunizm kak real'nost'*.[11]

(d) *Smuta v Partgrade:* published in 1992 in a French translation.[12]

Gorbachevizm

This book appeared about the same time as Michel Tatu's book *Gorbatchev. L'URSS va-t-elle changer?*[13] A comparison of the two suggests to this writer at least that Zinov'ev's is the more revealing. From the beginning Zinov'ev was scathing about Mikhail Gorbachev, regarding him merely as a careerist who made his way under Brezhnev by suppressing dissidents. His career in agriculture was undistinguished and he was mainly interested in power. Zinov'ev attributes no altruism to Gorbachev whatsoever. According to him Gorbachev was an Andropov protégé following the Andropov line as regards relations with the West. Furthermore, he despises what he regards as Gorbachev's incomprehension of the mechanisms of his own society and is merciless in his criticisms of Gorbachev's policies with respect to glasnost', his anti-alcohol campaign and his plans for Perestroika.

But beyond his criticisms of Gorbachev on a personal level, Zinov'ev makes several observations of a quasi-theoretical nature which are of interest:

(a) the Soviet system was built by pre-Soviet people ('dosovetskie liudi'). Real 'sovetskie liudi' have had more than their fill of ideas about progress ('syty po gorlu ideaiami progressa'); the system is organised in such a way that dynamism does not pay – dynamic people tend to fall foul of the all-powerful conservative majority;[14]

(b) there exists a 'ceiling of efficacy' or 'coefficient of effectiveness' beyond which progress is impossible. This ceiling in communist society is low in the economic sphere. However, Zinov'ev argues that in the social sphere the potential for development in communist society is very great;[15]

(c) with regard to the need for profitability in Soviet enterprises (rentabel'nost') Zinov'ev argues that self-financing (samofinansirovanie) is a helpless attempt to solve non-economic problems by economic methods. A big problem for Gorbachev was that even the idea of unemployment undermines one of the most attractive features of communism, namely guaranteed employment. Since all enterprises are unprofitable, any plants that are shut down will be in unimportant areas of the economy (i.e. not in heavy industry, military industry, agriculture);[16]

(d) on the problem of decentralisation Zinov'ev notes that both centralising and decentralising tendencies are dynamic processes which are present in all societies. In the Soviet Union the centralising tendency was stronger. Zinov'ev argues that Gorbachev's policy of legalising such decentralised economic activity as already existed could only lead to greater criminality/illegality and also to greater economic chaos.[17]

At the time of writing *Gorbachevizm* Zinov'ev had no reason to doubt that the Soviet system would survive what he considered to be Gorbachev's unscientific attempts to reform it. The system was, for Zinov'ev (and others) essentially unamenable to reform. And as late as 1988 Zinov'ev still regards the Soviet Union as a major threat facing the West.[18]

Katastroika

If *Gorbachevizm* took the form of a volume of individual 'articles', *Katastroika* is cast in the form of a work of literature, albeit of a typically Zinov'evan kind. That is to say that it is a collection of short texts patterned in various ways to produce what we might call a latter-day chronicle. In this work Zinov'ev lampoons Russians mercilessly.

The tone of *Katastroika* is very different from that of *Gorbachevizm*. An English translation of *Katastroika* exists, but it falls foul of the problem of Zinov'ev's use of Russian – the connotative Soviet nuances are absent in English and the work therefore loses much of its bite. In Russian it is very funny and in my opinion is the best thing he has written since *Moi dom – moia chuzhbina*, published in 1982.[19] Running through *Katastroika* are four main themes: the role of history; the untrustworthiness of comrades, the power of imitation; the impossibility of grafting Western institutions onto the Soviet system.

The role of history

Zinov'ev used to dismiss history as an inadequate tool for analysing society, giving pride of place to sociology. However, beginning with *Katastroika* he revises his opinion and gives much more weight to the proposition that historical factors shape contemporary institutions. He cannot, however, resist having a dig at Marxist historiography, and projects backwards, as it were, Marxist historicism. The action takes place in Partgrad, a provincial Russian town that has always sought to rename itself to curry favour with the current leadership. In its time it has been called Kniazev (after the Kievan Prince Oleg), Tsarev (when Ivan the Terrible took the title of Tsar), then Trotskii, Tukhashevskii, Ezhov, Dzhugashviligrad, etc. In honour of the CPSU Andropov ordered it to rename itself Partgrad. But it had always been 'progressive'. Slogans at various periods in the history of Partgrad included the following: 'Long live feudalism – the bright future of all mankind!', 'Forward to the victory of serfdom!', 'We will pay five years' tribute in four years!'

Zinov'ev often draws a distinction between what he calls the 'froth' of history (pena) and its deep currents (glubynnye potoki). What we would regard as the 'Stoff' of history, i.e. actual historical events (battles, reigns, policies, rebellions, the October Revolution, War Communism, collectivisation, etc.) he regards as 'pena'. The 'deep currents' are the unseen processes whereby social systems come into being and are maintained. Stalinism, for example, was more the result of 'glubynnye potoki' than 'pena'.

In relation to Soviet history he adds the dimension of ritual. Discussing the nature of 'progress' in Partgrad he offers the following description of history under Soviet power:

> But everything that has been said above about the Soviet period relates to only a tiny part of the real history of Partgrad, moreover a part of tenth-rate importance. That was merely the froth of Partgrad history, not its deep current. The latter consists in what might be called the day-to-day life of the mass of the population, namely the different procedures, rituals and undertakings which have become a familiar element of people's everyday lives: becoming an October Child, then a Pioneer, then a member of the Komsomol; October Children and Pioneer meetings, Komsomol meetings, joining the Party, Party meetings, community service; general meetings and meetings of the trade union; public meetings and demonstrations; propaganda circles and seminars; Komsomol and Party schools, universities of Marxism–Leninism; meetings of the organs and administration at all levels, beginning with the primary collectives and finishing with the highest organs of power in the region; management meetings, instructions, monitoring exercises.[20]

That, for Zinov'ev, is what Soviet history is – an endless round of ritual. If you add up the number of meetings at the various levels enumerated above, multiplied by the number of localities in the Soviet Union, multiplied by the number of years during which the Soviet Union existed, says Zinov'ev, you will get a sense of the type of progress achieved in Partgrad during the years of Soviet power.

On the matter of rewriting history Zinov'ev has firm views. He is absolutely contemptuous of those who seek to denigrate the whole Soviet experience. By his own lights he has always been an impartial analyst of communist society, describing it in terms which he regards as value free – a claim which is greatly vitiated by the obvious fact that much of his work is a merciless satire of that system. In *Katastroika*, however, there is a passage which suggests something of Zinov'ev's own feelings, even thought the passage in question purports to be from a manifesto written by the neo-stalinist youth of Partgrad who remain true to communist ideals:

> Has everything that our country has suffered merely been a dreadful historical failure?! Did our forefathers go to the gallows, to prison, to exile and hard labour in vain?! Was the shot fired by the Aurora really a mistake?! Did our grandfathers die fighting in the Civil War for nothing?! Did they freeze, go hungry, sacrifice what was dearest to them in this life and life itself for nothing?! Were the 5-year plans, the 'great projects', the heroism and the enthusiasm of the masses merely a waste of time?! Was it for nothing that millions of our fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters died in the Great Fatherland War?! Did they burn in aeroplanes, throw themselves with a grenade under enemy tanks for nothing?! What about the conquest of space?! And the fact that people were afraid to attack us?! We have lived through a terrible history, but a great one. Any other nation would have been proud of such a history. But are we?! What do we do?! We ourselves denigrate our great, long-suffering history and spit all over it. And the initiative has come from above, from cynical and vain careerists and adventurers who are ready to betray everything for which our forefathers, grandfathers and fathers sacrificed their lives in exchange for worthless praise from the West. Shame on those traitors! We, their grandchildren and great-grandchildren protest. We will defend the cause of Lenin and Stalin from those who would betray it![21]

This is perhaps the first time that Zinov'ev speaks of betrayal, but it will become a dominant theme of his subsequent writings.

The untrustworthiness of comrades

An important strand running through the whole of Zinov'ev's *oeuvre* is devoted to one of the consequences of what Zinov'ev has called the 'practical ideology' of the Soviet Union which taught people how to behave in Soviet public life. Anton Zimin refers to it in *Svetloe budushchee* as the 'atmosfera lzhi' (atmosphere of the lie). Soviet people were trained how to live and operate within it. One of the most damaging influences was the upbringing which children obtained through the educational/youth training system: the old slogan 'vospitat' v dukhe kommunizma' (educate Soviet youth in the spirit of communism) in effect taught young people how to engage in Soviet ritual and to operate in the 'atmosfera lzhi'. Soviet people grew up not to trust each other, nor to be trusted by the authorities. Human relations under communism as described by Zinov'ev were famously captured by him in one of his paintings depicting two rats tied together by their tails shaking each other simultaneously by the paw and by the throat.

Moral considerations aside, absence of trust in society generates a monstrous inefficiency. Quite apart from the huge effort and expense incurred by the Soviet authorities with regard to the monitoring of the population, people themselves were naturally inclined to be suspicious of their fellow citizens and to take what they said in public forums with a healthy pinch of salt. What one might call the sovietisation of public discourse has had a tremendously damaging effect on people's ability to believe what is said to them.

In *Katastroika* Zinov'ev spells out the consequences of the 'atmosphere of the lie' to hilarious effect. We encounter Gorbachev discussing with his right-hand man Suslikov (a careerist who has been making his way up the ladder ever since *Svetloe budushchee* from book to book, each time advancing towards the position he holds in *Katastroika*) a project to make Partgrad, previously a closed town, a 'beacon of Perestroika' and to open it to foreign tourists so that the West can see

'Perestroika in action'. Gorbachev thinks this is a splendid idea and tells Suslikov to get on with it. Suslikov in turn delegates the planning and implementation to his immediate subordinate Korytov. But since Korytov would be the first to oust Suslikov, given half a chance, Suslikov has to brief him carefully. And, of course, Suslikov would oust Gorbachev, given the same half chance, so does not want to commit himself irrevocably. We thus have a clear picture of the difficulties facing Gorbachev: his closest friend and associate is a fawning careerist who apparently agrees with everything Gorbachev says, helps him to plan a project in the spirit of the times, but then starts to undermine it, partly to safeguard his own position. Suslikov in turn cannot trust Korytov, who has even less reason to trust Suslikov and who will, therefore, look out for himself. The mixture of cynicism, unwillingness to take risks and duplicity is one with which readers of Zinov'ev are familiar. How far this mixture contributes to the increasing chaos in the former Soviet Union is a matter for speculation, but it is hardly likely to be negligible.

The power of imitation

Imitation is another major theme running through Zinov'ev's work and it is given powerful treatment in *Katastroika*, Much of the book is about, not implementing Perestroika in Partgrad, but *appearing* to implement it. Moscow sends a commission to see how things are progressing. The Partgrad authorities are caught in a double bind: firstly, they do not know whether this business with Perestroika is serious or just another campaign, like the fight against alcohol; secondly, their instinct is to try to hoodwink the commission. The problem is that members of the commission have got where they are by being themselves skilled in the art of hoodwinking. However, the commission is also keen to report that everything is progressing satisfactorily, so various 'Potemkin village' solutions are worked out with hilariously disastrous outcomes. But behind all the satire Zinov'ev is serious. At some point in the Perestroika process something fundamental happened What had threatened to become a crisis in *Gorbachevizm* became a real crisis in *Katastroika*:

> It was precisely Gorbachev's reforming zeal which provoked the crisis. Because of it, a political crisis has become a real one. The whole process has escaped the control of the Soviet leadership and forced it to behave in a way it had never dreamed of. Perestroika was an attempt to avert a crisis, then the result of a crisis, and when the crisis became a fact, Perestroika became an attempt to resolve it by means of a superficial, illusory and enforced Westernisation of Soviet society.[22]

For Zinov'ev, however, the crisis is still temporary. He is not yet ready to concede that the communist era is over. As he observes of the citizens of Partgrad through his narrator:

> It was all the same to them what you called the swinish conditions in which they had lived since time immemorial and in which they were destined to live eternally – serfdom, War Communism, developed socialism or post-communism.[23]

In Zinov'ev's view the West consistently ignores the role of imitation in Soviet life and seeks to analyse phenomena using Western evaluative criteria – thereby consistently drawing the wrong conclusions. Soviet society, he insists, must be analysed using criteria which are applicable to a communist society. Imitation, deception, shoddy inefficiency are, he would argue, systemic features of communism rather than, say, national characteristics.

Katastroika is a very funny book. Many of the episodes recounted in it are grotesque yet plausible. Zinov'ev makes merciless use of his ability to draw, as it were, verbal cartoons which capture salient points, make the reader laugh and leave him or her something to think about. He rarely goes in for description, but when he does it is usually remarkable. Take, for instance, his description of Partgrad airport:

> Partgrad airport, like Partgrad itself, was a fantastic combination of ultra modernity and antediluvian squalor. The mobile 'concertina' stands imported

from West Germany which the aeroplanes were supposed to taxi up to did not work. The aircraft were dragged up to the airport buildings more or less by oxen. Passengers disembarked, were led to the concertina stands and herded up primitive staircases into them. On exiting at the other end passengers found their path blocked by amazing-looking cleaning women with buckets and cloths at the sight of which passengers with weak nerves felt nauseous. Meanwhile the cleaners were dragging behind them cleaning machines, also imported from West Germany and also not working.[24]

In another episode he describes the import of West German quality-control robots which are installed in Soviet factories. The robot-arm begins to reject every component as sub-standard. The solution is not to improve the quality of the components but to tie up the robot-arm in such a way that it can no longer reach the components.[25] On the other hand, another episode describes the 'good factory director' who conscientiously sets out to introduce new, efficient work methods, which result in the factory grinding to a halt and consumers and suppliers going elsewhere.[26]

By the end of *Katastroika* the reader has a clear impression of Zinov'ev's contempt for Gorbachev and Perestroika, for the West in terms of its gullibility, but also for its influence on Soviet life. This contempt is now edged with a kind of reluctant admiration, or perhaps astonishment, that, despite everything he has said and written to the contrary, the West has not, after all, been vanquished in the propaganda war. But contempt for Gorbachev is now close to hatred and the crisis facing the Soviet Union has become much more serious. More serious, but not yet fatal. Let us turn now to Konets kommunizma?[27]

Konets kommunizma?

This book is written in the same format as *Gorbachevizm*. It is a collection of short essays, and covers the period up to 1990. If we had seen in *Katastroika* hints of Zinov'ev's sympathetic attitude towards communists and neo-Stalinists and his defence of what might be loosely termed the Nina Andreeva point of view, in *Konets kommunizma?* we have evidence that Zinov'ev fears the outright collapse of communism, reflected in substantial changes of position on various issues which he had stoutly defended over many years. These changes are sufficiently major to merit the term 'revisionist'.

Firstly, he continues to maintain that the roots of communism are to be found in the laws of communalism which are universal. What is surprising, however, are his references to pre-revolutionary Russia as environmentally predisposed to the emergence of communism. He notes, for example, the powerful, centralised state apparatus, the 'chinovnik' class, the tendency of the masses to submit to authority, the peasant commune. This is the first time that Zinov'ev acknowledges the role of 'preemstvennost'', or continuity from the past.[28]

Secondly, an even more startling piece of revisionism is his sudden claim that the organisation of society along communist lines did not become the natural basis of life everywhere in the Soviet Union. Central Asia, Azerbaidzhan, Moldavia and the Baltic Republics can apparently 'relatively easily' revert to their pre-communist state, whether that be capitalism, feudalism or tribalism.[29]

Thirdly, a major revision takes place as regards Zinov'ev's view of the stability of communist society. Previously he regarded stability as one of the cardinal features of that society. Its standardised cell-structure, maintained and reproduced by the standardised behaviour of the population, seemed to him to build into the system a stability which could withstand great shocks, for instance the impact of the Second World War. In *Konets kommunizma?* he states that we should not confuse stability (stabil'nost') with survivability (vyzhivaemost'). He argues that an increase in the complexity of society leads to a decrease in its stability, and adds that if a communist society is dislodged from its normal state, it will find great difficulty in returning to it.[30] He does not offer any explanation for this shift in his theory, and one has the feeling that, actually, he is almost inventing laws governing the behaviour of organisations in a way which lays him open to the charge of 'kustarnichestvo' (amateurism), a particularly grave charge against Zinov'ev, who claims for himself a uniquely scientific approach to the study of communist society.

Fourthly, having often ridiculed the doctrinal aspects of Marxism–Leninism from a logical point of view, he now argues that the Soviet leadership has abandoned it 'precisely at the moment when the tenets of Marxism–Leninism could act as never before as a guiding star in the confused state of the world'.[31]

Two of the pillars of classical communist society, we recall, are its centralised system of power and administration and its ideology. The former was the CPSU and the latter Marxism–Leninism. What happens to the centralised system of power if the CPSU begins to fragment? Who speaks for the Party if there is a separate Lithuanian CP? If there is a 'democratic platform' within the CPSU, what happens to the CPSU's leading role?

For some time Zinov'ev has argued that there are two types of system possible under Communism. One is a voluntarist, Stalinist system, which for Zinov'ev is 'people power' (narodovlastie), characterised by adventurism. The other is a conformist, bureaucratic system, characterised by Brezhnevism. Khrushchev's 'reign' represents a transitional period between the two, labelled by Zinov'ev a period of 'perplexity' (rasteriannost'). For Zinov'ev, the crucial difference between the two types of system is this: a Stalinist-type government dictates the manner in which society must live and seeks to achieve that goal by coercion, whereas a Brezhnevite system seeks to adapt itself to the way society lives in conformity with its 'immanent' laws. A Stalinist system seeks to create an apparatus of power (sverkhvlast') which is above the Party and to which the Party is subservient. In the Brezhnevite system higher authority (vysshaia vlast') is concentrated in the Party apparat. Khrushchev's 'perevorot' led to the destalinisation of the country, but by Stalinist methods. He tried to preserve a Stalinist type of leadership. His overthrow signified the victory of the Brezhnev style of leadership. The alternative to Stalinism is not Khrushchevism but Brezhnevism. In 1985 Stalinist bureaucrats came to power. This event was presented as an anti-Stalinist revolution, which, argues Zinov'ev, was completely untrue. But no one was prepared to see Gorbachev and his associates as the inheritors of Stalin.[32] Gorbachev's entire activity was directed to the establishment of a personal power base similar to Stalin's in order to force the country to carry out coercive reforms dictated from above.

Gorbachev, of course, could not emulate Stalin in every respect. Firstly, the Stalinist system of repression via the gulag was not available. Secondly, Gorbachev did not foresee the consequences of his glasnost' policy. Zinov'ev is particularly scathing about that policy, particularly as regards the increased exposure of the Soviet population to Western propaganda. In this respect Zinov'ev makes what seems to this writer to be a grotesque claim. He asserts that the effort expended by the Soviet Union on propaganda promoting communism and the Soviet way of life was exceeded by Western anti-Communist propaganda by a factor of ten or even one hundred.[33] We should recall his earlier calculation that the resources devoted to ideology in the Soviet Union probably equalled the resources devoted to military expenditure and industry.[34] However, he is arguably on firmer ground when he asserts that the Gorbachev leadership caused ideological damage on a par with the material damage caused by the Second World War. He regards the situation in 1990 as equivalent to that in which the Soviet Union found itself in that war and as a Russian patriot he supports his country in its hour of need, even though he has despised its social system for decades. Gorbachev's 'new thinking' he regards as penetrating well beyond the ideological level. It has entered the realm of practice in the sense that the Soviet government began to implement a policy of enforced Westernisation and to enforce capitalist social relations and corresponding political reforms. What was formerly pro-Soviet anti-Western ideology is now anti-Soviet pro-Western ideology, a development which he has difficulty in comprehending. Indeed, he talks of 'ideological panic' comparable to the panic at the outbreak of the war with Germany and refers to 'ideological deserters', 'traitors' and 'collaborators'.[35] Gorbachev's 'new thinking' he equates with 'treason' and 'capitulation'.[36]

Thus far we have discussed Zinov'ev's view of Gorbachev's policies as Stalinist and his 'new thinking' as betrayal. Now we need to consider his view of Gorbachev's policies as grave errors based on ignorance of how Soviet society works. In an important passage[37] Zinov'ev draws a distinction between the *policy* of Perestroika and Perestroika in practice. We have already discussed the implementation of Perestroika in Partgrad, but in *Konets kommunizma?* Zinov'ev develops the point that in fact the imitation of Perestroika (imitatsiia perestroiki) can be seen as the *reaction* of the country to that policy. Zinov'ev's main thesis is that Gorbachev with his policy of Perestroika 'pressed the button' and the 'crisis-bomb exploded'.[38]

The crisis was the result of a gross miscalculation. Gorbachev's reforms were originally nothing more than bureaucratic 'razzmatazz' (biurokraticheskaia sueta). This observation is reminiscent of Zinov'ev's standard view that communist society is in principle unreformable. Power in communist society is essentially negative. He stands on its head Gorbachev's argument that it is impossible to repair in a few years something that was rotten for decades. Zinov'ev's argument is that, owing to the incompetence of Gorbachev and his cronies, the 'social mechanism' built up (however badly) over decades was mindlessly destroyed in a few years. He reserves special venom for Gorbachev's policy of glasnost':

> The glasnost' orgy became a masochistic display of self-denunciation and self-denigration that would never have been permitted in any other Western country.[39]

Having criticised Gorbachev and his colleagues mercilessly for unleashing the crisis, Zinov'ev devotes much of *Konets kommunizma?* to an analysis of various aspects of that crisis. Lack of space prevents a review of more than two, namely the economic aspect and the political aspect.

For Zinov'ev a crisis in a communist economy has nothing in common with an economic crisis in a capitalist society. A capitalist economic crisis has to do with problems in the sphere of production imbalances, capital surpluses, etc. A communist economic crisis is different: the factors which come into play are systemic. They include planning, a unified, centralised system of administration, the organisation of people. Gorbachev's attempt to solve economic problems by capitalist economic methods is doomed to failure:

> Gorbachev's economic policy which brought with it trivial improvements for a trivially small percentage of the population has intensified chaos and absence of control in the economy at large, has led to gross infringements of the communist principle of distribution and has contributed enormously to the demoralisation of the country by immeasurably intensifying all the blemishes of capitalism which had been combated throughout the whole of Soviet history . . . In fact it is Gorbachev's economic reforms that are the real crisis. If you want to determine precisely what the elements of the Soviet economic crisis are, enumerate and describe the reforms. Having the intention of improving the economic situation, Gorbachev and his comrades reduced it to state of crisis.[40]

As regards the political crisis, especially the crisis of government, Zinov'ev's basic thesis is that there is an essential difference between the administration of power in capitalist and communist societies. In capitalist societies state power is political, but in fact plays a relatively minor role as regards the day-to-day running of the country. Italy, for instance, or Belgium, can manage without governments for months on end. In a communist society the administration of power is of quintessential importance. It is not merely political power but administrative, regulative power: it organises society. In a communist society, therefore, a crisis in the power system reflects crisis in the society itself at a very fundamental level. The most obvious manifestation of crisis was the loss of control by what Zinov'ev calls the pivotal power structure (sterzhnevaia chast') in the system as a whole (broadly, the upper reaches of the party apparat) over the lower echelons. This was exacerbated by a parallel loss of control by the organs of state security over the population at large. The militia could not cope with rising crime, the KGB could not control the mushrooming of 'informal groups', and so on. The upper reaches of power in turn contributed by releasing and rehabilitating former dissidents and introducing an alien ideology in deference to the West. Everything was stood on its head. Any pronouncements in favour of normal communist manifestations of power were forbidden about as forcibly as previous attacks. Communist power was thus undermined from within and without. Zinov'ev draws an analogy with an army in which the lower ranks begin to denounce the generals, refuse to obey orders and seek to reform the army in the way requested by time-serving skivers, deserters and cowards.[41]

In *Konets kommunizma?* Zinov'ev sets out three possibilities of a solution to the crisis: (a) the end of communism; (b) a hybrid form of communism and capitalism; (c) a restoration of normal communism. His own preference is for the third possibility, which will initially take the form of counter-perestroika. Its main manifestations he regards as the following:

(i) imitation as regards the implementation of perestroika;

(ii) the popular perception that Gorbachev and company are conducting a *counter*-revolution will grow among a significant part of the population;

(iii) disenchantment with the policy of westernisation; it is, he asserts, impossible to transplant capitalism without decades, or even centuries, of effort. Even if the whole Soviet population set off down the capitalist road the result would merely be a caricature of westernisation;

(iv) the human factor: the best that the Soviet population is capable of building it built in the pre-perestroika years. Reforms can only make things worse. Communism will be saved because the people are not capable of destroying it. Communist weaknesses in time of crisis become strengths: eyewash, hack-work, words instead of deeds, corruption, imitation, etc., will guarantee the failure of Gorbachev's reforms and safeguard communism from total collapse.

His conclusion at the end of *Konets kommunizma?* is the following: the end of communism is not yet in sight, mainly because it is based on communalism. It will live again, perhaps under a different name. In the Soviet Union the process of counter-perestroika has begun, and Zinov'ev thinks that the outcome will be a worse variant of what Gorbachev set out to reconstruct in the first place.

Smuta v Tsartgrade

As we noted above, this book has as yet been published only in French under the title *Tsarville*.[42] It is a continuation of life after perestroika.[43] Like *Katastroika* it is a work of fiction, but as in all of Zinov'ev's fiction, plot is both unimportant and practically non-existent. A Party functionary turned 'perestroikist' is murdered by drunks, but since the person was No. 1 in the region, so banal a death is unfitting and therefore it must have been a political assassination. A committee of enquiry comes from Moscow to investigate. Most of the book is devoted to discussions between various personages about life after perestroika.

Much of it is highly amusing, since Zinov'ev uses characters and situations to illustrate what he sees as the absurdities of the perestroika and post-coup situation in Russia. The members of the commission of enquiry are a case in point. One of them, Riabov, was an Andropov protégé who became a supporter of perestroika and adopted a pro-Western stance. His envious colleagues arrange for him to be a member of a commission and therefore be obliged to go to stinking Tsar'grad, thereby having to cancel a trip to Nice to read a paper about the 'imminent disintegration of the Soviet empire'. The other two members of the commission were Brezhnevites who came down hard on dissidents, then, under Gorbachev, became 'fighters for justice and democracy' by denouncing Stalinist and Brezhnevist acts against dissidents.

There are also amusing accounts of the intelligentsia, of factory union meetings at which everyone listens to everyone else saying the opposite of what they said before under Brezhnev, of discussions in the media about the cost of re-naming all the streets in Tsar'grad. Quite a few passages summarise the outcome of perestroika in the town.[44]

But there are strong, serious passages in which Zinov'ev, through the mouths of characters who have suffered for their beliefs, attacks the herd instinct of those who are only critical when it is safe and criticise only what is sanctioned. As one such character says, addressing co-workers at a meeting:

> All one sees today are valiant anti-Stalinists, anti-Brezhnevites, denunciators of the blemishes of the past, fighters against conservatives and bureaucrats. But where were you before? Did you just happen to see the light? Nonsense! The word came down and you all followed. But I know you all. I've heard your speeches of lavish praise of Brezhnev. I've seen you more than once lick the boots of those you condemn today as the ones responsible for stagnation.[45]

Zinov'ev's anti-Westernism, prominent in *Katastroika* and *Konets kommunizma?*, becomes even more strident in *Smuta v Tsar'grade*. If in the first two works he has talked about the West as having won the Cold War and achieved a propaganda victory, in *Smuta v Tsar'grade* he develops the view that Gorbachev, Shevardnadze, El'tsin, Iakovlev, *et al.*, are traitors who sold their country to the West and that the West is intent on colonising the former Soviet Union. One character in the book expresses the idea that there are only enough energy and primary resources for one billion people, yet by the year 2000 there will be eight billion or more. The West's plan is to destroy the Soviet Union to safeguard these resources for the one billion people that count: the USA, Japan and the countries of Western Europe.[46] On another occasion, Gorbachev and El'tsin are accused of an act of treason without historical precedent and Zinov'ev adds through the mouth of a character: 'There you have the outcome of our Soviet and communist educational system! We are champions at producing real scoundrels (salauds) in great numbers and a variety of sizes.'[47] Another character regrets the demise of communism and has a sense of being at war again, only this time it is not clear who the enemy is. Again he blames the leadership for entering into competition with the West. The Soviet leadership thought that the Soviet population was immunised against capitalism. The opposite turned out to be the case, and he advocates a battle for communism against capitalism, otherwise capitalism will be the uncontrolled master of the planet. That is a prediction which is precisely the opposite of the one Zinov'ev was making right up till the advent of Gorbachev and beyond.[48]

He is also pessimistic about the ability of his fellow Russians to do much about it. He has been accused before of Russophobia, a charge he has always denied. In *Smuta v Tsar'grade*, however, there are several passages where he is less than complimentary. One passage in particular engages the attention:

> The Russian people have been unable to profit either from their great Revolution or from their victory against Germany. They have been unable to assure themselves a privileged position in their own country and have shown themselves to be incapable of competing with other peoples in the battle for power and material benefits . . . They consider material goods to be a gift of circumstance or to be bestowed by superiors and not as the fruits of their own efforts, of their creativity, of their initiative and willingness to take risks. They envy other peoples, convinced that they receive more, or that they have managed to acquire more or are better placed. Their servility vis-a-vis

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peoples who live better (especially westerners) is accompanied by suspicion and hatred . . . If they start something they stop half-way . . . They are slow to act and quick to panic . . . Where the West achieves results for a given amount of effort the Russians have to make ten times the effort for five times as long. They are wasteful, spendthrift, indifferent to detail and precision, not practical . . . All attempts to improve their human qualities made in seventy years of Soviet history have met with defeat, not because of the communist system but because of their inability to become communist angels. Neither the great leap into culture and education nor material progress has been able to improve the Russian character which, on the contrary, has degenerated. No other European nation would have permitted the wave of self-flaggelation, anti-patriotism and defeatism which is currently engulfing the country. Nothing like it is observable in other peoples of the USSR. They accuse the Russians of everything and the latter willingly agree.[49]

These sentiments are expressed by one of the characters in *Smuta v Tsar'grade* and Zinov'ev might argue that they do not reflect his opinion. However, he has expressed his own views in a series of articles and interviews with the Russian media which coincide with those just expressed, indeed arguably exceed them in venom.[50]

A survey of Zinov'ev's views on recent Soviet/Russian history would be incomplete without a reference to the 'August events' of 1991, namely the failed putsch, and the 'October events' of 1993, i.e. the armed attack on the Russian parliament and the shelling of the White House. Zinov'ev's published views are as follows:

On the 'August events' (19–21 August 1991):

(i) it was a 'nelepoe meropriiatie' (daft undertaking);
(ii) Ianaev acted constitutionally (cf. para. 127.7 of the USSR Constitution);
(iii) the failure to carry through on the part of the 'putchisty' was an unpardonable mistake; they should have arrested all the radicals, including El'tsin;
(iv) if the perpetrators of the putsch should stand trial at all, it should be for gross incompetence and indecision;
(v) the leadership of the CPSU was a good example of the type of people produced by the Communist social system;
(vi) the West is engaged in a war with Russia;
(vii) Gorbachev could not have done more damage if he had been a CIA mole (or words to that effect);

All of this was written on 26 August 1991.

On the 'October events' (3–4 October 1993):

(i) their historic significance is on a par with the shot fired by the Aurora and the storming of the Winter Palace;
(ii) they will be seen as a symbol of the dirtiest, most treacherous counter-revolution which reduced Russia to the status of a servile appendage of the West, and colonised by it.

According to Zinov'ev, the only path of salvation is to build on the achievements of the 1917 Revolution. For this to happen, a new leader must emerge, a new Lenin. Zinov'ev is even prepared to insist on the need for an 'iron organisation of professional revolutionaries' and to predict that the development of a new ideology without building on the 'highest achievements of marxism' will be impossible.[51]

We thus witness a remarkable transformation. Zinov'ev first came to public attention with a devastating critique of communism, all the more devastating for taking the form of satire. In 1976 one might have expected that the author of *The Yawning Heights* would welcome the collapse of communism and the reduction of the threat which it posed for the West. Such an expectation would have been nourished by the works published by Zinov'ev in the first half of the 1980s. He has not welcomed its collapse. On the contrary, he mourns its demise. But the paradox is perhaps more apparent than real. Zinov'ev had always warned the West against the evils of communism, believing that communism would take over the world. At the same time, he has always maintained that communism is the best that the Russian people can aspire to and that anything else will be worse. Many Russians would probably subscribe to the proposition that so far he has been proved right. Now he need no longer fear for the West. But since in his view the West has destroyed his country, as a patriot with an outstanding war record he has cause enough to hate it. Since communism is the best his country can hope for in his opinion, it is logical that he should fight for its resurrection.

Notes

1. *Bez illiuzii*, L'Age d'Homme, Lausanne, 1979, p. 17.
2. See his latest book on life in the West, for instance.
3. As expressed succinctly in the following lines taken from his 'Epistle to the Russian people':

   Но ты достигнешь все равно,
   И, верный Ленина завету,
   Всепобеждающим говном
   Засрешь по ушам всю планету

   But in the end you'll get your way
   And true to Lenin's testament
   Your bullshit's bound to win the day
   And bury Earth in excrement.
4. He had never *entirely* ruled out the possibility of its collapse. Indeed he had predicted the conditions under which it would. These included a collapse of the ideology and of the centralised system of power. What he got totally wrong was the timescale. He had foreseen the communist system as lasting for thousands of years.
5. Published by Liberty Publishing House New York, 1988.
6. G. Hosking, *A History of the Soviet Union*, Fontana, 1990, p. 459.
7. Published by L'Age d'Homme, Lausanne, 1990.
8. Z. Brzezinski, *The Grand Failure*, Macdonald, London, 1989.
9. Published by SugarCoedizioni, Milan, 1990.
10. *Perestroika et contre-perestroika*, Olivier Orban, Paris, 1991.
11. *Kommunizm kak real'nost': Krizis kommunizma*, M. «Tsentrpoligraf», 1994.
12. *Tsarville*, Faux croises, Plon, Paris, 1992.
13. M. Tatu, *Gorbatchev. L'URSS va-t-elle changer?*, Le Centurion, Paris, 1987.
14. *Gorbachevizm*, pp. 55–7.
15. Ibid., pp. 61–5.
16. Ibid., pp. 68–70.
17. Ibid., pp. 70–6.
18. See for instance, 'Jede Abruestung ist nur Umruestung', SHZ-Interview mit Alexander Zinowjew, *Schweizerische HandelsZeitung*, 28 Jan., 1988, p. 64; 'Gorbatchev, je ne miserai pas un sou sur lui', *Paris Match*, March 1988, pp. 20–1, 123–5; 'Conversation avec Alexandre Zinoviev', *Panorama (Le mensuel chrétien)*, June 1988, pp. 48–53, 82.
19. By L'Age d'Homme, Lausanne.
20. My translation. For the original Russian see *Katastroika*, p. 51.
21. My translation. For the original Russian see *Katastroika*, p. 123.
22. My translation. For the original Russian see *Katastroika*, p. 62.
23. My translation. For the original Russian see *Katastroika*, p. 165.
24. My translation. For the original Russian see *Katastroika*, p. 126.
25. Ibid., p. 78.
26. Ibid., pp. 144–7.
27. The question mark was in the title was present on the typescript, a copy of which I have seen. It has recently appeared in Russia as part of a volume entitled *Kommunism kak real'nost'. Konets kommunizma*. M. «Tsentrpoligraf», 1994. The question mark has gone! The book first appeared in Italian (*Il Superpotere in URSS*, SugarCoEdizioni, Milan, 1990) and French (*Perestroika et contre-perestroika*, Olivier Orban, Paris, 1991), although a comparison of these two texts reveals some differences, mainly reflected in the absence of certain passages in *Il Superpotere*. Large extracts of the original Russian appeared in the form of two articles which Zinov'ev published in the Soviet media: 'Ia khochu rasskazat' vam o zapade', *Komsomol'skaia pravda*, 15 September 1990, pp. 2–3; 'Kuda my idem?', *Zhurnalist*, 1, 1991, pp. 32–9.
28. *Il Superpotere*, pp. 18–19.
29. Ibid., pp. 20–22.
30. Ibid., pp. 91–4.
31. My translation. See *Il Superpotere*, p. 151.
32. Not quite true. See, for instance, M. Geller, *Sed'moi sekretar'*, Overseas Publications Interchange, London, 1991, in which the author on several occasions draws close parallels between Gorbachev and Stalin.
33. *Perestroika et contre-perestroika*, pp. 81–2. This passage does not appear in *Il Superpotere*.
34. *Kommunizm kak real'nost'*, L'Age d'Homme, Lausanne, 1981, p. 193.

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35. *Perestroika et contre-perestroika*, p. 82.
36. Ibid.
37. *Il Superpotere*, pp. 128–30; *Perestroika et contre-perestroika*, p. 88.
38. *Il Superpotere*, p. 149; *Perestroika et contre-perestroika*, p. 88.
39. *Il Superpotere*, p. 133; *Perestroika et contre-perestroika*, p. 93.
40. *Il Superpotere*, pp. 140–1; *Perestroika et contre-perestroika*, pp.108–9.
41. *Il Superpotere*, pp. 144–5; *Perestroika et contre-perestroika*, pp. 112–3.
42. *Tsarville*, Feux croises, Paris, 1992.
43. We note that the town has once again changed its name!
44. See, for instance, pp. 174–5, 184–5, 185–9.
45. *Tsarville*, p. 212.
46. *Tsarville*, p. 244.
47. Ibid., p. 242.
48. Zinov'ev's anxiety that the West would succumb to Soviet influence is reflected in works such as *Moi dom – moia chuzhbina*, L'Age d'Homme, Lausanne, 1982; *Die Dikatur der Logik*, Piper, Zurich, 1985; *Homo sovetikus*, L'Age d'Homme, Lausanne, 1985; *Die Macht des Unglaubens*, Piper, Munich, 1986; *Para bellum*, L'Age d'Homme, Lausanne, 1986; *Der Staatsfreier*, Diogenes, Zuerich, 1986; 'Ruka kremlia', *Kontinent*, 51, 1987, pp. 137–84; *La bomba all'uva passa*, Reverdito Editore, 1988. This work was previously serialised in the newspaper *Correra della sera*, December 1986–January 1987.
49. *Tsarville*, pp. 289–90.
50. See, for example 'Istoricheskaia tragediia', *Imidzh*, 3, 1992, pp. 57–62; 'Nuzhno liubymi putiami sbrasyvat' etu vlast'', *Narodnaia pravda*, 7, February 1992, p. 6; 'Svoego poslednego slova istoriia eshche ne skazala', *Pravda*, 1 October, 1992, p. 3; 'Stranu okhvatila epidemiia gluposti, podlosti i presmykatel'stva', *Sovetskaia Rossiia*, 12 January 1993, p. 1; 'Iz navoza neboskreb ne postroish'', *Rossiia*, 4, 20–26 January 1993, p. 3; 'Povesit' v 24 chasa!', *Krasnoiarskaia gazeta*, 21 January 1993, p. 3; 'Za Rossiiu, no tol'ko sotsialisticheskuiu', *Pravda*, 11 March 1993, p. 6. The vitriolic views in these articles are matched by equally vitriolic assertions in many interviews with a variety of Russian and Western newspapers, notably *Pravda* and *Den'/Zavtra*.
51. 'Povesit' v 24 chasa!', *Krasnoiarskaia gazeta*, 21 January 1993, p. 3.

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Nation-building or empire-saving: The evolution of Russia's thinking on relations with the former Soviet republics

Nijole White University of Strathclyde

In the last few years of the Soviet Union's existence a number of new social forces were brought into being by Gorbachev's liberalisation measures – among them the new national élites in most Union and some Autonomous Republics. These national élites were ready to take charge of their respective ethno-territorial units and to transform them into 'sovereign' or independent nation states. Distinct republican interests were stimulated. These were pursued initially through the principle of regional cost-accounting (хозрасчет), which held out the prospect of gaining control over all the natural resources on the territory of the various republics, then through declaring the primacy of republican legislation over Union laws (including laws establishing the given republic's own language as the official one) and ultimately through free elections to new parliaments, followed by declarations of independence or 'sovereignty'. In the sub-republican ethno-territorial formations – ASSRs, Autonomous Provinces and National Regions – there was a general move to upgrade their status. ASSRs declared themselves sovereign republics, while National Regions elevated their status to Autonomous Republics and so on. The process was referred to either by the neutral term 'суверенизация', or by the derogatory 'парад суверенитетов'. The first of these declarations was the declaration 'On Sovereignty of Estonian SSR' made on 18 November 1988, but the crucial year in the process was 1990. A significant development was the declaration 'On State Sovereignty of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic' adopted on 11 June 1990.[1]

Russia's declaration of sovereignty reflected the development within Russia of social forces and a political élite similar to those in non-Russian republics. The new Russian democratic élite no longer saw the concepts of Russia and the Soviet Union as identical. Moreover, they felt it essential to re-establish a Russian identity separate from that of the so-called 'Soviet nation' which had been promoted by official ideology during the Brezhnev years. The declaration showed the new democratic Russian élite's readiness to make a bid for a separate political existence for Russia.

It has been noted that Russian and non-Russian nationalisms mutually influenced one another, and even that the former came about as a backlash to increasing Russophobia among the non-Russians. But the new democratic élite of Russia was initially consistent in its support for Lithuania's, Estonia's, Latvia's and Georgia's aspirations for self-determination and eventual independence. Autonomous Republics within Russia were also given support for their moves for greater autonomy and sovereignty.[2]

The aspirations and actions of non-Russian national élites were viewed in Moscow in two ways: Gorbachev and his reformist wing of the party initially gave support to them in the hope of creating a new 'democratised' Soviet Union, while 'hardliners' were opposed to all but very minor concessions. The declaration of sovereignty by the dominant nationality of the USSR came as a shock to both groups.

It was variously viewed as an affirmation of Russia's national interest, in line with similar aspirations expressed by non-Russian national élites, an episode in the struggle for political supremacy between Boris Yeltsin and Mikhail Gorbachev, or as an act of madness: Moscow was apparently splitting away from Moscow, Russia was destroying what was essentially a Russian state – the USSR. In some sections of Soviet society the eventual demise of the USSR was attributed solely to the actions and ideas of the new Russian élite, the 'democrats', or 'reformers'.

According to one of the many critics of Russia's policy of 'sovereignty', Aleksandr Tsipko, a prominent academic and a notable opponent of the Soviet authoritarian system,[3] the effect of that policy was to 'split the historical core of the Russian state' causing both Ukraine and Belorussia to separate from the sovereign RSFSR.[4] He could only see in the actions of the new Russian élite a desire for power, and he lamented the fact that they could find no other way for gaining it than through the destruction of the Union 'centre'.

Tsipko's interpretation of Russian élite's motivation is insufficient to explain the underlying ideas that guided it. For they were certainly more significant than mere pursuit of personal ambition or hunger for power. Those ideas were in part similar to the national idea that was adopted by the élites of the non-Russian republics. In tracing the emergence of the guiding principles in the thinking of the Russian democrats Georgii Shakhnazarov, another prominent academic who was a close adviser to Gorbachev, noted that while all the non-Russian élites 'raised the national flag and marched onto the political stage', the Russian élite was in a different position: it had to choose between dedicating itself entirely to the task of regenerating Russia as a nation or trying above all else to preserve the country's superpower status and the greatness that went with it.[5]

Shakhnazarov spoke of two schools of thought among the Russian democrats which emerged in the course of debating Russia's future destiny. Those who chose to break with the empire and work for the regeneration of Russia Shakhnazarov called 'isolationists'. The other school of thought was not given a name but, based on his exposition of the reasoning of its adherents, who included also Shakhnazarov himself, it could notionally be called 'integrationist'.

Utilising the opportunities afforded by glasnost and parlamentarianism the 'isolationists' demanded a condemnation of Soviet interference in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, the massacre of Polish officers at Katyn. They also gave consistent support to the Baltic republics' intention to leave the USSR.

This support, Shakhnazarov emphasized, was easy to give when the democrats were in opposition, and when they were voicing general democratic principles. Once they came to power,[6] they were faced with a stringent test – to choose between upholding general democratic principles or defending Russian national interests.

Defending Russia's national interests presupposed having a clear view of what those interests were. Shakhnazarov saw two main differences of approach. Russia could recognize as its own only those interests pertaining to the people of Russia, including the many non-Russians living in it. Or it could see those interests in conjunction with the interests of the peoples in countries, lands and territories which had been historically joined to her (присоединены). Both views were represented in the democratic camp, and Shakhnazarov examined the arguments used to support both of them.

The arguments for Russia's 'self-isolation' from the heritage of the former Russian Empire and the socialist Soviet Union he thought quite weighty. First, Russia had broken her back carrying the burden of being a superpower, it needed a respite from the never-ending obstacle race in order to restore its depleted strength, otherwise it could collapse without any chance of ever getting back on its feet. Russia on its own, without the 'sponging hangers-on' (нахлебники), would rise up much more quickly. It had 'resources in plenty – oil, gas, timber, coal, gold, working people, patience, application, talent, traditions'. Last but not least it had the 'memory of past greatness, which could fill the ideological vacuum left in people's minds after the dashing of hopes for the coming of communism'. Russia would rise, 'straighten its powerful shoulders' (богатырские плечи) – and then nothing would stand in its way of taking again its place among the trend-setter nations of the world. Such was Shakhnazarov's characterisation of the 'isolationist' tendency among the Russian democrats.

While Shakhnazarov could see something convincing in the arguments of this school of thought which did not envisage Russia taking part in any sort of union, he was nevertheless convinced that it would be in Russia's national interest to preserve a union of states around Russia in one form or another 'because after the break-up of the Union Russia's break-up will inevitably follow'.[7]

Shakhnazarov emphasised Russia's historical and moral responsibility for the territory she had organised, which had 'formed around it, a unified economic, spiritual, linguistic space'.[8] Russians were not a 'ruling' nationality (unlike the founders of other empires). The Russian people carried the cross together with other nationalities, and in the Soviet period had suffered even more than some of the others. Nevertheless Russians were a 'dominant' nationality and a moving force behind the Union state. It was Shakhnazarov's view that a nation cannot discard overnight its responsibility for having been a dominant nationality.

There was one other compelling reason why it was in Russia's national interest to support a union – to prevent the exodus of Russians from other republics, to preserve Russia's pioneering achievements in opening up large tracts of land, helping neighbouring nations join world civilisation. If the principle of maintaining the union was abandoned the 'ethno-cultural bridge with contiguous states' would disappear. Shakhnazarov considered that such a 'bridge' was valuable for Russia since it had 'extended the boundaries of Russia and made it one of the three or four centres of global civilisation'.

In Shakhnazarov's opinion the 'isolationists' were wrong in believing that Russia would be able to resume its position and influence among its neighbours in some 15 to 20 years, after it had cured its ills and become strong again. In that time all or most of the former republics would be drawn into alignments around new centres of power and would integrate piecemeal into Western-European and Southern-European groupings, the Muslim world and the dynamic East Asia.

Another imperative for Russia to preserve a larger grouping was its international responsibility for 'organising the vast Eurasian space', helping maintain the stability of the existing international system. If Russia 'suddenly renounced its global mission one could imagine what kind of chaos would reign in this part of the world'.

In expounding the ideas of 'isolationists' and 'integrationists' Shakhnazarov did not see a great deal separating them; in fact, he suggested that the responsibility of coming to power might easily convince the 'isolationists' that it was important to preserve a union or another kind of association with the various parts of the former empire. At the time of writing Shakhnazarov already had one example of such a transformation when Russian democrats acted in Russia's national interest on the matter of territory. This related to an episode in early September 1991 when, following Ukraine's declaration of independence, several high-ranking people in Boris Yeltsin's camp spoke about the need to redefine what used to be internal Soviet borders. For if Ukraine decided to separate, such borders might no longer be appropriate. Shakhnazarov noted the special historical significance of territory to Russians as a guarantee against attacks by Tatar or Mongol invaders, and while he could not find a moral justification for such an attitude, he nevertheless thought it was very real and a factor that had to be taken into account in speaking of Russia's national interest. He was therefore critical of Yeltsin's retreat on this issue, pointing out that the Crimea had been handed over to Ukraine while Ukraine was part of the USSR. Once Ukraine had ceased to be part of the USSR it was right and proper that the Crimea should be restored to Russia.

Ukraine's intention to make a bid for a separate political existence had probably triggered an instinctive reaction in many Russians rather than a reasoned response. Shakhnazarov, for example, could not see how the interests of Ukraine and Russia could be in conflict as they were linked by common origins, common historical development, cognate cultures, national composition of the population and the closest possible economic co-operation.[9]

Shakhnazarov's definition of Russia's national interest as seen by the 'integrationists' was based to some extent on ideas of Russian identity and Russia's mission promulgated both in imperial Russia, and in the Soviet Union. Such concepts as Russia's special characteristics, its achievements, its responsibilities discussed by Shakhnazarov were to reappear later in the elaboration of the national interest of the new Russia that emerged after the breakup of the USSR.

The two tendencies in the thinking on Russia's destiny discussed by Shakhnazarov – 'isolationist' and 'integrationist' – were also identified by several Western scholars, including John Dunlop,[10] though they were given different names. These were 'empire savers' and 'nation builders'. 'Empire saving' was equated with the efforts of 'hardliners', and also Gorbachev, to keep the USSR together at all costs. 'Nation building' was the name given to what Shakhnazarov called 'isolationists' and their belief that Russia should abandon any imperial pretensions and work for the restoration of its economic and cultural prosperity free of any responsibilities associated with empire.

The concept of 'nation building' was to acquire a new, broader, content in the post-Soviet period as a great many 'empire savers'' ideas were to be absorbed by the new Russian élite. Their attitude was beginning to change as early as autumn of 1991. This was demonstrated when Russia threatened to raise the issue of frontiers after Ukraine declared its independence on 24 August 1991, and especially when Russia reacted to the declaration of independence by the Chechen–Ingush Republic in November 1991.[11]

As a representative of the democratic camp and a prominent proponent of the 'isolationist' or 'nation building' doctrine, the Russian President's reaction to the Chechen declaration sent shock waves throughout the world: it was contrary to what everyone had come to expect from him – unequivocal support for the non-Russian nations' quest for self-determination and independence. He issued a statement to the effect that the Chechen declaration violated the RSFSR constitution, declared a state of emergency and sent Interior Ministry troops to the Chechen capital Grozny to enforce it and to arrest President Dudaev.

This unexpected change of attitude towards political action of non-Russian nationalities followed from the change in the distribution and relative influence of political forces after the August coup. The policy of fostering Russian sovereignty and the concomitant support for the sovereignty of other nationalities was pursued by Russian democrats in opposition. But when the Union 'centre' lost the struggle and Russia's sovereignty was achieved, when the democrats came to power, their perspective changed and they began to act very much like people who had been promoting Russia's national interests. From the alternatives envisaged by Shakhnazarov – support for general democratic principles or upholding national interest – they chose the latter.

This changed perspective was to have a profound impact on the development of Russia's relations with the former Union republics in the post-Soviet period. In a speech Boris Yeltsin made at the end of October 1991 in which he outlined Russia's strategy for transition to a market economy there was the following message to the former republics:

> It is Russia who is to play the crucial role in leading the country out of deep crisis, restoring stability and calm to people's lives. Russia does not set out to elevate itself above its neighbours in the course of implementing reform or carry out reforms at the expense of one republic or another. We are prepared to co-operate closely in the cause of transformation with friendly sovereign states . . . In respect of former members of the Union who embark upon the course of artificially setting themselves apart from the economic and political community, Russia will take as her point of departure

the norms of international law. Economic links with such states will be based on world prices: this is after all how independent status of any state is recognised in practice.[12]

In referring to Russia's 'crucial' role, a common 'cause of transformation' (дело преобразований) and close co-operation in pursuit of this with 'friendly' republics, in fact, even the existence of an 'economic and political community' Yeltsin gave a clear sign of 'integrationist' thinking on the part of the 'nation builders'. By indicating democratic Russia's intention to act as a new integrating force a signal was sent to the republics that there was a distinct possibility that Russia could become 'heir and successor' (правопреемница) of the old Union 'centre' which was soon to cease its existence with the dissolution of the USSR on 8 December 1991. Russia's inclination in the direction of integration, or at least its wish to preserve some sort of link, however tenuous, with Ukraine and Belorussia,[13] was one of the motives in the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States which was announced at the same time as the USSR was dissolved.

After the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States the former republics began to be referred to as the 'near abroad' (ближнее зарубежье) to distinguish them from the 'far abroad', i.e. countries outside the former USSR, and policy decisions regarding them became part of Russia's foreign policy.

Initially the new Russian establishment endeavoured to be demonstratively respectful of the sovereignty of the former republics. There is also evidence that it treated them quite fairly, so much so that in a discussion of Russia's foreign policy published in *Moskovskie novosti* in June 1992, one of the critics of the policy of that initial period, Andranik Migranyan, an academic close to Yeltsin, could remark that:

> We should have at the very start declared what Russia's position in post-Soviet space was to be. Everywhere in the CIS countries there were troops, and they were all under the command of Russia's Ministry of Defence, and, as we all know, in foreign policy not only diplomacy is used. Finally, a colossal dependence of these republics remained, dependence on Russia's financial and natural resources. These factors on the whole were not utilised.[14]

Another participant of the discussion, Dmitrii Ryurikov rejected the suggestion of using 'economic, oil and such like levers' in policy towards the countries of the 'near abroad' stating: 'I absolutely disagree that the presence of troops and economic pressure could serve as levers in conducting policy. This is not why we rejected Soviet principles'.

The principle of respect for the sovereignty of the former republics was consistent with the ideology of 'nation building' in a Russia unencumbered by old imperial responsibilities. What was more, this principle was applied also to sovereignty within Russia. If parts of Russia were to express a wish for independence, their wish, they thought, would have to be accommodated. Galina Starovoitova, Yeltsin's adviser on nationalities, could see that Russia would probably break up further, and not just into units based on the former 'national autonomies', but also 'into Russian regional republics, . . . since it would appear that it is easier to tackle economic and human problems in state units that can be visualized'. She hoped that the 'Messianic idea' would not 'visit the consciousness of my compatriots in the guise of the idea of (Russia's) historical responsibility for other peoples . . .'[15] as this would hamper its self-improvement.

The new principles were observed partly out of conviction, but also because the democratic establishment had to distinguish itself from the 'hardliners' who continued to speak and write as if the USSR still existed. At the same time, Russia was searching for a new ideology to replace the lost belief in the bright future under communism and in consequence turned to the Russian national idea as the underlying concept of the Russian nation state and also as a factor which would give new cohesion to Russian society. That was why it appeared, as Dawisha and Parrott have noted, that everyone was 'impelled to hammer out an operational conception of

Russia's national interests vis-à-vis other states'.[16]

Sergei Stankevich, adviser to President Yeltsin, was frequently reported in Russian and Western media speaking in defence of Russian minorities who were being discriminated against in some of the NIS. In connection with this issue in the spring of 1992 he defined a new role for Russia in the following terms: reconciliation (примирение), unification (объединение) and bringing closer (сближение) cultures and peoples. He always spoke of Russia as possessed of compassion (милосердие) and patience (терпение). One of his favourite phrases was: 'Russia lost no war' and should therefore be respected, not humiliated. Oblivious of the clearly hegemonic and paternalistic character of his conception of Russia's role he rejected any Western accusations of this being an expression of old Russian imperialism.

The idea of Russian 'imperialism', expressed as Russia's responsibility for the post-Soviet geopolitical space, began to gain wider currency in Russian democratic media in the second half of 1992. In an article entitled 'A Premonition of Imperialism' Sergei Karaganov wrote of this quite openly. He described the post-Soviet period as a 'time of conflict' and maintained that it would be counter-productive for politicians to pretend that these conflicts did not exist. 'You could say it as many times as you like that we must separate from Asia, get out of Transcaucasia, or that we must not send our boys to perish in peace-keeping operations outside Russia's borders. But conflicts are inevitably escalating, areas near us, republics, and then whole regions are being destabilised. Waves of terrorism, refugees are beginning to spread from there.' The worst thing in such circumstances, he stated, was 'irresoluteness or inability to solve such problems' on the part of government. It is interesting that the example of such irresoluteness given was the Karabakh conflict, which, he thought, could have been prevented or 'crushed' in its early stages. As this had not been done 'the whole of Transcaucasia has now been turned into a Lebanon'.

Since hopes of getting the West to help actively in 'sorting out all of these crises' were unrealistic Karaganov concluded:

> Russia inevitably will be forced to take part in a long series of conflicts on its borders. There is no way it could evade its post-imperial role. It will have, unfortunately, to exploit contradictions, strike temporary alliances, send troops, in a word, conduct policy which will be in many ways similar to that conducted by the Russian state in previous centuries.

This was Russia's 'neo-imperialist' role defined by an academic who was at that time deputy director of the Institute of Europe in the Russian Academy of Sciences, a member of new Russia's academic establishment. The contrast between what he saw as an 'enlightened post-imperial role' and views held by 'nation builders' like Galina Starovoitova whom Shakhnazarov had called 'isolationists' can serve as an indication of the parameters within which Russia's policy towards the NIS was being elaborated. Karaganov, interestingly, in his ideas on Russia's 'post-imperial' role also showed awareness of the fact that the pursuit of 'imperial' aims would inevitably call for a strong government and this could imperil successful development of democracy in Russia. Among the safeguards against a return to authoritarianism requiring implementation he included: respect for the territorial *status quo*, protection of all minorities, wherever and whatever they were, not just ethnic Russians, in the last resort – by force, and, finally, drawing up agreements with the West to obtain recognition of Russia's special role in regulating conflict and placing this role under the supervision of international organisations. This was necessary, he thought, 'to prevent us sliding down into uncontrolled use of force (чтобы мы сами не сорвались в силовой беспредел).[17]

At about the same time as Karaganov was setting out his ideas on Russia's post-imperial role, consistent democrats of the 'isolationist' variety were becoming less prominent. In particular, Galina Starovoitova was dismissed as President Yeltsin's adviser on nationalities. The new 'nation builders' were casting off 'isolationism' as a system of thought no longer adequate to the needs of the Russian state, or at least as one that was beginning to make them politically insecure against the rising popularity of the ideas of those in opposition to them.

The 'empire builders' comprised such diverse elements as the old 'hardliners', ultra-patriotic Communists, and extreme Russian nationalists, a force which began to gain strength in the late 1980s after the appearance of organisations such as 'Pamyat'. They became more numerous in the post-Soviet period attracting considerable support in Russian society. An example of their activity could be found in the formation of the Russian National Assembly (Русский национальный собор) in February 1992 in Nizhnii Novgorod.

A report of the First Congress of the RNA held on 12–13 May 1992 quotes from the organisation's constitution: it is a 'mass national-patriotic movement whose goal is to unite all existing Russian national parties, movements and groups on the basis of the idea of the restoration of Russian national statehood'.[18] The congress was unanimous in agreeing with the guest speaker Vladimir Zhirinovsky when he said: 'forget colours, hues, genealogy – the most important thing is the borders of Russia'. These borders were to be understood as those of the former Soviet Union, thus implying that territory lost to the NIS would have to be regained. The imperial idea was central to the organisation. The RNA also espoused a return to Slavonic values as distinct from general humanitarian values (общечеловеческие ценности), and priority of the interests of the state (державные интересы) over personal interests. In economic policy the Assembly favoured a return to planned management and fostering Russian entrepreneurs. They also espoused the idea that jobs in government, science, art, education, the media should be filled by representatives of Russian and other nationalities in proportion to their numeric share in the population. Apart from setting out its ideas, the congress passed a resolution demanding the resignation of Boris Yeltsin and his government and the creation of a provisional government of national salvation.

As can be seen from the report, this organisation had made the Russian national idea the basis of its policy aims. This was an idea that would have a broad popular appeal. The movement had the makings of a formidable opposition to the new democratic establishment. As the prospects for the speedy and painless transition to market economy receded, the ideas of the opposition, essentially directed against Western liberalism and market economics, were strengthening. The opposition's programme was the foil against which Russia's policy towards the NIS would have to be expressed.

When a government policy document entitled 'Main Foreign Policy Tenets of the Russian Federation' finally appeared in the spring of 1993 it was immediately assessed on how well it reflected Russia's national interest. It was found by its critics to contain only very general principles and to offer no clear idea why it was that the Soviet Union had been dissolved and where Russia was going. Viktor Kremenyuk, deputy director of Russian Academy's Institute of the USA and Canada, who analysed this document,[19] started by describing Russia in the following terms:

> No matter what you mean by 'Russia' – either the former empire, or that part of it which became the Russian Federation – it undoubtedly has its own specificity in its geographic situation, its historical traditions, its links with the surrounding world. Russia has not just become a bridge linking East and West, it absorbed the experience of Byzantium and the Golden Horde, the Slav tribes and modern Europe, it fused into one on a Slavonic basis the people of West and East; it created a unified culture, statehood, economy and political space. Having increased its territory to one sixth of the Earth's land mass and its population to nearly 300 million Russia – the USSR became an indivisible part of the general world process, a superpower with a mighty system of defence and attack.

Although Kremenyuk tried to avoid defining the entity which he wanted to become one of the group of the most developed nations of the world, his description was distinctly 'imperial'. He deplored 'what has been done by the reformer-democrats' – the breakup of the Union, the severe economic crisis they had caused, the destruction rather than restructuring of the industrial base, the weakening of its military strength. His conclusion was that 'all this is not doing any good now nor does it offer any prospects for the future'.

Kremenyuk believed that Russia would not achieve greatness on its own: to do that it needed 're-integration'. He did not propose, however, to repeat the mistakes of the USSR – 'distributing effort equally along the whole of the perimeter of its borders'. The 're-integration' he envisaged should be done selectively. First of all Russia would achieve 'political and economic integration' with Ukraine and Belorussia.[20] If that worked, Russia could then offer to the 'historically and ethnically related peoples' of Eastern Europe a series of 'enticing projects' based on the traditional division of labour – exchange of Russia's resources for their consumer goods, and also on joint action in tackling common problems in the transition to market relations, creating effective mechanisms for settling conflicts, interacting with NATO and the EU. Among the bases for such integration Kremenyuk also mentioned 'common ethno-cultural space which rests on community of Slavonic cultures'. Thus, Kremenyuk came up with a new type of entity based on the 'ideas of Slavonic community' with a possible geographic shift westward.

While discussion of policy took its course, practical day-to-day relationships between Russia and the former republics – New Independent States – developed on the basis of old economic dependences established in Soviet times within and around the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States. The CIS had been created as a loose conglomeration of states without any central supra-national governing bodies. This was because most former republics (especially Ukraine) were apprehensive of anything that might facilitate the re-emergence of Russian domination.

From its inception CIS was viewed differently by its various creators. Russia's leaders were guided first of all by their wish to preserve the post-Soviet space in some sort of unity. The Ukrainians on the other hand strove to create a viable instrument for the divorce of the former Soviet republics and to dispatch the hated Soviet Union to the dustbin of history. The rest of the participants took either Russia's or Ukraine's approach, which later became a reason for a perpetual 'tug of war' at every CIS summit.[21]

Initially there was a period of distancing when both Russia and the New Independent States turned to the West where they expected to find the answer to the question how 'quickly and effectively to enter a new world with a new model of society and state'.[22] At the same time the old links with Russia continued to operate in the sense that most NIS were dependent on Russia for oil and gas, which, as was stated in Yeltsin's speech on Russia's economic reform referred to earlier, would be sold to them at world prices. Unfortunately for the NIS, they consumed more of these resources than they could pay for, and their debt to Russia quickly accumulated. With the growth of that debt Russia was able to increase its influence over the NIS in a number of spheres. In Ukraine's case this was reflected in the agenda of negotiations: among matters to be discussed at a Yeltsin-Kravchuk summit in September 1993 were not just the Black Sea Fleet (which they were trying to divide up) and Ukraine's energy debt, but also the question of the 'development of economic union on the territory of the former USSR'.[23]

It is debatable whether Russia's activities in the CIS could be called an 'economic war', an accusation levelled at it by some of the NIS in the autumn of 1993. In reply to these, Aleksandr Shokhin, speaking for the Russian government, denied that any such war had been declared. He maintained that the problems of CIS countries were due mainly to the 'negative economic effects of political sovereignty'. He continued: 'In the

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main all CIS states take out more from Russia than they bring in. That's what the situation has always been, you can only blame history for that. Russia to these countries is a donor and for this donation she receives nothing in return, no concessions in other spheres, no understanding in economic, political, humanitarian spheres.'[24] It is interesting that even in denying the accusation Shokhin implied that in its relations with the NIS Russia also had political, 'integrationist' aims.

How successful the Russian government thought it was in achieving these aims was indicated by Vitalii Portnikov, who had no doubt that there was an economic war and that Russia was winning it. He offered the following assessment of the year 1993:

> Post-Soviet space has been preserved, and Russia has managed to carve out for itself the role of a leading power, capable not only of persuading others, but also of dictating to them its will, if necessary. What is more, last year enabled CIS borders to be widened to the frontiers of the former USSR (excluding the Baltic states which *de jure* had never been part of the USSR), by drawing into the Commonwealth Azerbaijan that had been vacillating, and Georgia which had been totally against participation.

Portnikov noted that the 'extent of Russia's influence in one or another former Soviet Republic differs', but was in no doubt that 'Russia has won the undeclared economic war (or competition) . . . It would have won even if it had not tried to (but such success was clearly desirable to Moscow)'. Portnikov concluded that Russia's 'victory was due to its decision to embark on radical economic reform while other republics (and Ukraine's example here is the most telling) remained with the economies of the past and little by little were turning into countries without an economy'. Russia's victory had meant that 'economic imperatives were capable of influencing the outcome of any negotiations be they about nuclear arms, fleets or the situation with Russian-speaking populations in one region of the former Union or another.'[25]

Russia's post-imperial role began to be discussed openly as government policy in the second half of 1993 in connection with her seeking international recognition for military involvement in various conflict areas of the former USSR.[26] In September 1993 Russia's Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev described the extent of this involvement: 'For two years now Russia has been solely responsible for carrying the heavy financial burden for real peace-keeping in conflicts along the perimeter of its borders.' Russia's reasons for doing this were explained as arising out of 'deep historical, political, cultural and other ties with its neighbouring countries'. Russia 'could not and indeed had no moral right to remain indifferent to their pleas for help to ensure peace'. Kozyrev was keen to dispel any suspicions that in this way Russia was conducting 'neo-imperialist' policies by saying that because of the unique nature of the post-Soviet geopolitical space nobody could take Russia's place as peace-keeper for the area.[27]

Shortly before the December 1993 elections, and possibly as part of the new establishment's attempt to stem the rising popular support for the nationalist opposition, Russia's foreign policy objectives were presented. *Nezavisimaya gazeta* noted that it appeared that Russia had all along had a coherent and definite policy but that the moment when its true nature could be revealed had not yet arrived. Possibly this was because it did not wish to cause friction between Russia and its Western partners. Once revealed it became clear what Russia's activities to date had been. With reference to the CIS these activities over the two post-Soviet years were summed up as follows:

> Already after the creation of the CIS, attempts were made in Moscow to strengthen Russia's influence on the territory of the former USSR. That is why so much effort was expended on inducing Georgia to take part in the Commonwealth and to retain Azerbaijan, trying to hold on to Tajikistan. As a result all former Soviet republics with the exception of the Baltics found themselves in this 'sphere of influence'.[28]

The combined success of the opposition

organisations and movements which were all in favour of restoring the empire in one way or another in the December 1993 elections to the State Duma meant that in the following year the new Russian establishment was to emphasise its espousal of the national idea and the promotion of Russia's national interest. In the words of Deputy Foreign Minister Anatolii Adamishin, relations with the CIS countries were to be placed 'at the very centre of Russia's vital interests',[29] because 'Russia's very survival' depended on how these relations were to develop. Russia 'simply could not give up her special responsibility and her special role' in respect of these countries. In relations with the 'near abroad' the idea that became central was 'integration', but assurances were made that the 'independence and sovereignty' of the NIS would be preserved in full.

Linking 'integration' and the special responsibility for the former republics with Russia's survival (выживаемость) became a recurring theme in discussions about Russia's national interests. Adamishin returned to the theme at the end of 1994 in an article entitled 'The Integration of CIS', published in *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, where this imperative was described thus:

> For Russia there are many reasons why it should fulfil the role of a leader in the cause of transforming the CIS into a genuinely integrated regional community. But the main reason lies right on the surface – it is Russia's security (безопасность). It is an axiom that her very survival depends on how the situation along the perimeter of its borders develops.[30]

In this article Adamishin asserted that there was now very little need to try and prove that re-integration was necessary, as there were very few people left in Russia who still believed that the collapse of the USSR had been good for Russia. He observed that: 'It looks as if practically all political forces in Russia recognise that a close integration of the former republics of the USSR is both necessary and inevitable.'[31]

While acknowledging that a great many economic and political changes had taken place in the NIS in the three years of independence and that none of these states was eager to give up its sovereignty, he nevertheless elaborated on the 'centripetal' (центростремительные) tendencies in the member-states of the Commonwealth:

> One should not fail to see that they are attracted, drawn to each other and especially to Russia . . . This spiritual attraction of the peoples of the CIS, the unity of their material culture, the absence of a language barrier, superimposed on a unified geopolitical area in which the CIS countries are situated, will generate centripetal impulses in the foreseeable future, impulses that will be good for the Commonwealth.

The good of the Commonwealth, in Adamishin's view, depended on complementarity of interests of its members:

> Spiritual, cultural, political presence of Russia in the countries of the CIS corresponds to Russia's own long-term national interests and, what is most important, is not understandable to the people of those countries.

The somewhat uneven distribution of emphasis between the interests of Russia and those of other countries was consistent with Adamishin's view of Russia's 'leading role', a role which it could not but fulfil if it followed through its conceptual conclusion: 'the CIS is the priority among the rest of our priorities'. This emphasis, in conjunction with the linkage of the idea of integration with survival and security, suggested great determination on Russia's part to take whatever measures were required to achieve the integration it believed necessary.

In Adamishin's analysis, the interests of the member-states of the CIS were in harmony with those of Russia. Yet he was aware that integration would mean a surrender – if only partial surrender – of sovereignty and that there was reluctance on the part of those countries to concede any of it. At the end of the article he spoke of a 'compromise' that would have to be reached if integration was to proceed. He maintained that 'sooner or later the mechanism of integration will be created. How quickly this happens depends on political élites of the CIS countries, on how well they understand the interests of each individual state and those of the Commonwealth as a whole, how sensitive they are to the change of mood of their people'.

The conclusion that in order to survive Russia would have to adopt a policy towards the other states occupying the geopolitical space of the former USSR very similar to that of the old Union 'centre' and of the Russian empire that preceded it was probably a predictable one, given the depth of the historical roots of integration. It was a logical development in Russian governing élite's thinking. The only available ideological alternative to Communism that could provide Russian society with cohesion was Russian nationalism. The early nationalism of the 'isolationists', the 'nation builders', that had proved useful in helping Russia gain her statehood as distinct from the USSR was overtaken in popularity by a force which combined the aspirations of the former communists to restore the Soviet Union and the hopes of the extreme nationalists to regain the territories of the former empire – the force that has been designated as 'empire-saving'. Political expediency dictated that the governing élite adapt its pronouncements and policies in order to compete with this force. As a consequence, it elaborated a new kind of 'nation building': the idea of 'isolationism' was subtracted from it, and much of what was added had the distinct hallmark of imperial thinking. It is this new ideological combination, which one may call 'empire building', that is likely to inform Russia's policies towards the 'near abroad' in future.

Notes

1. David Lane, *Soviet Society under Perestroika*, (Routledge, 1992), pp. 229–31.
2. In the summer of 1990 at the height of the process of суверенизация Yeltsin was reported to have said on a number of occasions that it was 'necessary to give the autonomies the amount of self-sufficiency that they deem necessary for themselves', «Известия» 27.7.90., and again, that they should 'have as much independence as they can realise'. «Аргументы у факты», № 32, 1990.
3. For an assessment of Tsipko's contribution to the glasnost debate see Stephen White, *After Gorbachev*. (CUP, 1993), p. 259.
4. Александр Ципко, «Драма российского выбора», «Известия», 1.10.91.
5. Г. Шахназаров, «Три самоопределения российской демократии», «Известия», 15, 16, 18.11.91.
6. Shakhnazarov did not make clear what he meant by the democrats' 'coming to power': it could be the election of Yeltsin as President on 12 June 1991, or he could be referring to his victory over the Emergency Committee in August 1991 and the subsequent takeover of what remained of the Union 'centre'.
7. Shakhnazarov, op. cit.
8. This argument was a revival of similar arguments used to justify tsarist Russia's imperial expansion. It featured prominently in late-Soviet and post-Soviet political thinking. Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott, *Russia and the New States of Eurasia. The Politics of Upheaval*, (CUP, 1994), p. 30.
9. In this he was referring to the common roots of the Slav republics in Kievan Rus. For a discussion of historical continuity of the ideas of the Kievan polity see Dawisha and Parrott, op. cit., pp. 25–35.
10. John Dunlop, 'Russia: confronting a loss of empire', in Ian Bremmer & Ray Tarras, eds., *Nations & Politics in the Soviet Successor States*, (CUP, 1993), pp. 54, 56.
11. Presidential elections in Checheno-Ingushetia were held on 9 November 1991 and the newly-elected President Dzhakhar Dudaev declared the republic an independent state. In December the Ingush people separated from Chechenia and declared themselves part of the Russian Federation. See also Jane Ormrod, 'North Caucasus: fragmentation or federation' in Bremmer & Taras, op. cit., pp. 456–9.
12. Борис Ельцин, «Обязуюсь перед своим народом сформировать кабинет реформ и рассчитываю на понимание и поддержку депутатов, каждого россиянина», «Известия», 28.10.91.
13. Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, *The End of the Soviet Empire: The ' Triumph of Nations*, (Harper Collins, 1991), pp. 257–60.
14. Линия Ельцина: «Кто и как формирует ее во внешней политике», «Московские новости», № 25, 25.6.93.
15. Г. Старовойтова, «От империи к России», «Огонек», № 43, 1991.
16. Dawisha and Parrott, op. cit., pp. 26–7.

17. Сергей Караганов, «Предчувствие империализма», «Московские новости», № 44, 1.11.92.
18. Ольга Бычкова, «Чернорубашечники» зовут на баррикады», «Московские новости», № 25, 21.6.92.
19. Виктор Кременюк, «Внешняя политика России: нужны ориентиры. Универсально-банальная концепция», «Независимая газета», 17.8.93.
20. A union comprising Russia, Ukraine and Belorussia was proposed by the writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn in 1990 in his essay 'Как нам обустроить Россию?'. He thought that Union republics wishing to secede should be allowed to do so and Russia should unite with those regions of Ukraine and Belorussia that wished to be part of the Pan-Slavic state. This union could also include regions of e.g. Kazakhstan or Estonia populated principally by Russians.
21. Виталий Портников, «Содружество или союз неприятелей», «Независимая газета», 8.12.93.
22. Станислав Кондрашов, «Ближнее зарубежье» «отдаляется», «Известия», 15.5.92.
23. Сергей Митин, «Экономический кризис толкает Украину и Россию к сближению», «Финансовые известия», 3–9.9.93.
24. Александр Шохин, «Экономической войны не было», «Независимая газета», 9.12.93.
25. Виталий Портников, «Содружество или Союз неприятелей», «Независимая газета», 8.12.93.
26. Russia was actively involved in Transdnestria, North Ossetia, Tajikistan and in Georgia, where it was simultaneously supporting Abkhazian separatists and the government in its efforts to maintain Georgia's territorial integrity.
27. Андрей Козырев, «Россия фактически в одиночку несет бремя реального миротворчества в конфликтах по периметру своих границ», «Независимая газета», 22.9.93.
28. Виталий Портников, «Россия возвращается в Восточную Европу. После укрепления позиций в СНГ», «Независимая газета», 1.12.93.
29. Анатолий Адамишин, «Внешняя политика России. «Ближнее зарубежье», «дальнее зарубежье» и «национальные интересы», «Независимая газета», 15.6.94.
30. Анатолий Адамишин, «Интеграция СНГ», «Независимая газета», 12.11.94.
31. Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn continued to hold his view that empire was no good for Russia. In January 1995, after a month of Russia's military action in the Chechen Republic, he repeated what he had said all along: Russia should 'set herself free of both Central Asia and Transcaucasia'. An exception should be made for Kazakhstan since it clearly wished to have close links with Russia. With regard to other non-Russian separatists within the Russian Federation his approval for withdrawal was contingent on whether he thought they could create viable independent states. «Аргументы и факты», Nos. 1–2, No. 3, 1995.

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Soviet cinema: 'Women's films': Part 3

Frank Beardow University of Sunderland

Desperately seeking . . . loneliness and beyond

Under this heading I propose to examine Vyacheslav Krishtofovich's **Lonely Woman Seeks Companion for Life** (1987), Pyotr Todorovsky's **Intergirl** (1989), and Kira Muratova's **Asthenic Syndrome (1990).** The omission of **Little Vera** (1988) is deliberate, since this film will form the basis for discussion in a later article.

Krishtofovich's film opens one dark evening in Kiev; it's pouring down. The forty-two-year old, rain-soaked heroine, Klavdiya Pochukayeva, is sticking up lonely hearts ads. Later that night someone called Valentin Spiridonov turns up at her well-appointed flat in answer to her ad. Neither Klava nor Valentin, ex-trapeze artist and drunk, is particularly attractive. This isn't Hollywood reality. She looks tired, strained, nervous, she has dark circles under her eyes; he has an unkempt beard, dishevelled hair; he's the worse for wear in both senses – he has a little grey hat and no shirt; we notice a vest beneath his jacket. They don't hit it off. Klava is rather brusque with him. He is about to offer her his hand. She merely comments that *you don't shake hands with ladies* [my italics – see later comment] and that he doesn't appeal to her; he counters that he's not over-enthusiastic about her. He asks her a series of questions about her status and situation and checks out the flat. He then asks for a loan. He scares her by pretending to have a gun. As he's getting some money from a drawer, she stuns him with a small wooden ironing board. When he comes to, she manages to get rid of him. After he's gone, she mops the floor of the vestibule – she's house-proud. Early next day he comes back to inform her that he's been round town removing her ads: three are accounted for. She slips some money into his top pocket. He claims he's going away, since there's nothing for him here: he says he's *no pauper, no scoundrel. I happen to be a human being* [my emphasis].

Later Klava is collected by her friend Anya Vorobyeva, with whom she works in a fashion house. The ad idea had been hers, but she had suggested it just as a joke. Klava is called out at work – there's a man to see her; it's Valentin who has brought her some very sad-looking flowers, probably stolen from the park. Klava takes him outside where she is introduced to his friend Kasyanov, an ungainly figure, a drinking companion and former fellow circus performer. He proffers his hand. Valentin immediately uses Klava's phrase: *You don't shake hands with ladies.* Kasyanov is supposed to be Valentin's spokesman and tell her how he feels about her. Instead he warns her about giving him money. A fight results, Klava separates them but not before being on the receiving end of an accidental blow. Anya warns her about the relationship with the drunk. *Isn't he a human being?* Klava asks. They have both used each other's expressions now. We feel there is something between them, some affinity. She even buys him a new set of clothes.

Her neighbour, Gerra Nikitina, tells her that some chap had called earlier. Klava, thinking it must have been Valentin, tells her that if he calls again to say that she's going away. It wasn't Valentin, though. An amusing scene follows when some Young Pioneers, who have seen her ad, offer to take care of her as a social project, bob-a-job, or rather kopeck-a-job, style. Klava laughs uncontrollably. When they have left, she mops the hallway again. Gerra calls again. She has fallen for the caller. In the meantime, Klava allows Valentin to stay the night on a camp-bed in the kitchen. After a silent breakfast he accompanies her to work. At her insistence, they stop at the corner. She gives him a key to the flat because she doesn't want him to bum around all day or to go drinking. At work she's reprimanded by the boss over this relationship. Valentin, it turns out, had had a wife, but she had left him because of his drinking. Klava rows with Valentin at home. As he leaves, he says: *You know, I didn't want anything from you, just understanding. I wanted some one to hear me out, to listen and commiserate. There's a shortage of compassion and understanding. I don't think it exists any more. I thought at first that you would understand 'Lonely woman seeks . . .'* She begins a letter of resignation when she is interrupted by Gerra.

Klava tells Gerra that she's given Valentin the push. *He can live his life. I'll live mine!* How many times have we come across that sort of phrase in our discussions. *I'm 43 soon. I won't need anyone,* says Klava. Gerra disagrees: *Loneliness is dangerous, especially for a woman. Motherhood and womanhood are endangered. It makes you bitter.* Gerra is rather diffident, too trusting, too gullible, but I think this remark is sincere. Kasyanov comes to see Klava, I suspect on his own initiative, to plead with her to help Valentin, who has gone to pieces. Kasyanov explains that Valentin had had an accident in the circus. His wife had left him for another man, and that's why he had started drinking. Klara explodes, she wants to be left alone; if anyone needs saving, she says, it's her. She is crying, though, as she speaks. She gets hold of Valentin's ex-wife's address and visits her, claiming to be from the housing department, though the wife eventually sees through this ploy. The wife's assessment of Valentin: *Everything with him is chance – his friends, women, acquaintances, everything, life too.* Klava tells her that he's got another woman, claims it's her friend, her wonderful friend, and he's not touched a drop for six months. Klava realises she wants Valentin. She searches off-licences in vain. When she sees the police dragging someone off in the subway she mistakes the man for Valentin.

At home, exhausted, she sits down. Gerra pops in: her friend, it turns out, was married, a journalist writing a book about single women. Gerra has decided to put up a lonely hearts ad. She asks if she's worded it correctly. Gerra leaves, the door is still ajar. Klava looks towards it, with tears in her eyes. . . . We then see Gerra putting up her ads.

Klavdiya Pochukayeva, a middle-aged woman who has everything, materially speaking, a well-appointed flat, a well-paid job – presumably she hadn't sent in her letter of resignation. She's not like Anya, who only courts rich and potentially useful acquaintances. Nor is she asking for a knight in shining armour, or a Prince Charming; Valentin certainly falls short of that ideal. In fact both Valentin and Klava had seen each other, warts and all: Valentin, down and out and drunk, and Klava tired and without make-up. Deep down, they are both decent people who have suffered in the past. We know why he took to drink; probably over the years Klava became stuck in her ways, house-proud, obsessed with detail (mopping the floor), more and more used to her own company, less sociable perhaps (we recall her remark that there aren't any films worth going to see). I think Valentin was right about compassion and understanding. Wasn't it that which they both sought? Alas, too late. No happy ending, the loneliness continues, the sad predicament of many a middle-aged, middle-class Soviet woman. Before she goes out with her own ads, Gerra kisses Klava and says: *We're friends now, not just neighbours.* It' s touching but depressing.

Intergirl [Interdevochka]

Given that it treats hard-currency prostitution, Todorovsky's film might have been expected to elicit huge numbers of 'Disgusted of Krasnoyarsk' letters. It didn't. **Sovetskii ekran** readers were touched by Tanya, the heroine, the Cinderella-hooker, the tart with a heart.[54] **Intergirl** is a simple story in two parts. The subject matter is revealed right from the start while the title and credits are being shown. Street scenes from Leningrad are interspersed with the image of a wine glass being raised, an attractive woman looking wistfully to camera, a man's face, a woman's face, a card being pushed across the table – *I am a man of few words, a businessman, I want to spend the night with you. If 'yes' keep the card. If 'no', return it. I'm running out of them.* The woman keeps the card. Two glasses are raised.

One of Tanya's clients is Edward Larsen, a balding, thick-set Swedish businessman in his late thirties who offers to marry her. Tanya lives with her mother, Alla Sergeyevna, a school teacher who is ignorant of Tanya's night work; in the day-time Tanya works as a nurse. To raise the cash to buy off her father who had abandoned the family years before but whose permission for her to emigrate is still necessary, Tanya briefly goes back on the game. This part of the film is handled well. Hollywood would have turned the scene into soft porn. Todorovsky focuses on her blank face as her body is used by the client. It's devastating in its impact. After a lot of bureaucratic red tape Tanya finally moves to Sweden. We know from a conversation with her mother that she wasn't in love with Ed. She'd said that if necessary she'd come to love him and that she really wanted a home, a car and to be able to shop for the things she wanted, like nice clothes. Her mother's remark is pertinent: *So you're selling yourself, aren't you?* Tanya's reply is equally revealing: *Everyone does, architects, lawyers, professionals.* As her plane takes off from Leningrad, we see aerial views of the city and hear a popular folk ballad sung by a baritone and accompanied by a female choir and Mantovani-type violins: *By Lake Baikal a vagabond is travelling/With his knapsack on his back. He sings this sad song. The vagabond crosses the lake/And sees his dear mother.* Tears well up in Tanya's eyes.[55]

Part two begins. At first everything is fine; her dream has come true, she lives in a well-appointed Stockholm flat with Ed, shops in supermarkets and fashionable boutiques and even buys a car. Shopping scenes are linked by the image of a credit slip being signed by Ed. One day Tanya is sitting in a bar when she notices a Soviet long-distance lorry nearby. She goes over and acts as translator for the driver, who is called Viktor. It turns out that coincidentally Viktor lives in the same block in Leningrad as her mother. Viktor becomes the link with home. When Ed gets a salary increase, Tanya thinks they can use it to go to visit her mother. They row. Ed says his colleagues are not too happy with her flamboyant behaviour, her Russian soul; he also accuses her of spending money like water. He gets the calculator out and proves that they can't afford to go to Leningrad. The buying of her car has put paid to that. Tanya tries to get a job; she's told that her nursing qualifications aren't recognised in Sweden; she'll take any type of work. She meets up with another Russian, a big, blowsy tart from Moscow. Tanya gets more and more bored. We also learn that Ed would like children; he's been examined and found to be OK, so she should go for a check-up. She isn't happy about this. Viktor comes back from a trip to Leningrad – they make love in his cab. Another row ensues at home. She admits to Ed that there was never anything between them; Ed confiscates her credit card. She says she earned her own money in Leningrad. Ed says he knows what sort of money. She slaps him across the face and leaves. She visits her blowsy friend but she is about to go off to Hamburg. We then see Tanya walking the streets, as if soliciting. She eventually returns home, a reconciliation takes place.

Over an al fresco meal with Ed's colleagues one of them, Gruenwald, ungallantly mentions that he once knew a prostitute in the Soviet Union, a nice one, but not particularly good in bed. Various wives ask Tanya personal questions. She explains that she's kept her Soviet passport because it'll be easier to travel to Leningrad to see her mother. Ed's boss announces that their firm has been invited back to Leningrad and that Ed will head the delegation. Tanya is so excited that she accidentally knocks over a tray of wine. When she goes to change, Gruenwald follows her, tells her he'll pay the same price as he did in Leningrad and tries to rape her. She struggles and finally manages to hit him over the head with a bottle. She pushes the body downstairs. When he comes to she threatens him with a gun, making him repeat an agreed story about what happened. The next day Ed is told that because of his wife's 'reputation' he can't go to Leningrad. Gruenwald is at the bottom of this.

Tanya goes to the ferry – no Viktor. She seeks solace in the Orthodox church, but has difficulty making the sign of the cross (cut off too long by her materialistic desires perhaps), and in drink. Both to no avail. A TV in the bar reveals that her blowsy friend has been arrested on heroin charges in Hamburg and had been involved in prostitution. A phone call from one of Tanya's erstwhile prostitute companions informs her that her mother is helping police with their enquiries about hard-currency speculation: dollars had been found in the flat. To force Ed to let her go to Leningrad, Tanya had claimed to have had a dream that not all was well with her mother. However, Ed refuses to give way. The police tell Alla Sergeyevna of 'Tanya's night-time job'. Her mother refuses to believe it. She gasses herself in despair, matters having been made worse by a notice that a gang of teenage boys has pinned to her front door 'Here lives the mother of a prostitute'. Fortunately she is rescued by her next-door neighbours' daughter, who, incidentally, is also a prostitute. Tanya reserves a ticket on the flight to Leningrad. Having avoided Ed on his return from work, she slips into her car and drives erratically in the rain towards the airport, her face awash with tears. The frame – her face in the windscreen – freezes at the moment of impact; she has crashed. Once again the Baikal song.

This film is an honest account of hard-currency prostitution.[56] It's also a tear-jerker. The viewer is sympathetic to Tanya and at times feels sorry for Ed. The film makes it clear why Tanya married him (that is, the chance to get abroad), but not why she became a hard-currency prostitute in the first place. OK, with hard currency she can buy nice clothes, but she can only wear them at night, and we know she spends most nights with her clothes off. A tad pointless. It's of little interest to discuss the male characters and their relationships with women – most are foreign. But the Russian ones? Some teenage lads who upset Alla Sergeyevna at school must bear some of the responsibility for her suicide attempt. Yurka Kozlov, the ringleader, had been dealt with by Tanya previously over an incident concerning her mother. At that time Tanya had not been bothered all that much by his calling her, Tanya, a tart, but she wasn't going to tolerate any more nonsense with regard to her mother. He had been about to pick up a half-brick; she had stepped firmly on his hand, thus preventing him. Tanya's father is a slob. What had he done to Alla? Abandoned her. I think this is a clue to the meaning of the film. Tanya isn't happy in the materialist West; she longs to get back to Leningrad and, more importantly, to her mother. That's it. The mother, Mother Russia, kind, decent, compassionate but abused by the male of the species. Tanya may have been an individual, spontaneously doing her own thing, but she got paid for being abused by men; that is, she set the terms. Alla Sergeyevna is the real heroine of this film. That's why Tanya desperately wants to get back to her, as the last line of the Baikal song reminds us. To mother, Mother Russia.[57]

Asthenic syndrome

The syndrome referred to in the film's title is a general weakness, a general debility, a weakness of the vital organs, a malaise.[58] Muratova suggests that all citizens suffer from it in the Soviet Union. In fact she called it the общая кризисная ситуация у нас.[59] At one stage in the film some old women bribe their way into a knacker's yard where they see all sorts of dogs in cages, some blind, some starved, pitiful creatures, waiting to be put down. The caption reads:

На это не любят смотреть
Об этом не любят думать
Это не должно иметь отношения
К разговорам о добре и зле.

There are other references in the film to mistreatment of animals: some construction workers catch a cat and tie a tin can to its tail, then chase it over the site. A daughter's pet cat is almost strangled by the father because it tried to get hold of his prize caged birds. However, the message is not that people shouldn't treat animals badly, it's rather that they shouldn't mistreat each other.

The film is in two parts, one shot in black and white, the other in colour. Both parts are disjointed, deliberately so; this is not an everyday story of Soviet folk in a cliché sense, though it is about them. We think we recognise the reality at first – a porcelain Victorian doll, dried flowers, a clutter of old-fashioned objects, all seen through blown bubbles. But disorientation follows. Cut to three old toothless women, holding hands, and chanting in chorus amongst other lines *When we were young we learned about good from Tolstoy, you just had to read him.* Cut to a boy blowing bubbles. Cut to the building site already referred to. The three workers, indifferent to a down and out who is telling them his life story, tie the tin to the cat's tail. The first part proper concerns Natasha, a doctor, who has just lost her husband. We see her at the funeral. It seems to be one of several taking place. Women seem to be comforting the mourners. One dries another's tears. Some of the men folk are indifferent. In Natasha's case, she's distraught, she has her face slapped to calm her down. There is some insensitive joking among the male mourners. Others gently try to stop a woman from comforting Natasha, who tells them all to go to hell! She leaves, there's noisy confusion over how to lower the coffin. Natasha wanders through the cemetery. It's as if it were a maze; she keeps reaching impasses. Cut to portraits on gravestones, husbands, wives, children, relatives. Cut to a collage of sets of photographs, like the portraits, but resembling passport photos, some with bits missing. Eloquent testimony to separation, loneliness, alienation.

Things get worse for Natasha; she rudely interrupts a couple at the cemetery who tell her to mind her own business; a gypsy woman with her child in tow starts prodding her; she enters a bus the wrong way and shoves her way through; she gets off and has to fight the crowds trying to get on. The doors close and she bangs her fists against them; she accuses a young man at the trolley-bus stop of trying to pick her up; a brawl ensues; they are separated by a young woman: *You're sick, get yourself a cure. Look at yourself, you cow!* All the time Natasha is sobbing; she refuses to help a neighbour whose wife is ill with a heart condition; at work next day, she wanders through the corridors as lost as she had been in the cemetery; in the doctors' room she rudely snatches a pen from another doctor; she resigns and has a boorish confrontation with her boss; in the street she deliberately bumps into people, lashes out at them. Only once does she apologise, and that is only because she'd thought she'd seen someone in a nearby window resembling her deceased husband; she orders a young man to give up his seat on the bus; she picks up a drunk, drags him off to her flat, orders him to strip. A neighbour witnesses the full frontal, the door having been left open; Natasha chucks the drunk out of bed when foreplay begins; she sobs her heart out; in the street a woman solicitously tries to remove a stain from Natasha's coat.

The film changes to colour. And we realise that what we have witnessed is a film within a film. We are in a cinema; a film expert and Natasha come forward to answer questions about the film, a rare chance, they suggest, to ask questions about serious cinema – Muratova, German and others. To no avail. Everyone in the audience, except for a contingent of soldiers, hightails it out of the cinema. Outside a couple are talking to each other, but the woman seems more concerned with love, she has her head on her husband's shoulder and looks at him in adoration. He seems less involved. As one critic put it, Muratova's women don't do battle with men, rather they fight for their men to love them and for their own love for their men. Happiness is a couple. Muratova's women are deprived of it. It all ends in loneliness. Natasha's actions are extreme, but then her grief is deep. In her case her syndrome is a psychological one, she can't accept loneliness.[60] For Natasha her happiness ends with the death of her husband. How long will the couple outside the cinema survive? Their relationship seems already one-sided.

The soldiers are ordered to march out of the cinema. A man at the front wakes up. Cut to crowds streaming through the Metro. A crowded train. All the passengers are asleep. A man lies on the floor of a metro station. An elevator is full of people, some of whom are *asleep*. The man on the floor is ignored by the crowds being disgorged from the train. Two young men and an old woman prop him up against the wall. A woman paramedic comes along with a policeman. They discover the man isn't dead, he's just *asleep*. The woman *yawns*, the policeman *yawns*. Further passengers step over the body on their way out. This is a new syndrome: sleeping sickness with a difference.

It turns out that the man asleep is Nikolai, a middle-aged teacher of English. We follow him through various situations. Other episodes comment on similar issues. Nikolai tries to talk to a female colleague, Nina Petrovna, a portly, middle-aged authoritarian teacher with a rapid, high-pitched voice who simply won't listen to what he has to say. He almost hypnotises her with the phrase:

T.h.e.r.e...i.s...n.o...n.e.e.d...t.o...a.d.o.p.t...
t.h.a.t...t.o.n.e...o.f...v.o.i.c.e...w.i.t.h...m.e.
N.o...n.e.e.d... N.o.o.o...n.e.e.d.

She goes away repeating the phrase to herself, but the effect wears off. She turns round and carries on as before.

Nikolai witnesses a sort of poor-man's poet on a bench spouting his lines whilst two old ladies blithely chatter about mundane matters on the shared bench. Nobody listens. Young couples in love are absorbed in each other. Someone by the name of Seryozha yells several times that Kolya has been killed. He is ignored. One couple notices, but the man says he's in a hurry and will see Seryozha later that night. Seryozha asks at a flat if Misha is in. A bejewelled lady in a false, almost theatrical voice, tells him she's heard from Misha that Kolya's throat was cut; she keeps repeating *How did it happen? I simply can't understand.* An Afro-caribbean and a Russian come out of the flat discussing the need to educate the soul. Cut to a fish stall, with women fighting to get served. Cut to an enormous queue outside an off-licence. Cut to Nikolai at school with a class of undisciplined students. Some are talking, others just larking about while Nikolai tries to teach. Cut to a little old lady who has been promised a puppy from a litter but who is now expected to pay 30 roubles for it. A fight develops in the fish queue. Cut to fingers tearing off pieces of fish. *Chiquita, Come Back, My Darling, Chiquita* plays in the background.

Further classroom scenes: students messing with elastic-band catapults or making moving pictures by rapidly flicking over pieces of paper. Total indifference to the topic under discussion. Nikolai wonders why they bother. He brings out his 'usual talk' which two of the girls imitate. Nikolai ends up fighting with Ivnik whom he'd like to throw out of class for disobedience. Nikolai comes off worse. The students laugh. He *yawns*. Yet later Nikolai witnesses Ivnik helping a simpleton who is being tormented by two girls in the street. Nikolai is upset: *He didn't understand me,* he cries. *No one does.* Things aren't any better at home. He is an aspiring writer, but isn't getting anywhere. Ivnik, it turns out, is Nina Petrovna's son. He plays tricks on his mother, hiding the shopping. She lectures him just as she does at school. Neither listens to the other. He has, however, bought her a mouthpiece for a trumpet. She plays *Strangers in the Night,* which is quite appropriate, given the theme of the film.

Nikolai's students, among them a certain Masha, are making a film on the theme of love: it contains nude scenes. Nikolai's suggestion, an alternative approach, is greeted with cries of 'sentimentality'. Masha rests her head on his chest. He *goes to sleep.* She's dumbfounded. Cut to a peculiar scene: nude men posing in doorways, including Natasha's former drunken friend and not quite one-night-stand, and a woman, her hands modestly covering her genitals. Cut to a school meeting, where the teachers or perhaps parents behave just like the students, chatting, interrupting, one even flicking over pages to make a moving picture. Again no one is listening to anyone else.

Cut to the distressing dogs-in-cages scene already mentioned. Cut to a mental hospital where Nikolai ends up. Various patients speak or act strangely. No one pays attention. Nikolai hides under the blankets. Masha and her friend arrive and try *to wake Nikolai.* Masha says he'll soon get better. But they refuse to listen to what he is desperately trying to articulate.

Cut to the scene which got the film banned for a time: a woman on the metro speaking of her life and especially of her husband with liberal doses of four-letter words. Directly to the camera. There is a shock effect, but what's really at stake is the appropriation of male language by a woman. And that's probably Muratova's greatest blow to patriarchy. Masha and Nikolai are also on the same train. They start to kiss. He asks where they are going. She replies that they are going home, she lives with her mother, a good woman. He *falls asleep* and cannot be woken up. She tries to revive him, saying she'll do everything for him, look after him, do his washing, read to him. This is the very pampering attitude, according to one Soviet critic, that creates weak men in the Soviet Union.[61] Interestingly enough, we've just caught a glimpse of the couple we came across outside the cinema in the first part of the film; she's still clinging to her husband. The train has reached the last stop. A policeman arrives. Masha says Nikolai's *just asleep,* as earlier in the film. Masha and the policeman leave. Nikolai falls to the floor and the last shot we have of him is of his body stretched out on the floor as if crucified. The train goes to the depot. Masha is semi-hiding behind a column on the platform. *Chiquita.*

The film is about loneliness, individual loneliness, loneliness in a crowd, a crowd that is also lonely. Everything has broken down, there is no understanding, no mutual understanding, people abuse each other, relationships are one-sided, selfish. But what's worse is that all relationships are affected, not just between men and woman, but between men and men, women and women. And no one notices, they remain *asleep,* unaware. A new awareness is needed; Natasha may or may not come to find it; Nikolai may not, but at least he's aware that he doesn't want the old type, the-pipe-and-slippers and the-little-lady routine.

The film is unusual in another sense: it's not a question of the woman as a symbol of Mother Russia, it's rather of Natasha and Nikolai as representative of Russia, a Russia that has fallen apart. Their situation is then multiplied by other individuals in the various episodes

Concluding remarks

In pre-revolutionary Russia and the Soviet Union society was patriarchal. That is still largely true of the present-day CIS. Since the Revolution there has always been a dichotomy between the rhetoric of equality and actual reality. We have seen that the passing of a law or a decree is no guarantee of its implementation. The title of this article posed a question *Soviet cinema: women – icons or individuals?* It's clear from our discussions that the answer is not clear-cut. The question cannot be put in terms of either/or.

Films of, or depicting, the 20s present a man's world. In *The Commissar* Vavilova becomes defeminised by the Civil War; she adopts masculine character traits. She rediscovers her femininity thanks to the Magazanik family, and especially Yefim's wife. And yet she leaves her child and rejoins her battalion. She is an amalgam of icons: Woman as Feminine and Woman as Cause, both defined by men. That this amalgam is possible is largely due to the time at which the film was made, the 60s, with the increasing emphasis on feelings and emotions. In *The Prostitute* and *Third Meshchanskaya* both Liuba and Liudmila are treated as objects. In the former we have The Fallen Woman and in the latter The Awakening Woman. Liuba and Liudmila seem to win through, but we are aware of the propaganda underlying both films. There is only a hint of individuality. However, let's not forget that the very concept of the individual is, after all, more

Western than Soviet.

In the Stalinist Era cinema and literature were called upon 'to show people not how life was, but how life should have been', as Kenez puts it. Many films portrayed successful women, Cinderella-figures, champions, leaders, whereas in real life women had less prestigious jobs, that is, jobs rather than careers. We saw how the icon came into its own in posters and also in film: Woman as self-sacrificing Mother Russia, or rather, Belorussia (*Sign of Disaster*), Woman as Icon of Morality (*Marite*).

The films of the 60s and 70s, the so-called 'women's films', explored the cost of personal happiness, honestly and sincerely, but open-endedly. We examined three films by women directors. In *Wings* Nadezhda can't come to terms with the new generation; she's moved from fighter-pilot and war-hero to deputy of the city Soviet to school inspector and principal. Yet she's unhappy and lives on her memories. In *Brief Encounters* both Valya and Maksim are equally at fault. Valya has a good job, but at what cost? Maksim may seem like a male chauvinist pig, but who allowed him to become one? Sofiko in *Some Interviews on Personal Matters* suffers from the double burden, the almost physical impossibility, of trying to combine home and career. In all three films it is the problem of being allowed to approximate to individuals that is highlighted.

More recent films chart the isolation and loneliness of women, and men for that matter. Klava in *Lonely Woman Seeks Companion for Life* explores the sad predicament of many a middle-aged, middle-class Soviet woman. In *Asthenic Syndrome* both the man and the woman, Natasha and Nikolai, are seen as representative of Russia, a Russia, though, that has fallen apart. In *Interdevochka* Tanya's mother embodies Mother Russia and all her good qualities. However, she is abused by men. And one final point: in some of the films and literature which appeared in the very last years of the Soviet Union, women's bodies became sites of violence, particularly rape. Have women's bodies really come to symbolise a society in total moral collapse? If it's true, then it's an appalling trend.[62]

Notes

54. *Sovetskii ekran* No. 5, 1990, pp. 4–5. The phrase 'cinderella-hooker' is Lawton's. Lawton op. cit. p. 213.
55. The translation of the song is from Horton and Brashinsky op. cit. p. 120.
56. Unlike *The Prostitute* the film isn't propaganda, though economic problems are a central issue. For a deliciously witty review of *Interdevochka* and *Pretty Woman* see Stites, 'The Changing Function of Gender in Popular Culture' in Marianne Liljestrom, Eila Mantyssaari and Arja Rosenholm (eds): *Gender Restructuring in Russian Studies*. Helsinki Conference Papers, August 1992. Tampere. 1993 p. 225. Other reviews of *Intergirl* are to be found in *Sovetskii ekran* No. 3, 1989, pp. 20–1; *Sovetskii fil'm* No. 10, 1989, pp.18–19 and *Iskusstvo kino* No. 1, 1990, pp. 62–8 – 'Stockholm doesn't believe in tears'. For a discussion of *Umeret' ot liubvi'*, a documentary film about prostitution, see *Iskusstvo kino* No. 6, 1991, pp. 40–1.
57. The 'Mother Russia' allusion also appears in Panfilov's disappointing film *The Theme*.
58. *Sovetskii ekran* No. 3, 1990, p. 11.
59. *Sovetskii ekran* No. 8, 1990, pp. 26–7. Martin Dewhirst brought to my attention Jane A. Taubman's article *The Cinema of Kira Muratova* in *The Russian Review*, vol. 52, July 1993, pp. 367–81. Taubman considers Muratova's films thematically and aesthetically. She observes that *Asthenic Syndrome* has a Tolstoyan moral vision.
60. Gulchenko: *Iskusstvo kino* No. 6, 1991, p. 64.
61. Lipovskaya ibid p. 20.
62. Attwood op. cit. pp. 128–30 discusses this trend and suggests reasons for it. She also argues that 'in many cases woman herself is the intended victim, not just woman-as-symbol', supporting her argument with insights from Ann Kaplan's feminist analysis of Hollywood Film Noir and films of the early 70s.

Starting Russian at university: expectations and reactions of students

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The problem of motivation can be very acute in the first year of higher education. Many of our new students, even if able and apparently well motivated, may be struggling with unsatisfactory lodgings, being away from home, making unaccustomed academic and other decisions for themselves, or with personal relationships (at a time when feelings are likely to be strong). Perhaps the fundamental issue is that of coping with the personal freedom which universities provide while at the same time making demands of the student which he or she may find very difficult to meet.

When a student registers to read for a degree in a subject never tackled seriously before, other problems arise. How difficult will the subject prove? Will it seem as interesting as hoped when the hard grind starts? This survey attempts to arrive at a sketch of the reasons why people enrol for such courses, what their expectations are, and how they imagine they will be tested and disciplined. As a 'before-and-after' survey it investigates whether these expectations were realised. The findings may be of interest to teachers of *ab initio* courses in other subjects. The survey studies three cohorts of *ab initio* Russian students, two at the University of Leeds and one at Nottingham. This summary article reports the findings of this admittedly small-scale and limited survey.[1] A full version of the report with copies of the questionnaires and complete results may be obtained from the author for the cost of duplication at the department of Slavonic Studies, University Park, Nottingham NG7 2RD.

In the body of this article, percentages are for the most part given to the nearest whole number.

Expectations of students at the time of enrolment

The students who responded to the questionnaire

The 75 undergraduates were in the first year of studying Russian from scratch. 67 were aged 18–21, 7 were 22–35 years old and one over 35. 42 (56%) had come straight from school (we shall refer to these below as 'Group 1'), 22 (29%) had had a break of one year since school (Group 2), and 10 (13%) had had between 2 and 16 years in other occupations (Group 3). The age profile of these students, about 12% of them 'mature', differs from the national picture: on entry in 1992 to degree courses in Russian 22.4% of students were 21 and over. The average for degrees in combinations of languages on the other hand (not necessarily including Russian) was only 8.46%.[2]

Of the 42 who had come straight from school, 37 had decided on an *ab initio* Russian course during their last two years at school; only 3 decided after taking A levels. Of the group which had taken a year off, 8 decided at school and 11 after taking A levels; they therefore differ markedly from Group 1.

Sources of advice and help with decision-making

Questions were included to attempt to discover where potential students sought advice Not surprisingly, 96% mentioned departmental or university prospectuses: if any university seeking to recruit students could possibly be in doubt about the importance of such publications presenting the department in the best possible light, this fact should settle the matter. 73% referred to UCAS materials. School teachers or careers counsellors (43%), family (39%), friends (31%) and 'former students of this or any other university' (28%) figured to some extent. 27% said they had looked at 'Independent printed or published information'; 5% mentioned 'students' union published materials'.

As to what the crucial influences were on the decision to enrol for an *ab initio* course in Russian, 77% said it was the student's own decision entirely. Only 3% mentioned school teachers' advice. 59% agreed that intrinsic interest in the subject had been important and 45% that 'reasonable' career prospects had attracted them.

How students expect to benefit by studying Russian at university

In this section 14 statements were presented and respondents were asked to tick if they agreed. Space was left for additional reasons.

Students were cautious about admitting to any hopes that study of Russian would lead to 'a better job with a higher salary than I otherwise might [obtain]' – only 19% agreed. On the other hand only 4% expected *no* career or promotion advantage and 7% very few such advantages from studying Russian. 40% thought Russian might be 'an eye-catching qualification for future employment' and 76% thought it might result in 'a more interesting career than otherwise'. 26% thought Russian might be 'a useful skill in a career mainly concerned with another subject'.

The most popular ways in which students expected to benefit concerned travel. 84% looked to 'opportunities to work abroad' and 'good opportunities for travel to Eastern Europe' got a 73% approval rate. 73% also ticked 'knowledge, skills and personal development relevant for social and travel purposes', but only 20% approved 'knowledge, skills and personal development relevant to leisure purposes'. 'Deeper insight into my other subjects (if any)' rated barely 25% among those who had another subject, but 'deeper insight into politics or world affairs' rated 65%. 'Enhanced interest in or enjoyment of books, music, the arts' rated 45%. However, the real interest of these students was betrayed by the response to 'enhanced interest in or enjoyment of language or languages generally' – 81%. The commitment of these students would appear to be greater to *language* than to literature or area studies.

Aspects of motivation.

Motivation is a ticklish concept. Is it to be estimated by questioning students, or simply by monitoring their progress? There are some bored by their subject who can get a 'first', while others who passionately desire to shine cannot seem to produce more than a mediocre examination performance. Nevertheless, the respondents to this questionnaire were asked to estimate their motivation when they entered upon the course.

The dangers of taking the answers too literally were vividly illustrated by one student who described himself as 'very highly motivated', but had left the course after one lecture. However, 85% described themselves as highly or very highly motivated. Only 10 students (15%) described their motivation as average, and no-one was prepared to admit to poorer motivation. One respondent claimed to be highly motivated, but added the comment that he 'found it difficult to put into practice'! – a feeling that many of us doubtless share.

What I suspected might prove to be a poorly phrased question produced some thoughtful responses. Respondents were asked whether they agreed with the statement, 'At the beginning of the course I would have expected that study of Russian (and if applicable my other subject) would be my main interest and activity while at university.' 63% agreed or strongly agreed, 20% were neutral and 16% disagreed. Eight commented that study of Russian was a high priority, but that they also sought involvement in sport, music, theatre or social life; one remarked on her scepticism of one-subject study as a way to a rounded personality. Soviet educators in the old days would have approved.

Expectation of difficulty

Hypotheses which, it was felt, deserved investigation were that disillusionment with an *ab initio* course might result from unrealistic expectations of the problems to be encountered, and that recruitment to such courses might suffer from fear of tackling a language which is sometimes perceived as difficult.

The first finding here and the conclusions based upon it may seem to be obvious, yet perhaps they need to be stated. While 62% of the entrants had no knowledge of Russian at all when they began, 24% claimed GCSE or GCE O level standard in Russian, and a further 13% some 'very little knowledge'. All but one of those with GCSE and about half of the others had started Russian *before* deciding to apply for an *ab initio* degree in Russian. The vast majority had acquired what knowledge of Russian they had at school. A random sample of university undergraduates would produce fewer than 1% with a GCSE or O level certificate in Russian: it is obvious, therefore, that a GCSE course in Russian at school is a major element in recruitment to university *ab initio* courses.

Respondents were next given a list of eight language skills or learning tasks and were asked to state whether before coming to university they had expected to find these very easy (rated 1), easy, neither easy nor difficult, difficult or very difficult (rated 5). Since one might reasonably expect that those who had done a little Russian before might respond differently, Groups A (no previous knowledge of Russian), B (some slight previous knowledge) and C (roughly GCSE/GCE O standard) were looked at separately.

Not many students expected to find any of the activities easy or very easy. The averaged overall ratings showed that reading in Russian and translation from the language were anticipated to be the easiest at 3.31 (i.e. between neutral and difficult); the average expected learning to translate from English to Russian would be the most difficult at 4.00. Learning grammar was the activity about which there was the most disagreement, with 20% expecting to find it easy or very easy and 47% difficult or very difficult. The most experienced Group C consistently expected Russian to be rather easier, with one interesting exception: they expected learning grammar to be very slightly *more* difficult than Group A.

As for whether respondents expected to find these same activities *interesting*, they were invited to place them on a five-point scale between very interesting (1) and very boring (5). The average student clearly expected to find everything interesting or at worst neutral. The only activities which any but the odd respondent expected to find boring were learning grammar (27%) and learning vocabulary (29%). The potential popularity of oral and aural activities was obvious from the results.

Expectations of the nature of the course

Perhaps the content of the course offered was not quite what the students had expected or hoped? The hypothesis that respondents expected the priorities of the university staff to be different from those of the students themselves was next tested. Nine language activities were presented to the students and they were asked first of all to place them in order of priority relating to their own personal reasons for studying Russian. Next, they were invited to state what they imagined their teachers' priorities might be, if different. The order of priorities was:

Activity	*Students' priority*	*What students expect staff priority to be*
speaking Russian	1	2
reading Russian	3	3
writing essays, reports, summaries, etc.	9	7
understanding spoken Russian	2	4
translating English to Russian	8	5
translating Russian to English	5	6
oral interpretership English to Russian	7	8
oral interpretership Russian to English	6	9
study of grammar and language structure	4	1

Are there any surprises in these results? It is interesting, in view of the ways in which foreign languages are taught and tested in schools these days, that study of language structure comes as high as fourth in the students' priorities, and this fact indicates a serious desire to grasp the technical details of Russian. Students obviously also expect the analytical grammatical approach from university tutors. But they also expect spoken Russian to be a very important element in the course they undergo, and they will doubtless be disappointed if it is perfunctorily taught. Perhaps surprisingly, the majority of these students showed relatively little interest in gaining oral interpretership skills, at least at this early stage in their university career. Only about 26% of them included interpreting in their first four priorities.

Expectations regarding the intensive nature of the course

Students joining an *ab initio* course in a foreign language might justifiably imagine that the teaching they are offered should be very intensive. On the very successful British services Russian courses of 40 years ago at least 25 hours per week of face-to-face language teaching was usual. Among the students investigated here, an estimate of the average expectation was about 13 hours per week.[3] Weekly or monthly tests were expected by 40%. On the content of these tests, 89% thought they would be examined in 'vocabulary, grammar and language structure'. Nothing else rated more than 70%, but it is interesting that almost as many (63%) expected to be tested orally as on written translation. The practical difficulties of arranging frequent testing of oral Russian are not to be underestimated, but the inevitable result of neglecting the testing of oral skills sends the unintended message that oral work may safely be neglected, and it may unconsciously persuade them to change their own declared priority of acquiring spoken language. One final question concerned attendance at classes. 31% expected to be put under 'extreme pressure' to attend classes regularly, 59% that they would be 'expected but not obliged to attend'.

Conclusions of the inquiry into students' expectations

Within the limits of this study, we have now arrived at a sketched profile of the student who enrols for an *ab initio* course in Russian in two relatively traditional universities. He or she makes up his or her own mind for the most part, being largely intrinsically interested in the subject, not too pessimistic about career prospects, or having a range of personal reasons for wanting to follow an *ab initio* course. He or she has almost certainly read and used the university or departmental prospectus and studied UCAS information. A strong minority has discussed the matter with schoolteachers, family, friends and acquaintances, but relatively few of these claim the advice received to have been crucial in their decision. 42% come to university a year or more after leaving school. A very small number believe entry to such courses to be easier than others.

Students have a wide range of expectations as to how they are likely to benefit from studying Russian. Very few expect *no* career advantages, but there is no exaggerated optimism about the prospects. While substantial percentages hope for deeper insight into world politics or enhanced enjoyment of books and the arts, the winning points in this category are the opportunities for travel and work abroad that a degree in Russian offers, and most of all the chance to develop linguistic skill and knowledge of languages generally. Most consider themselves highly motivated and say they expect to work hard. 37% have some knowledge of Russian before they come (even though enrolling to learn the language from scratch). They do not expect learning Russian to be easy, nor do they imagine it will be particularly difficult. Those who have done some already are more confident about this. They all expect to find the process interesting.

The students are on the whole very keen to acquire skills of speaking and understanding spoken Russian, and they imagine that the same priority is possessed by their teachers. They wish to master Russian grammar, and expect that their lecturers place the highest importance on this. They expect to be taught fairly intensively, to be tested once a term or more both orally and in writing and that pressure will be placed upon them to attend classes.

The implications of all this must be fairly clear; before re-stating them in summary, let us look at the results of the 'after' survey.

Reactions to the first year of the course

The aim of the second questionnaire was to assess satisfaction both with the course undergone and with each student's own performance. The results are probably relevant mainly to the particular department or to particular students, and for this reason are summarised here only briefly. Yet reading of the findings can give subtle hints about ways in which student satisfaction can be improved elsewhere. Seventy students who had taken part in the survey of expectations completed the second questionnaire.

Satisfaction with progress and feelings about the work

Seven students (10%) claimed to have put very considerable effort into their studies, 29 (41%) considerable, 26 (37%) adequate and 8 (11%) not enough effort. 10 (14%) were fully satisfied with their achievement, 51 (73%) reasonably satisfied, 8 (22%) disappointed and 1 (1%) very disappointed. 9 (13%) had found the experience of learning Russian very difficult, 34 (49%) difficult and 25 (36%) neither difficult nor easy. 2 (3%) found it easy. 15 (21%) had found the experience very enjoyable, 47 (67%) enjoyable, 7 (10%) not very enjoyable and 1 (1%) unpleasant. As for interest in the subject now that the first year was completed, 42 (60%) declared themselves very interested in the subject, 24 (34%) quite interested, and 4 (6%) not particularly interested. (These four were all satisfactory students in terms of achievement.) 38 (54%) said they were more interested than when they started, 25 (36%) interested to the same degree and 7 (10%) less interested than they had been.

The students' expectations of how difficult and interesting they would find Russian before they started were compared with their reactions after the year's study. On the whole they found the various tasks and activities very slightly easier and very slightly less interesting than expected.

How students now expect to benefit from studying Russian

The same statements were offered to students for approval as in the first survey. Some increase in the previously noted cautious optimism about career prospects was observed and in the number expecting to benefit through enhanced interest in their other subjects, in languages generally and in books and the arts, and through increased social and leisure interests or travel opportunities.

Satisfaction with the course, facilities for study and discipline

80% thought enough formal teaching was provided overall, 17% not enough and 3% too much. (The three cohorts differed little in this overall judgement.) However, when asked about the amount of attention devoted to teaching specific aspects, a much higher level of dissatisfaction revealed itself. (It is, of course, illogical for respondents to be satisfied with the amount of teaching overall, but to want more of some individual components and less of none!) 57% thought there was not enough teaching of spoken Russian, 23% not enough reading, 26% not enough writing in Russian, 74% not enough opportunity to learn to understand spoken Russian. 85–95% were satisfied with the time given to translation and grammar. Some differences between cohorts here doubtless reflect the way they were taught.

Testing on a day-to-day basis was arranged differently for the three cohorts, but a steady 86% or thereabouts of all students thought there were sufficient tests, and 76% thought they gave a fair enough indication of progress. There was a fair degree of support for the practice of regular testing to provide extrinsic motivation. 77% were satisfied with the amount of work set and marked, but only 66% were satisfied with the feedback given.

The majority of students (65%) considered pressure to attend classes to be 'moderate': 23% said 'strong' and only 3% 'weak'. Pressure to hand in routine exercises and work for formal assignments was on average held to be moderate to strong. An interesting feature was the presence of a very small hard-line authoritarian minority, rattling their sabres in indignant desire that either their comrades or they themselves should be ruled with a rod of iron.

Teaching effectiveness

Findings relating to individual departments are of little value in a general article of this sort, but the general issues arising from the responses are of interest. All views were tactfully expressed; many of them pointed to weaknesses in the course which the staff well understood. There was complaint about unsuitable textbooks, a desire for better coordination between those teaching different aspects of the course, and some wish for more oral lessons. A small but deeply-feeling minority had found a grammar-translation approach a bitter disappointment. There was some desire for smaller classes, for a less textbook-centred approach and for general intensification of language teaching. Perhaps the most disquieting complaint – because in present conditions, with large groups and 'efficiency drives', it is difficult to do very much about it – concerned a department's perceived failure to treat students' genuine learning problems individually. In many cases this may not have been so – but inevitably some students who could have been helped may well have fallen through the safety net.

Attendance and achievement

One important problem which this survey was able to address only very perfunctorily (and then only in relation to the first Leeds cohort)[4] is the matter of attendance at classes as a measure of motivation. While universities today must cater for a much wider range of ability, motivation and perhaps even personality than ever before, and while it is the duty of staff to attempt to interest the students as well as and in order to educate them, they have to organise courses for students who *reasonably* seriously wish to study. They cannot interest or motivate students who are scarcely ever seen at classes. Some students' problems have nothing to do with Russian in the first place, though they may have been intensified by enrolling for a course which is unsuitable for them. It is a matter for counselling and selection, and there are moral and ethical issues for society as a whole in the expectations it has of young people and of the institutions where increasing numbers of them are studying.

General conclusions

Messages for university departments from all of this include the need to encourage Russian teaching in schools because it fosters recruitment to *ab initio* courses and produces students who do better than the average, the importance of prospectuses and the fact that they should present the department accurately, enthusiastically and persuasively, the need for realistic careers information and counselling, and the value of maintaining periods of study in Eastern Europe, difficult and troublesome though it may be to organise them at present.

Equally important, perhaps, are the implications for course content and organisation. Some relatively minor adjustment may meet certain of the students' reasonable expectations without renouncing any principles. A finding which departments should not ignore is the consistently high priority students attach to practical oral communication and the disappointment they feel when this is not given the stress they feel it requires. If this is taken seriously, then spoken Russian will not be taught by the least well-qualified, worst paid part-time people in the department, but by those with innovative ideas and a real academic, even research, interest in teaching methods.

Another important matter is the intellectual content of courses generally. These students are reasonably interested in literature, but they have a variety of other interests too: language as such, world affairs, the arts and travel in particular. A real understanding of this will influence even such things as the way elementary grammar and literacy in Russian are taught. Even the English sentences used to test acquisition of grammar, if such there have to be, *can* give opportunities for arousing interest in area studies and *stranovedenie*, while a thousand examples of the type 'I must buy a new overcoat, since I am flying to Tokyo to meet my brother who is managing a factory in Japan' do not. (My favourite from a military Russian course of 40 years ago, 'Do not fire your machine-gun at Masha; she is not very well and besides bullets cost 10 kopecks each', has at least the virtue of humour.)

The point is not being made that university courses should set out to fulfil student expectations and wishes in every respect. It must surely be expected that lecturers will persuade students of the virtues of certain approaches or programmes of study through excellent teaching and the arousal of hitherto unsuspected interest. Nevertheless, good teaching builds on what enthusiasm is there already, encouraging the learner thereby. Any teaching strategy which refuses to consider the learner's legitimate expectations will surely prove as ineffective as one that sets out to pander totally to the whims of the student.

Acknowledgement

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Notes

1. Some not dissimilar work has been done with smaller numbers of students by Rastall, P., 'Who studies Russian *ab initio* – and why?' in *Working Papers in Russian Language Teaching*, University of Portsmouth, 1994, pp. 7–18, and Davie, J., 'Who studies *ab initio* Russian? A comparative analysis', the same, pp. 19–26. The two essays survey a total of 51 students.
2. *UCCA Statistical Supplement to the Thirtieth Report 1991–93*, Cheltenham: University Central Council on Admissions, 1993, pp. 8–10.
3. At one of the universities concerned these students have seven hours face-to-face instruction and four more of directed private study.
4. See the full report, available as described in the first paragraph of this article.

Letters from Evgeny Evtushenko and Bella Akhmadulina

Gordon McVay University of Bristol

The centenary of Sergei Esenin's birth will be celebrated on 3 October 1995. It seems, therefore, appropriate to publish here for the first time the complete text of two letters from the poets Evgeny Evtushenko (born in 1933) and Bella Akhmadulina (born in 1937). Both letters were received in reply to a questionnaire which the present writer has sent to many Russian poets over the years. The recipients were invited to answer three questions:

(1) Каких русских и советских поэтов Вы прежде всего уважаете и любите? Имел ли кто-нибудь из них влияние на Ваше творчество?

(2) В частности, как Вы относитесь к поэзии Есенина? Высоко ли цените его творчество? Какие стихотворения и поэмы его Вам больше всех нравятся? Какие недостатки, по-Вашему, в его творчестве?

(3) Можете ли что-нибудь сказать о роли Есенина в развитии русской советской поэзии?

Extracts from the replies of some poets have already been published, in both Russian and English.[1]

Евгений Евтушенко. [Переделкино, 13 мая 1980 г.].

Дорогой Гордон!

Отвечаю на Ваши 3 вопроса.

(1) На мой взгляд первая, самая мощная линия русской поэзии это ПУШКИН + ЛЕРМОНТОВ + НЕКРАСОВ + БЛОК + МАЯКОВСКИЙ + ПАСТЕРНАК + ЦВЕТАЕВА.[2]

Вторая линия, тоже весьма и весьма достойная: ТЮТЧЕВ, БАРАТЫНСКИЙ, АХМАТОВА, ГУМИЛЕВ, ХОДАСЕВИЧ, МАНДЕЛЬШТАМ, ЗАБОЛОЦКИЙ.

ЕСЕНИН — особое уникальное явление между этими двумя линиями. Он обладает общенациональным значением первой линии, но не поднялся до ее философско-эпических высот. Есенин — самый наирусский из всех русских поэтов. В этом его покоряющая сила, и в этом его ограниченность. Его искренность, исповедальность были настолько душераздирающи, что иногда перекрывали собой срывы его вкуса, а иногда и техники. Только у такого поэта, как Есенин, на исповедальном надрыве могла пройти такая рифма, как «зари» и «спирт», вернее «нерифма».[3] Подражать Есенину бессмысленно, как невозможно подражать исповеди.

Пришлите мне свою книгу об Айседоре и Есенине.[4] Что касается фотографий моих, то моя смертельная занятость сейчас, боюсь, не дает мне возможности рыться в архивах.

Еще раз спасибо за участие в Антологии.[5] Ваши дети на фото очаровательны. У меня сейчас новый сын — Антон, родился 8 апреля сего года.

Я закончил свой первый роман,[6] и выпустил первую книгу статей.[7]

Надеюсь, что Вы когда-нибудь приедете в Москву.

Искренне Ваш

Евг[ений] Евт[ушенко][8]

Белла Ахмадулина. [Москва, 17 октября 1965 г.].

Глубокоуважаемый господин Маквей!

Я очень виновата перед Вами: в прошлом году я была не слишком занята, а слишком не точна, чтобы своевременно ответить на Ваше письмо. К тому времени, когда я, наконец, собралась это исправить, у меня уже не было уверенности в том, что Вы попрежнему в Москве и мое

мнение о Есенине продолжает Вас интересовать.

Приношу Вам свои извинения и рассчитываю на Вашу снисходительность, а также на то, что мое отношение к Есенину вряд ли имеет большое значение для оценки его творчества.

Если бы я решила ответить на Ваши вопросы с глубокой серьезностью, я бы должна была писать Вам в течение многих лет. Полагая, что Ваша заинтересованность в предмете все же ограничена временем, я заполню Вашу анкету так, как это единственно возможно: поверхностно, вкратце и условно.

1. Более всего и безмерно я люблю Пушкина. Пушкиным моя душа непрестанно занята.

Я люблю: Лермонтова, Тютчева, Блока, Пастернака, Заболоцкого, Цветаеву, Мандельштама, Ахматову, Маяковского — и всех поэтов, если подразумевать под этим словом его единственное и высокое значение, а не любую привычку к стихотворству.

Из моих приблизительно ровесников и коллег я предпочитаю другим Евтушенко, Вознесенского, Окуджаву и Новеллу Матвееву.

Я думаю, что все перечисленные и многие не перечисленные мной поэты оказывали на меня влияние — в разной степени и в разное время моей жизни, как и вообще поэзия, как все прекрасное и дурное, что мне довелось знать. Если говорить о воздействии, осознанном мною, я, пожалуй, повторю имена Пастернака и Цветаевой.

2. К поэзии Есенина я отношусь с нежностью и ценю ее высоко — если следовать выбранной Вами формулировке.

Я более суть ее люблю, всю ее сразу, чем то или иное стихотворение. Все же назову: «Мы теперь уходим понемногу... », «Не жалею, не зову, не плачу... », «Выткался над озером... »,[9] «Разбуди меня завтра рано», «Анна Снегина», «Пугачев».

О недостатках поэзии Есенина судить не смею, тем более так поспешно. Да и нужно ли это? — с течением времени и недостатки поэта становятся достоинствами его своеобразия. Скажу только, что печаль Есенина ближе мне, чем его разум, — я из его творчества извлекла много эмоциональных уроков, и не извлекла уроков технических. Предмет его поэзии более меня привлекает, чем слово, которым он обозначен. Впрочем, все это требует более точного и глубокого объяснения.

3. Я думаю, что движение русской литературы Есенину многим обязано. Он всем напомнил и напоминает, что поэзия — не лукавый вымысел, а точное объяснение обширной и мятежной жизни человеческого духа. В Есенине — все истинно и всерьез, в речи его — полная и горестная свобода.

Разумеется, эту справедливую скороговорку можно отнести и к любому другому подлинному поэту. Мое отношение к Есенину таково, что я любила его много, а думала о нем — мало, и жалею, что не могу подобрать быстрого и точного афоризма, который бы Вам пригодился.

Письмо мое вышло сбивчиво и невнятно, еще раз прошу простить меня.

Ваш интерес к русской и советской литературе вызывает во мне уважение и симпатию, если я смогу быть Вам в чем-нибудь полезной — я к Вашим услугам, напишите мне.

Искренне желаю Вам успехов и радости —

Белла Ахмадулина.[10]

Notes

1. **See, in particular,** Советские поэты о Сергее Есенине, «Новый журнал», Нью-Йорк, сентябрь 1970, кн. 100, стр. 182–94, **and 'Soviet Poets Discuss Sergey Yesenin', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, London, October 1970, vol. 48, no. 113, pp. 506–19.**
2. **After** ЦВЕТАЕВА **Evtushenko has crossed out the words:** + ЕСЕНИН.
3. **Rhymes (or non-rhymes) in the poem** «Да! Теперь решено. Без возврата... » (1922–23).
4. ***Isadora and Esenin*, Ann Arbor: Ardis, and London: Macmillan, 1980.**
5. **At Evtushenko's invitation, in December 1976 the present writer had translated various poems by Ehrenburg, Gudzenko, and Lugovskoy. The anthology eventually appeared, after many years, as *Twentieth-***

Century Russian Poetry, selected with an introduction by Yevgeny Yevtushenko, edited by Albert C. Todd and Max Hayward (with Daniel Weissbort), London: Fourth Estate, 1993.

6. Евгений Евтушенко, *Ягодные места. Роман*, Москва: Советский писатель, 1982; Yevgeny Yevtushenko, *Wild Berries*, translated by Antonina W. Bouis, London: Macmillan, 1984.
7. Евг. Евтушенко, *Талант есть чудо неслучайное. Книга статей*, Москва: Советский писатель, 1980.
8. Handwritten letter, undated; envelope, bearing a Peredelkino address, postmarked 13.5.80. Evtushenko has made numerous other references to Esenin, both in his poetry and in his prose. See, for instance: *Russian Literature Triquarterly*, Ann Arbor, 1974, No. 8, pp. 525, 537 (note 104); *Journal of Russian Studies*, England, 1977, No. 33, pp. 13–18; Евг. Евтушенко, *Талант есть чудо неслучайное. Книга статей*, Москва: Советский писатель, 1980, стр. 9, 59, 67, 215, 294, 398; Евгений Евтушенко, *Точка опоры*, Москва: Молодая гвардия, 1981, стр. 23–4, 25–32, 293 (the article ibid., pp. 25–32, is reprinted in the volume *В мире Есенина. Сборник статей*, составители А. А. Михайлов и С. С. Лесневский, Москва: Советский писатель, 1986, стр. 102–108); the volume *Я в песне отзовусь...*, составители Э. В. Береснев и А. Л. Казаков, Челябинск: Южно-Уральское книжное издательство, 1989, стр. 220, 222 (reprinted from *Огонек*, 1987, № 22).
9. Sic – that is, the poem «Выткался на озере алый свет зари...» (1910).
10. Handwritten letter, undated; envelope postmarked Moscow, 17.10.65. Partly published in «Новый журнал», Нью-Иорк, сентябрь 1970, кн. 100, стр. 193–4.

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Reviews

Isadora Duncan's Russian Husband, by Jessie Davies. *Print Origination (NW) Limited, Liverpool, 1990. 284 + 2 pp., £12.95. ISBN 0569 09234 5.*

All Souls' Day (Radunitsa, 1916), by Sergei Esenin, in parallel text, translated by Jessie Davies. *Lincoln Davies, Liverpool, 1991. iii + 92 pp. £7.50. ISBN 1 873709 00 5.*

Azure (Goluben', 1918), by Sergei Esenin, in parallel text, translated by Jessie Davies. *Lincoln Davies, Liverpool, 1991. iv + 97 pp. £7.50. ISBN 1 873709 01 3.*

Isadora Duncan's Russian Husband is a fictionalised biography of the poet Sergei Esenin, from his obscure birth (here picturesquely portrayed as occurring literally in a field) to his enigmatic death (of which more later). The hybrid genre of fictionalised biography may be attacked for falling between two stools, or applauded for enjoying the best of both worlds. As fiction-writer the author can freely indulge in psychological speculation and artistic licence, while simultaneously aspiring to authenticity by incorporating various 'factual documents' in disguised or filtered form. To gain historical and emotional accuracy, Jessie Davies frequently translates, paraphrases or echoes Esenin's actual autobiographies, letters, articles and poems, as well as the memoirs of relatives and friends.

Dr Davies shows particular sympathy for the unenviable plight of Esenin's mother, whom she depicts as deprived of love by her husband and in-laws, and finding brief fulfilment with a lover. One senses, however, an element of idealisation when the author describes Esenin's mother as 'his conscience' (p. 156) and 'the only person in the world who understood him to the end' (p. 231).

The book concentrates on Esenin's childhood and early manhood up to 1918. As a result, the Imaginists do not appear until page 189, and Isadora Duncan on page 210. Dr Davies is clearly unsympathetic towards Mariengof and the Imaginists, and ambivalent about the role of Isadora and Klyuev. The author is informative and well-informed, frequently clarifying the historical and political context of Esenin's life for the benefit of the general reader.

To interpret Esenin's personality, Dr Davies casts him as a Faust-like figure, selling his soul to the devil as early as 1915 in return for fame and glory. Attention is drawn to Esenin's poem which acknowledged the presence of both 'angels' and 'devils' within his own soul (pp. 18, 226). From this poetic metaphor, Dr Davies proceeds to elaborate the personified figures of 'Sergei's angel' and 'Sergei's demon', who then inordinately recur at every opportunity, locked in endless combat over Esenin's divided soul. The repetition of this conceit is tedious, and it is faintly ludicrous when Sergei's demon gloats 'Hee! hee!' (p. 258) – as when Klyuev exclaims 'bonkers!' (p. 217). This angel-demon polarity seems schematic, to illustrate the moral that the wages of fame is suicide. Yet the scheme is undermined by Dr Davies's belated postscript, in which she countenances the notion that Esenin may after all have been murdered.

In a fictionalised biography the inclusion of real photographs seems incongruous, and the Anglicisation of certain names looks odd (Sandy Esenin, Theo Titov, Pete Oreshin). There are factual errors – Klyuev was not eight years Esenin's senior (p. 104); Klychkov, not Kusikov, went to Tula (p. 186); Roizman and Shershenevich published a book entitled *My chem kaemsya* (p. 193); Ivanov-Razumnik was not murdered (p. 258). Wrong dates include 1913 (for 1918, p. 6); 1915 (for 1913, p. 76); 1915 (for 1916, p. 108); 1917 (for 1918, p. 170); 1921 (for 1922, p. 217). As an achievement hovering between fact and fiction, *Isadora Duncan's Russian Husband* may be compared with Aleksandr Andreev's *Esenin* (Moscow, 1973 and 1980).

Jessie Davies's parallel translations of Esenin's first two books, *Radunitsa* and *Goluben'*, show the same merits and shortcomings noted in her 1979 compilation, *Sergei Esenin: Selected Poems* (see *Journal of Russian Studies*, 1981, No. 41, p. 64). Oddly, the English versions sometimes translate variants of the reproduced Russian texts and, to save space, the reprinted pages from *Goluben'* have regrettably been rearranged.

GORDON McVAY
University of Bristol

Chekhov on the British Stage, edited by Patrick Miles. *Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1993. xii + 258 pp. £30.00. ISBN 0 521 38467 2.*

Arising from the Anglo-Soviet Chekhov Colloquium held in Cambridge in 1987, Patrick Miles's skilfully edited volume happily blends contributions from British, American and Russian authors. Thankfully, not all the writers are academics – there is a welcome sprinkling of theatre practitioners. The theatre, after all, is too vital and creative an arena to be abandoned to mere scholarly scrutiny!

After the editor's Introduction, John Russell Brown achieves a civilised, wide-ranging piece, in which he compares and contrasts the plays and personalities of Chekhov and Shakespeare. 'Perhaps Shakespeare and Chekhov are most obviously alike in their refusal to provide clear answers to the largest problems which are raised by the action of their plays' (p. 14). Yet, whereas 'for Shakespeare the idea of men and women as actors occurs again and again' (p. 15), Chekhov was different – 'he was a doctor, not an actor' (p. 16).

Several articles are concerned with the first decades of this century. Thus, Aleksey Bartoshevich reflects upon the non-arrival of the Moscow Arts Theatre in England in the 1910s, Jan McDonald (in a paper previously published in 1980) surveys Chekhov productions in Britain before 1914, and Anna Obraztsova discusses 'Bernard Shaw's dialogue with Chekhov' (placing the emphasis very much upon Shaw). Whereas Stephen le Fleming sketches in the years from 1911 to 1926, Robert Tracy offers a more rigorous analysis of Komisarjevsky's 1926 *Three Sisters*, noting the numerous alterations, additions and deletions which Komisarjevsky inflicted upon Chekhov's text. As a result, the play was 'simplified, romanticised, sentimentalised, and anglicised' (p. 70). The present writer considers 'Peggy Ashcroft and Chekhov', W. Gareth Jones chronicles Welsh-language productions, and Cynthia Marsh assesses the Moscow Arts Theatre's visits to Britain in 1958, 1964 and 1970.

If the above items are mainly of a historical nature, other offerings are more controversial. Oleg Yefremov's wide experience as a director is captured in reflections which, while fragmentary and seemingly haphazard, prove more alive and illuminating than the efforts of many academics. In a provocative essay (reprinted from 1986) Jonathan Miller seeks to cut through the stereotype of the 'melancholy' or 'genteel' approach to Chekhov, and yet goes too far, so that he undervalues or omits the yearning and suffering in the plays, the pain and the search. Most baleful, however, is the attitude of Vera Gottlieb, who grimly accentuates the 'political' and 'progressive' aspects of Chekhov's plays, while branding everything which meets with her disapproval as 'reactionary' or 'retrograde'. For a while, the spirit of Chekhov becomes submerged beneath political truisms or untruths. The dramatist Trevor Griffiths is also no stranger to crude over-politicisation, as is manifest from David Allen's article.

Stuart Young reports on Mike Alfreds' methods with Chekhov, Patrick Miles considers the issue of permanent or impermanent companies, and Arnold Aronson writes knowledgeably about stage-design. Several pieces on problems of translation, and a useful chronology of British professional productions, conclude this valuable volume.

GORDON McVAY
University of Bristol

A History of Russian Symbolism, by Avril Pyman. *Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994. 482 pp. £15.99. ISBN 0 521 24198 7.*

Объемистая монография преподавательницы русской литературы в University of Durham является первым обобщающим трудом по истории русского символизма, изданным в Британии. Книга адресована прежде всего студентам, а не специалистам по русской литературе рубежа 19–20 веков, и в этом смысле претендует не столько на новизну трактовки символистского течения, сколько на полноту освещения фактов, так или иначе к данному течению относящихся.

Русский символизм рассматривается здесь с момента его зарождения в 1892 году по 1910 год, когда символистские ценности были атакованы самими символистами (— , по крайней мере, некоторыми из них). Подобная временная граница представляется несколько спорной — ведь символизм продолжал существовать и после 1910 года. Однако, обстоятельность изложения культурных событий эпохи «серебряного века» в книге такова, что, распространи ее исследовательница на период, скажем, до 1917 года (тоже условная, но все-таки более традиционная дата), издательству пришлось бы выпустить не один том, а целых два.

О масштабе и тщательности проведенной Dr. Pyman работы говорит, например, то, что автор занимался не только сплошным просмотром русской литературной периодики рубежа веков, но и архивными разысканиями. Важнейшей частью книги стала хронологическая роспись основных этапов эволюции символистского течения в его взаимосвязи с театром, живописью и философской мыслью. К несомненным удачам исследования относится и анализ художественных принципов русского символизма в общеевропейском контексте, на фоне эпохи fin-de-siècle. Это позволяет, в частности, увидеть, как много общего было у символистов с марксистами (так, уже не кажется случайностью «роман» Андрея Белого с Пролеткультом, относящийся, правда, к более позднему периоду), или убедиться в том, что русские символисты не то чтобы подражали французским, но скорее искали самостоятельных ответов на сходные вопросы. Следует отметить и внимательные разборы отдельных произведений символистов, удачно вписанные в рассуждения общего характера (прозаические цитаты всюду приводятся в английском переводе, а поэтические тексты — на языке оригинала, сопровождаемого, однако, английским подстрочником).

Серьезным недостатком книги является обилие опечаток, полный перечень которых с трудом поддается учету. Приведем лишь несколько примеров: искаженными оказались имена и/или фамилии М. В. Ломоносова (р. 32), С. П. Дягилева (р. 345), Вяч. Иванова (р. 346), В. Ф. Ходасевича (р. 357), Н. В. Валентинова (Вольского) (р. 359), М. В. Сабашниковой (р. 362), В. И. Икскуль (р. 366), О. Ронена (р. 472), кое-какие даты (р. XI), заглавия произведений и/или переводов А. Белого (рр. 353, 356, 357, 363), А. А. Блока (рр. 360, 365, 367), С. М. Городецкого (р. 362), А. М. Ремизова (рр. 365, 366), К. Д. Бальмонта (р. 370), Ф. Ницше (р. 375), О. Э. Мандельштама (р. 465), а также названия некоторых населенных пунктов и периодических изданий (рр. 343, 358, 370). В результате усилия автора по написанию *истории* символизма отчасти сводятся на нет, ибо книгой почти невозможно пользоваться для наведения справок—итог довольно неожиданный для издательства с такой солидной репутацией, как Cambridge University Press.

ANDREI ROGACHEVSKII
University of Glasgow

Ruslan – Russian 1 *by John Langran and Natalya Veshnyeva. Ruslan 1995. Course book (ISBN 1-899785-00-0, £9.80), compact disc (ISBN 1-899785-02-7, £9.90) or cassette (ISBN 1-899785-01-9, £8.80), computer exercises for IBM PCs (£12.00), laminated A1 posters by Anna Lauchlan (£10.00 each or £45.00 for 5).*

Ruslan – Russian 1 is a carefully constructed 10-lesson course, consisting of an illustrated large-format book, an accompanying cassette or compact disc, and a

computer program offering 130 exercises. Although designed primarily for adult beginners learning in a teacher-led group, the course is already being adopted by 6th forms, and is being used by business clients working one-to-one with a tutor. The course has many imaginative and innovative features which should also make it a popular choice for more advanced learners who want to review, revise, or improve a specific combination of listening, speaking, reading, or writing skills.

I have been using the course since October 1994 with a mixed-level group of adult beginners and post-beginners, so my comments here are based on our experience. I was predisposed to be positive about the course, since I know both authors to be dedicated practitioners, committed to extending the range of materials available to teachers of Russian to adults. I continue to be positive, especially when I reflect that my drop-out rate is lower than it has ever been.

Five things immediately distinguish this course from other worthy recent publications intended for an adult market. The first is that it gives teachers guidance and support in the form of suggestions for classroom activities. The second is that the dialogues which introduce each lesson's new words and structures also carry a story. In some of the dialogues, the sub-text is considerably more complex than the actual words spoken. This exposes novice language learners to the power of intonation in a very memorable way. The third is that the recorded dialogues do justice to the story. The singers of the St Petersburg Rossica choir (amongst others) succeed in creating credible characters who move between typical tourist and more homely social settings to the accompaniment of appropriate sound-effects. All this is a great help to the learner who may be struggling to make the leap of faith required to believe that Russians are Real People. Learners who already have ample experiential proof of the existence of Russia and Russians are gratified to have some of their observations confirmed: one of my learners whose husband was working in Vladivostok, but travelling regularly to Moscow and the Caucasus, was quite delighted by the 'hero's' assertion that Saransk is *'not far from Moscow – about 30 hours by train'*. The fourth is the inclusion of beautifully detailed outline drawings of typical Russian scenes – at the airport, a family party, a hotel foyer, restaurant, theatre and so on. The drawings transfer well onto OHP transparencies, and can be used both to present new language and as the basis for a wide range of pairwork exercises. My current beginners enjoy playing 'hunt the typical Englishman' – a game with 'Where's Wally?' characteristics which they invented themselves. The fifth distinguishing feature of the course is its approach to grammar. Cases are introduced systematically, but cerebral overload is avoided by the selective use of declensions. The past tense (imperfective) is introduced in Lesson 4. One of my learners, who last year spent some time working in Volgograd, told me how useful this would have been to him. He had worked out for himself that all the -л endings he was hearing meant the past – but he hadn't realised that it was only women who used a -ла ending, which caused him a little retrospective embarassment!

Other points about the course must be mentioned. Each lesson includes a passage recorded specifically for listening comprehension. The language used is sufficiently different from that of the main dialogues to provide the learners with a challenge, but not so different that it confuses or dismays. Dialogues recorded with background noise (e.g. strains of *Moscow Nights* at the restaurant) are repeated without the noise – a boon for the hard-of-hearing, and for teachers whose cassette players don't have counters. Cultural and grammatical explanations are clearly laid out and succinctly phrased. The intelligently structured and varied exercises are divided into the four skill areas, with authentic materials, some taken from past Institute of Linguists exams, being introduced for reading comprehension from Lesson 8 on. The aforementioned 'typical Englishman' is an inspired device for examining cultural assumptions and also common language-learning problems.

The course is available through major booksellers, or direct by post from RUSLAN, 19 Highfield Road, Moseley, Birmingham B13 9HL.

YVONNE ELLIOT

Доска

Russian Day at Kingshurst City Technology College, Birmingham

We're lucky at the CTC: diversification of language provision has been achieved and Russian enjoys equal status with the three other mainstream foreign languages. As a result, Russian is now taught from Year 7 to Year 13, to some 293 students (260 of these taking it as FL1). At the same time, we have had to deal with some of the eternal issues faced by language teachers: how do you get mixed-ability teenagers interested in a foreign language and culture? And how do you sustain that interest? To tackle these problems we held a Russian Day for students in Year 9, with two principal goals in mind:

- to raise awareness of Russian among students and staff
- to attract students to choose Russian as a KS4 option

Of course, the idea of a language/culture day is nothing new – but perhaps our experience of organising an event for 200 13 year-olds, who were not that motivated to study languages, will be of some interest to the reader.

Organisation of the Day

By the time they took part in the Day the students had been studying the language for some 18 months as FL2. They had some command, therefore, but were still not that confident. The need to make the Day something that all students could enjoy and benefit from was uppermost in our minds from the start. Although we wanted the students to use Russian as much as possible, it was felt that too much emphasis on language would alienate a good number of the participants. Similarly, we couldn't realistically expect the students to come to the Day knowing that much about Russian culture. The aim, rather, would be to give them a taste of Russia to spur their interest. Finally, we wanted the day to be an 'active' experience for the students.

Bearing these points in mind, we decided to organise a mini 'Crystal Maze,' with a carousel of activities (9 in all), divided into 'mental,' 'physical' and 'skill' tasks, to give pupils of all inclinations a chance to shine. The students formed teams, each with its own Russian name (e.g. «Спартак» and «Шпионы»). We split the Day into two halves, with 9 teams of 10–12 students in each. Their brief was to travel around the carousel and collect as many points as possible – prizes were on offer for the top two teams. Each activity would involve an element of language use, giving teams a chance to earn bonus points for making a positive effort to use Russian.

How the Day Went

That was the theory, anyway! In fact, when we first mentioned the Day to the students, although some were enthusiastic, many appeared indifferent, and others still were quite negative: 'That's going to be a waste of time,' complained one; 'Do I have to speak Russian all day?' asked another fearfully... Despite this warm reception we carried on regardless!

As it turned out, once the Day got underway quite a different mood appeared, even among the greatest doubters. Although the competitive nature of the event was not meant to be taken seriously, it did spark the students' motivation to give their best for their team: the events seemed to catch their imagination and they quickly became absorbed in the various tasks. We were particularly pleased to see the result of this enthusiasm with regard to language use: even students who often participated reluctantly in normal lessons eagerly tried to remember items of vocabulary and pronounce phrases correctly.

Among the most popular events were: «Поиск клада», with clues in Russian left around a classroom transformed into a Russian flat; the «Рынок», where they had to shop around for bargains; «Олимпийские игры»; and «Русский народный танец», which was led by a former folk dance troupe member from Russia, one of 5 native speakers present.

The Day was well supported by staff from other subjects, who came to help during their free periods. The interest of students in other years was also aroused: some Year 11 students, on asking what all the excitement was about, were heard to say sadly: 'Pity I can't speak Russian, otherwise I could have joined in. . .'

In the end, first prize was claimed by the team with the tasty title of «Пирожки», but the others didn't seem to mind the fact that they hadn't won. In contrast to the pre-Day scepticism, the following remarks are typical of those that we heard following the event: 'I thought it was going to be rubbish, but it turned out to be great fun!' 'I found out a lot about Russia, learnt quite a few new words in an easy way, and enjoyed working in a team.' 'When's the next Russian Day?'

Outcomes of the Day

What about the results of the Day for the everyday teaching and learning of Russian at the CTC? Well, the Day helped to attract 52 students from Year 9 to make Russian one of their KS4 options. Further, the Day injected enthusiasm towards Russian language and culture into students of an age group not always that inclined to language study. Although the effects of the injection may have begun to wear off after a while, a good number of pupils seemed to view the subject in a different light following this event. The Day also served to consolidate further the already strong position of Russian in the college, where it is accepted as just another language by staff, students and parents alike.

Tanya and Steve Webber,
Kingshurst CTC & University of
Birmingham.

The Study Group on Education in Russia, the Independent States and Eastern Europe

Are you interested in education in Russia and Eastern Europe? Do you want to find out about the latest developments in this subject? Then you should join our Study Group!

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The annual membership fee of £6 for individuals, £8 for institutions includes 2 issues of the journal. Further details can be obtained from the Group's treasurer, Mr George Avis, Department of Modern Languages, The University of Bradford, Richmond Road, BRADFORD BD7 1DP. (Cheques payable to "The Study Group on Education in Russia").

Open Learning Russian in Tayside and Beyond

In April, 1989, I submitted proposals to my Education Authority seeking permission to set up a pilot scheme for teaching elementary Russian by Open Learning. Within two weeks permission and funding were approved and by August '89 I had written a course meeting the requirements of SCOTVEC Module 1 (Russian). It was agreed that I could recruit a group of about 25 students from any school in Tayside. One afternoon a week was left blank on my teaching timetable to allow me time to receive telephone calls from the students, to mark their work and to keep track of their progress.

The course consisted initially of ten units (pruned the following year to 8 units) covering basic personal and 'survival' language – directions, food, hotels etc.

Materials were on cassette or in print. Each Unit contained language presentation, exploitation in the three skill areas (reading, speaking, listening), a self-assessment check-list and a range of assessment tasks. There were 16 assessment tasks in Module 1 and these were spread throughout the course. Speaking assessments were mostly completed on the telephone. Other assessments were posted to me for marking and return.

Of the first group of 24 pupils, 9 finished the course and received the SCOTVEC certificate, 6 managed approximately half of the course and the remaining 9 did not continue beyond Christmas. Among the problems identified by the pupils in their evaluation of the whole experience were:

inadequate self-discipline to keep going without someone on site to remind them of deadlines; poor time management, whereby pressure of other exams and project deadlines after Christmas pushed the Russian well down the list of priorities.

These issues were addressed the following year when 45 pupils were enrolled for the course. All schools were required to provide a mentor who would check progress every week and discuss target deadlines. The success rate went up to over 60% that year.

In session 91/92 it was decided to move responsibility for this course from school to Further Education and to widen the scope to adults. I wrote an amended version of the course specifically for adults, including appropriate personal information, jobs, etc. Additional cassettes were also produced. All three Colleges of Further Education in Tayside delivered the course that year employing one tutor for each centre. It was also agreed to submit this course as one of Tayside's contributions to the Scottish Open Learning Consortium. SOLC is effectively a library of packaged courses, available to subscribers free of charge. I know that the Russian course is used in the Borders, Highlands, Orkney and Shetland Islands. The Shetland College is currently using it to provide islanders with the basic Russian necessary for business and personal contacts with the klondikers, frequent visitors to the islands.

Although I do not believe that it is possible to teach more than the basic essentials by distance learning, I do know that far more pupils and adults have been given access to Russian by this method than would have been possible otherwise in rural and isolated parts of Scotland. Several of my former pupils have gone on to take *ab initio* courses at Universities throughout the country. They have at least had an introduction to Russian and have been sensitised towards the challenges and the excitement of this language.

Linda Wolfe, Montrose Academy

Приезжайте в Хорнчёрч! Simulating a visit to Russia at Havering's EUROPA CENTRE

Attentive readers of the last issue of *Rusistika* will have noticed that Havering's EUROPA CENTRE now offers teachers the opportunity to bring learners of RUSSIAN to simulate a visit to Russia.

The Europa Centre was established in the late 1980s by the London Borough of Havering to provide a unique service to teachers and students of modern foreign languages. The Centre is constructed as a 'continental village' with the full range of shops and amenities of an authentic town. The shops and services are staffed by native speakers of the language of the visit and all the signs and notices are in the foreign language concerned.

February 1995 saw the very first Russian visit by pupils of the Campion School, Hornchurch. (See photos.)

On entering 'Russia' through passport control, the pupils first had to obtain their roubles from the bank. They then used their roubles to buy a variety of goods at the shops and the market, made train and hotel reservations, telephone calls and ordered refreshments at the café. Some unfortunate souls even visited the doctor!

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MARK FELSTEAD
Campion School, Hornchurch

Russian teaching materials update: February 1995

1. School beginners/Key Stage 3

At the time of writing, the new **Iskra** course is available from the publishers Stanley Thornes/Mary Glasgow Publications. Only books 1 and 2 are available in the revised edition. This is the only commercially available course that is targeted at Key Stage 3 beginners (age 11–14) in our schools. The strengths of this new course are clarity and accessibility to a broad range of learners and its balanced, task-based approach. Best of all are the cassette recordings which are clear and offer a range of native voices. The main concern teachers will have about the future of this course in the light of National Curriculum development is the heavy use of English in the tasks.

An author who has successfully addressed the issue of the use of the target language at this level is Judith Haywood, whose **Putyovka 1** provides material for Levels 1–4 of the National Curriculum in the four skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing. There are six units with 37 recorded listening tasks. The materials have been very carefully designed for use with a broad ability range. For a more detailed description of the materials, refer to Bob Pullin's report in **Rusistika** *December 1994*. They area available as a photocopiable pack at £50 direct from Judith Haywood, 1 The Causeway, Dore, Sheffield S17 3EA.

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2. Adult beginners

Russian 1 by John Langran and Natalya Veshnyeva is targeted at adult learners. It has a clear, user friendly format and approach and contains ten units with an excellent range of carefully designed exercises and language games. The course offers the teacher sufficient scope in tailoring lessons to meet the needs of learners of differing experience and rates of learning. The production quality of the materials is exceptionally high for a 'samizdat' publication. In addition to the 140 page book (£9.80) and cassette (£8.80) John Langran has produced 130 computer exercises (£12 + VAT) for IBM PCs. Contact John Langran at RUSLAN, 19 Highfield Road, Moseley, Birmingham B13 9HL.

3. Intermediate/Key Stage 4

The future of the as yet unpublished

revised edition of **Iskra 3** is currently the subject of negotiation between its authors and prospective publishers. We hope to have more information about this in the near future. Clearly, there is a major gap in the market at this level at present. However, for the Basic Level of GCSE, there is a new course by Jane Nashvili, **Privyet!**, which is described in more detail in **Rusistika**, *December 1994*. The materials are available as a pupil's book of 11 units with a cassette of 55 recordings and a cassette transcript. They are available in the form of a start-up pack for £50 with additional copies of the pupil's book priced at £5, direct from Jane Nashvili, 17 Minster Road, Ecclesfield, Sheffield S30 3XS.

4. Self-study/independent learning

Melanie and Andrew Jameson's **Russian for You** was reviewed in **Rusistika**, *December 1994*. This course is designed as an open-learning programme and is available from Lancashire College, Chorley, PR7 1NB. A comprehensive manual and two cassettes cost £34.95.

Due to be published in April 1995 by Hodder and Stoughton is the completely revised edition of Daphne West's **Teach Yourself Russian**. Also available in the "Teach Yourself" series is **Business Russian** by Olga Bridges with Pauline Rayner and Irina Tverdokhlebova.

5. Advanced level

A new A level course, **Tranzit**, by Michael Ransome and Daphne West, will be published next year. (In the meantime teachers should contact Daphne West at Badgers' Brook, Charlton Mackrell, Somerton, Somerset TA11 6AH, if they are experiencing difficulties in obtaining suitable A level materials. Dr West has agreed to make available photocopiable masters of the now out of print **Poshli dal'she!**)

RUSSIAN NEWSPAPERS (**Argumenty i Fakty, Literaturnaya gazeta** etc.) are available by subscription from S. Warner, 293 Villas Road, Plumstead, London SE18 7PR.

6. Promoting the Use of the Target Language

A set of Russian language flashcards is available from the Association for Language Learning. The Association's handbook, **Using the Target Language**, by Carol Macdonald, contains a glossary of phrases for conducting lessons in Russian.

7. Teaching Grammar

Reference materials are available from David Ash, Bolton School, Bolton BL1 4PA. These offer a descriptive approach in English.

A number of Russian teachers are asking about how to teach grammar in the context of the National Curriculum; indeed this is a subject about which the editor of **Rusistika** would welcome letters and articles! Much help and inspiration in the area of teaching grammar can be gained from non-Russian-specific sources. The following contain ideas and principles which are applicable to a variety of language teaching situations:

Grammar Practice Activities, Penny Ur, CUP 1988, ISBN 0521338476

Grammar Games, Mario Rinvolucri, CUP 1984, ISBN 0521277736

Grammar Matters, Susan Halliwell, CILT 1993, ISBN 1874016127

8. Are you an author?

There is great scope for developing new Russian teaching materials! The new GCSE and A level syllabuses will create a demand for materials which facilitate an increased use of the target language while also addressing areas which have been somewhat neglected in recent years, in particular, the systematic development of reading skills. The Association is eager to offer advice and support to all teachers who produce Russian materials and there are also smaller publishers who would welcome manuscripts. You may not have written a complete course for the National Curriculum, but maybe you have a successful classroom activity which you would be willing to share on the pages of this journal? The editor would love to hear from you!

Information about new materials, and sample materials for review, should be sent direct to Mark Felstead, The Campion School, Hornchurch, Essex RM11 3BX. He looks forward to news of projects and will present requests for support of projects to the Association for consideration.

MARK FELSTEAD

Kruzhki Reports

From the *Thames Valley* kruzhok comes details of the rest of their winter's programmes, which included a talk on the history of the Russian theatre given by a Russian actress who is in Britain for two years. During March the Saturday club 'Tishinok', for children aged 5–12, held a Maslenitsa party, when the children dressed up as chickens in eggs; BBC Radio Berkshire was called in to interview the children, who greatly enjoyed being asked to sing for them. Sofia Potyomkin had already invited some of the children to her home for a Maslenitsa celebration when she made pancakes and organised games. They were shown how to make corn dollies, which they then threw on the fire to bid farewell to winter and prepare for spring. 'We Russians don't invite you to come for Easter', she had told them, 'but just come along and paint eggs'.

In *Liverpool* it has again been a good year, with more Russians appearing on the scene and agreeing to give talks. In October Galina Korchagin from St. Petersburg gave a talk; she is the mother of Igor, now aged 12, who in 1991 was treated at Alder Hey Children's Hospital, Liverpool, for a rare intestinal disorder which had baffled Russian specialists but was diagnosed by a local consultant, who was able to save his life. A three-year battle with bureaucracy and a marathon money-raising venture to cover costs resulted in the boy returning to Liverpool for further treatment. Galya spoke movingly of their experiences, and Igor was presented with a special drinking-water filter. In November Alexandra Smith, a Russian lecturer teaching for the year at Bristol University, spoke on 'Novyye napravleniya v sovremennoy russkoy literature'. Our convenor reports that this was a very original talk, which broke new ground for many of the audience and kept them on their toes linguistically. The speaker emphasised the experimental nature of current prose, and the use of fantasy, humour, and of dramatic presentation, dispensing with any narrator. The writers enjoyed using the language in this way, and Alexandra viewed this trend with optimism. The new year began with a talk by David Williams, from Salford College, Manchester, on 'The Know-How Fund: developments in Russia'. The Fund was started in 1990–91, when the British government allotted £60 million for projects in the East European countries, including, from 1991, Russia. Mr Williams gave examples of projects in Russia in which he had been personally involved, together with St. Helen's College, such as the sharing of contracts between a Russian and a British factory, and the re-training of ex-soldiers in Vyborg. This was an interesting talk by a speaker who impressed the audience with his caring attitude combined with great drive and persistence. For the March meeting Marina Smith, one of the newest Russian members, gave a delightful and entertaining talk about the contrast between the Russian and English character, conventions and customs. A teacher herself, Marina managed to pitch her talk so that it could be readily followed by all those present, even those with only an elementary knowledge of Russian.

Northern Ireland had the good fortune to hear an illustrated talk by Kathy Berton on 'Moscow Architecture'. Kathy has an unrivalled knowledge of Moscow architecture old and new, and is currently finishing off a new book on architectural monuments of the Moscow 'oblast'. The March meeting was a joint one with the Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius, at which Fr. Sergei Hackel spoke on 'Revival or Regression: the situation of the Russian Orthodox Church'. Fr. Hackel is a leading figure in the Russian church in Britain and until recently was Reader in Russian at the University of Sussex. He has written widely on many aspects of the Russian Orthodox Church as well as on other subjects.

London's recent meetings have included a talk on 'Collecting folksong in a post-Soviet Russian village' by Maria Marquise. This talk, previously mentioned in 'Rusistika' no. 9, June 1994, was recommended by the Northern Ireland kruzhok convenor, and exceeded all expectations. Maria showed slides and played tapes of the songs, so that the evening was a combination of talk, picture and song, which gave a superb rounded view of her subject. For the March evening members heard a fascinating talk in Russian by Dr. Svetlana Shnitman-McMillin, who has recently worked at Zurich University teaching modern Russian literature and Russian language, and is currently at SSEES. She spoke on 'Zhenskiye sud'by v Stalinskoye vremya'; it was a brilliant, informative, often entertaining, often horrifying account of women's lot under Stalin.

Exeter held its annual Russian Week in March, starting with a 'Pub Quiz' including balloons and vodka. Talks included Boris Malakov, Russian Embassy Press Attache and Head of Section, on 'The Political Situation in Russia and Chechnya', Anna Komarova, from the Anglo-Russian School for the deaf, Moscow, on 'Why learn Russian when you can learn sign language?', Dr. Sue Bridger from Bradford University on 'Women in post-Soviet Russia — the legacy of perestroika', Oliver Waite, Head of Reuters' Moscow Bureau from 1991 on 'The Truth: how Western journalists cut through Russian news agency distortions', Dr. Irina Sedakova, lecturer at Moscow State University, on 'The Russian language today — a time of troubles?', and Dr. Hilary Pilkington, lecturer at the Centre for Research in East European Studies, University of Birmingham, and Elena Omel'chenko, Russian sociologist, on 'Youth culture in contemporary Russia — a gendered perspective'; this carried the subtitle 'girl gangs, bikers and skinheads in Moscow and Ul'ianovsk'. The play this year was 'Fantazia' by Koz'ma Prutkov, given by the students of the department, and followed by a concert of songs performed by the Russian Choir. The week also included 'The Cossack Ball', an evening of entertainment and Russian cuisine.

In *Leicester* the kruzhok continues to meet regularly on an informal basis for conversation and watching videos. They include among their members two young Russian women who are a great asset. Several evening classes in Russian operate in the area, and the Russian population in Leicester is increasing, so the kruzhok obviously provides a useful contact base, and it is good to hear that it is flourishing.

The new kruzhok in *Birmingham* has a membership of around 50 people. An exceptionally interesting meeting took place in March, when the Market Manager of Cadbury's for the FSU gave a talk on Cadbury's entry into the Russian market and how it has exploded in the last two years; they see Russia as representing an expanding market for their products. It is good that we have now re-established contact with Birmingham, and look forward to more news from them in the future.

Thanks to the convenors for providing all this encouraging news, and a happy summer to everyone!

JOAN SMITH

Notes for contributors

Contributions

The Editorial Board welcomes previously unpublished articles which will further the cause of the learning and teaching of Russian language and culture.

Contributions are expected to fall into one of these categories:

a) Articles of about 3000 words.

b) Brief (up to 1000 words) items of information, notes on innovative practice, discussion points (including those arising from previous articles).

c) Reviews usually of about 300 to 400 words (longer reviews or articles may be accepted).

The guidelines below are intended to help contributors:

Presentation

Articles should be submitted either on computer disk (plus hard copy) or typewritten (daisywheel output preferred).

a) Computer disk: Copy is particularly welcome on floppy disk accompanied by printout. Send one file in the formal of your word processor and another in ASCII form (plain text file).

English text can be accepted in any of the following disk formats:

Apple Macintosh.
Amstrad PCW 3" (not 3.5").
IBM compatible 5.25" or 3.5" (latter preferred).
Acorn A3000/Archimedes range in MS-DOS format only.
BBC 40 or 80 track.

Russian text (or Russian and English mixed) is readily acceptable on Amstrad PCW 3" or Apple Macintosh disk (in the latter case depending on the Cyrillic font used) LocoScript PC files may also be acceptable. Other permutations and formats may be accepted by arrangement with the Editor. Disks will be returned to contributors when no longer required.

b) Typewritten: Type with double spacing. Typewriters or word processors should be set at 44 characters (the equivalent of the line length), as this will help the Editor plan the arrangement of the journal. Handwritten Russian words amid predominantly English text (typewritten or word processed) are also acceptable if written in a clear hand. Please send two copies of the article and keep one for yourself. One copy of the article should be a 'clean' original (i.e. with no corrections and not a photocopy) to enable the printer to scan it. If there are any changes or corrections these should be made on the second copy.

Give your article one short title (not a title and a subtitle), and divide it up with brief subheadings.

Give full references for all sources quoted. Journal policy is to put these at the end of the article and not at the bottom of the page.

Illustrations

Photographs are particularly welcome, as are charts, diagrams and tables where relevant. Please send these at the same time as your article.

Timing

In order to be considered for including in the following issue, articles should normally be sent in by 1st January and 1st July. Where topicality is of the essence, shorter deadlines are possible by negotiations with the Editor.

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РУСИСТИКА

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РУСИСТИКА

The Russian Journal of the Association for Language Learning

PORTSMOUTH *ab initio* Project: AN UPDATE

RECENT RUSSIAN DAYS

MAKANIN'S 'URALS VOICE'

DECEMBER 1995
No 12

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Reviews: *Rusistika* aims to list and review a maximum number of new publications in the fields of language, linguistics and culture/society of the Russian-speaking countries. Publications should be sent to the Reviews Editor.

Advertising: Enquiries should be addressed to the Advertising Manager at the address below

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The Portsmouth *ab initio* Russian project – the story so far

James Davie University of Portsmouth

In October 1992 members of the Russian and Linguistics sections of the University of Portsmouth decided to collaborate on a project to develop materials for the study of *ab initio* Russian, primarily at university level. It was recognised by the group that teaching materials used in Russian language teaching at the time were often ill-equipped to deal with the needs of language learners and language teachers, looking to improve communicative performance and with trends in increasingly more communicative language teaching in general.[1]

With this in mind, the team which evolved from the initial meeting set about identifying specific aims. Among the most immediate objectives were the examination of students' background, needs, motivation and levels of attainment and analysis of teacher attitude. To this end, the team engaged in a needs analysis, holding informal interviews with students and distributing questionnaires to different British universities, and published the first in what is hoped will be a series of working papers dealing with issues relevant to materials development.[2] In order to gain a better understanding of teachers' opinions, the team organised a conference, which was held in April 1994 and which provided Russian language teachers (mainly in Adult and Higher Education) in this country the chance to air their views in a national forum.

The conference, entitled *Russian Language Learning – Past, Present and Future*,[3] brought together experts involved in a variety of fields relating to Russian language teaching, and as such saw the discussion of such questions as learning strategies, lexis assimilation, CALL and materials development. With respect to the last issue, it became clear that many teachers had grown tired of using increasingly inappropriate textbooks and wanted something which would be more user-friendly, reflect cultural and area studies *and* encourage the development of communicative skills in Russian students. Although many delegates indicated that they had started to develop their own in-house materials, the idea of the Portsmouth team developing a new general *ab initio* course as a replacement for outdated or less desirable publications was considered to be a very attractive one.

The conference also highlighted the need for more research to be done in the area of how to meet and reflect student and teaching staff needs in materials development. The Portsmouth project continued, therefore, to examine student expectation, surveying students on years One, Two and Four of the existing Portsmouth course to gauge perception of existing courses and materials and to assess the perceived importance of language skills.

These studies were also very informative. Not only did they show that there was a need both to encourage greater vocabulary acquisition and de-emphasise the role and intensity of grammar in language teaching in the first year, but they also indicated that students were conscious of what they saw as acceptable and unacceptable in terms of attainable levels of work and manageable content in Russian language courses and course books. Furthermore, the surveys showed that senior students had clear ideas about the importance of language skills and valued listening and conversation as the most important and well-developed during the year abroad, very often at the expense of the reading and writing skills.

Armed with findings from the needs analysis and with a greater understanding also of teachers' expectations, the team set about working towards its immediate aim of developing materials (twenty-five units in all) for piloting in academic year 1994–95. This involved not only the development of new situation-orientated materials to promote and improve communicative performance in the four skills, but also the creation of an entire course structure allowing for the fullest exploitation of such materials. This structure indeed provides the centre around which the development and exploitation of materials takes place, and consists of a weekly programme of two four-class cycles (one class lasts approximately one hour). Each unit developed correspondingly has four main components: grammar, skills development, a vocabulary component and a GOAL[4] element. The grammar component consists of introducing limited amounts of grammar and following this up with classroom activities and conversation; the skills development mainly centres on the development of listening, reading and writing skills; the vocabulary component reflects lexis introduced in other classes and serve as a means of enhancing vocabulary acquisition; and self-access study involves the development of materials for students' independent revision.

This framework, and the materials used therein, is currently subject to preliminary piloting at Portsmouth, with stage two of the materials piloting to take place in academic year 1995–96. Although the piloting is at a relatively early stage, piloting reports[5] indicate that the first ten units tested thus far are working more or less according to plan. Perceived de-emphasising of the grammar appears to have led to this year's first year class not fearing what their predecessors in this and comparable institutions traditionally saw as a demon of Russian language learning. Furthermore, their acquisition of the lexis (tested weekly) is also encouraging, as is the perceived performance of the new materials developed for *ab initio* teaching. However, perhaps one of the most pleasing things to come out of this piloting has been the regret of this year's Year Two students, who see great improvement in the ability of Year One (who were subject to the same standard of entrance criteria) and who regret not having had the opportunity to learn Russian *ab initio* using the materials and structure presently being piloted.

Of course, the materials – available at the moment in loose text and audio-cassette form, with appropriate GOAL units – are far from complete, however it is anticipated that they will be ready for secondary piloting in September, when collaborating institutions will also be involved.

Finally, it should be noted that although the original intention of the project was to develop materials for university-level students, it is very possible that the course will also be appropriate for Russian language teaching in a broader range of areas (such as Secondary Schools, Adult Education etc.) when it is ultimately published.

Notes

1. See Paul Rastall, *The Portsmouth University* Ab Initio *Russian Project*, *Rusistika*, 7 (1993), 13–15.
2. See Paul Rastall and James Davie (eds), *Working Papers in Russian Language Teaching*, University of Portsmouth, 1994. These were published in advance of the Russian Language Conference. It is anticipated that a second volume of working papers will be produced in the Summer of 1995.
3. The Proceedings of this conference, entitled *Russian Language Learning – Past, Present and Future*, edited by R. M. Cleminson, were published by the University of Portsmouth in January 1995. Copies of this and other publications may be obtained by writing to: The Research Secretary, SLAS, University of Portsmouth, Wiltshire Building, Hampshire Terrace, Portsmouth, PO1 2BU.
4. Guided Open Access Learning.
5. The piloting reports are based on the results of questionnaires and vocabulary tests issued after each unit. The results of interviews with a cross-section of the *ab initio* group (1994–95) are also included.
6. I am grateful to my colleagues, Dr Neil Landsman and Dr Paul Rastall, for their useful comments in the drafting of this report.

The 'Urals voice' in the work of Vladimir Makanin

S. Dalton-Brown University of Exeter

Over the last decade Vladimir Makanin has established his reputation as a formidable writer capable of producing texts which extend over a range of prose genres, from early works written in the style of urban *byt* prose to works infused with mythic and religious motifs, to dystopian texts (*Laz, Dolog nash put'*, 1991), to social commentary (*Kvazi*, 1993). His latest work, his 1993 Booker prize-winning *Stol, pokrytyi suknom i s grafinom posredine*, (hereafter *Stol*) is a coldly ironic indictment of injustice, a Kafkaesque depiction of the trial of an unnamed narrator for an unnamed crime.

Makanin's major theme is the guilt of the intelligentsia, who failed to support the suffering people during the Stalinist years. Makanin examines a particular kind of mid-life crisis as he depicts characters attempting to deal with their own apathy or self-delusion. However strongly they tried to convince themselves that they were ignorant of Stalinist atrocities, as the narrator of *Stol* bleakly remarks, 'they knew'.[1] Guilt is, however, only one, albeit the most constant, theme in Makanin's work. There are in his texts moments, digressions, interludes in which he is concerned not so much with the guilt of middle-aged men, as with the lives of legendary figures.

His characters usually share a background located in the Urals, Makanin's own place of origin. From these early years spent amongst the 'yellow mountains' of the Urals come violent and vibrant stories which contrast sharply to the bland *byt* tales in which Makanin dissects the guilt-clogged arteries of his urban characters. We hear an older voice, the voice of Urals legends, the echo of that oral tradition in which Makanin himself grew up, and it is on the three texts in which this voice rings out most clearly that this article focuses – *Golosa* (1980), *Utrata* and *Otstavshii* (1987).[2]

Other texts by Makanin do contain religious elements, (*Predtecha*, 1982, for example) and parables (most notably the story 'Pustynnoe mesto', 1976);[3] but it is in the above-named three texts that Makanin attempts to formulate his own concept of the significance of legend. It is linked to several other key ideas in his work, namely, to his rather *derevenshchik* belief in landscape as a morally invigorating force, and to his preoccupation with the effect of time and death on man. Makanin's texts are about seeking – searching for an escape from the bonds of guilt, and for a means of dealing with death. The eternal resides in nature, in the place of one's birth, and in the oral traditions, the 'eternal voices' or legends of that birthplace. Going beyond the confines of the contemporary urban genre, Makanin attempts to reproduce the voice of his childhood, the 'ancestral voice' of the Urals. Like Chingiz Aitmatov, whose texts employ motifs from the Kirghiz oral tradition in order to enrich the moral and philosophical dimensions of the text, he uses Urals legends as a means for commenting on man's age-old quest for a meaning to life which will enable him to face death without fear.

The 'moral mountains'

In Makanin's work, certain topographies dominate; the 'barak', the city, the 'poselok', and the 'yellow mountains' of the Urals. The latter should have appeared in his first work, *Priamaia liniia* (1965), but were deleted by the editor; a hint of their significance does, however, remain in terms of the nature description which appears at the end of the text.[4] The plot is fairly simple; two mathematician friends, Volodia Belov[5] and Kostia Kniazogradskii, work on a project which ends with the death of a man after an explosion at the test site.[6] Volodia goes to visit the scene of the disaster, but begins instead to think about his childhood. He has returned to the countryside of his origins; and, remembering the proverb 'gde vstanesh', tam i liazhesh'',[7] he falls into a brooding state. Running into the steppe, he trips and lies embracing the ground. He is rejected; Volodia tells us:

> . . . and there was no oblivion, tears didn't flow, and I went back slowly, went slowly from the earth, which had not accepted me, which had not given ease, not allowed me to weep at my loss . . . (p. 247)

On his way back to the city, Volodia dies inexplicably. The earth, it appears, has (rather harshly) rejected, judged, and condemned Volodia for his lost innocence; an idea which is particularly *derevenshchik*, surprising in a writer usually classed as urban. This is Makanin's first attempt at formulating the idea of the 'moral landscape'. When this idea next appears, in *Otstavshii* (1987), Makanin focuses on a mountain which, like a stern judge, also 'rejects' man, without listening to his self-justifications. One day, sitting watching an old woman walking into the swelling foothills, which are like burial mounds, the narrator imagines that he sees many people following her:

> some force was leading them, like the force of memory . . . But the moment they had visited their loved ones . . . the mountain itself suddenly tilted . . . and without distinguishing between their past guilt or involvement, spilled the people from its uniform swells, shook them off and pushed them back again into the present, not accepting their assurances or repentant words. Such a deceptive mountain (obman-gora).[8]

In *Golosa* (1982), in which the yellow mountains first made their appearance, the mountains were also depicted as aloof; they teach the local inhabitants patience and tolerance, because one cannot ever posses them, touch them. And yet, paradoxically, they can stimulate a converse feeling: the twelve year-old narrator of the first chapter of *Golosa* experiences a moment when 'the air and space shuddered, and in me arose a exultant sense of freedom and achievement' (p. 7). Later, this boy wants to go into the mountains the night his fiend Kol'ka dies, thinking that the latter's spirit will be on its way there; adolescents and the dead are the only 'innocent' creatures which the earth will accept.

The *iurodivyi* Lesha in *Otstavshii* is one exception. He has the ability to find gold; the earth appears to communicate its whereabouts to him. When he stops in his travels to sleep, the gold in the yellow sand warms him (p. 56). He sleeps, comforted by the earth, but that very comfort provides the reason for his sufferings, for his ability to find gold leads to his brutal exploitation by others. He is beaten, ignored, and, so the legend has it, eventually killed by prospectors unwilling to give him up to another gang. His murderers' children are turned into ugly stones; the mountains take their revenge.

The pattern of legend

Or perhaps Lesha did not die, but merely disappeared. Makanin offers several versions of the Lesha story; the corpses of two of Lesha's tormentors are thought by some to be the skeleton of fleeing lovers; in another version it is not the prospectors who die, but a horse. Truth becomes hidden behind the woven legend, although the essence of the story remains powerfully clear. Lesha is the 'otstavshii' of the title, a figure possessed by the fear of falling behind, one for whom there is no rest; he imagines himself in death running from star to star, mistaking them for the campfires of his prospecting team (p. 53).

Makanin uses this legend as a counterpoint to the rather drab contemporary life of his protagonist, Serezha, whose fascination with the Lesha legend comes from his own sense of 'falling behind'. He hopes to become a liberal writer, and that his novel about Lesha will be accepted by Tvardovskii; but by the time he has finished it is too late, for Tvardovskii has been forced from *Novyi mir*, and that period of enlightened publishing is over; Serezha has 'fallen behind'. Through the legend allows Makanin also suggests how man repeats the tales of old; Lesha's desire not to fall behind is repeated in Serezha and also in his father. Hearing the voice of legend, one can 'live' that legend, as Makanin suggests in *Utrata* (1987).

Voices which awaken

To Makanin, legends appear to be like voices calling man to self-awareness, waking him from a state of animal unconsciousness.[9] Noting that those who hear voices used to believe that they were hearing the voice of God or angels, Makanin states that today the manifestation of such a voice would be labelled 'the first movement of the intellect' (p. 40), a rather rational label for what seems so intuitive.[10] Each man carries in himself his own, particular 'graveyard of voices' (p. 49), voices which have been born, have disturbed the one who hears them, then died, then perished to make way for more, weaving their voices together into the seamless music of existence, the eternal choir of which man himself becomes a part when he dies.

Listening to such voices, man is, it is implied, brought to spiritual matters through a consideration of death (suggesting that only from one's awareness of impending self-annihilation comes a sense of self). Makanin's legends are curious and eclectic, but death appears to be a constant component. In chapter eight of *Golosa* we hear the tale of the mother who sacrificed her life so that her soul could travel more swiftly after a thief who had robbed her sons, two Buddhists. In chapter nine we supposedly read the tale of the inventor of the drum, who created a tradition, that of dying to the beat of a drum (p. 54, p. 56). Not only death, but salvation, is a theme of these often rather moral tales: in the tenth chapter, we have the legend of the robber Sevka Seryi, complete with icon-trampling, beating to death, and a water-sprite, a tale labelled 'the first sin of Seryi' (p. 75).[11]

Hearing the voice of legend, feeling the essence of that legend residing in oneself is, in a sense, a victory over time, a uniting of present and past. Makanin hints at the concept of genetic memory, which appears in Trifonov's *Drugaia zhizn'* (1975), in which man becomes the 'living thread of history', a link in an eternal chain – if he learns from the lessons of his ancestors and does not forget the past. Makanin's voices are 'living voices', tales which make the past – or even the present, for some of his stories in *Golosa*, such as the description of the amatory ineptitude of one Shustikov, are contemporary – come alive. As a writer he is concerned with combating the inertia of stereotypes; the voices of childhood and youth are the best, the most fresh and alive, for writers to listen to (p. 41).[12] Thus Makanin fills the pages of *Golosa* with 'voices' in a text which is also about his own search to discover a literary voice.[13] In the textual 'choir' (p. 17) we hear Gogol"s voice, the voices of his 'poor clerks' (p. 84), in conjunction with the voice of poor Kol'ka, whose pain-filled voice as he dies becomes a dreadful animalistic howl, perhaps a cry of anguished protest.[14] Makanin states that at times voices are stronger than the person who carries them; thence comes fanaticism and mania (p. 75), a return, perhaps to more primitive, stronger emotions.

The obsession of Pekalov: from mania to myth in Utrata

In *Utrata* (1987), for example, we find one Pekalov, whose obsessive aim in life is to complete a tunnel under the Urals river.[15] Deserted by his workers, Pekalov hires three blind men to continue the digging (p. 106). The three fall victim to religious mania; thinking that they see the Virgin, they begin digging upwards, exposing a large boulder which crushes one of them, and causes Pekalov to lose the lower half of one arm. The other two rush out into the night, and drown.

This bizarre story forms Makanin's most powerful plot to date. Various tales are told about Pekalov; in one version, he is banished to a distant hovel by his family, disgusted at the harm he has done to the family name. In another, more widely accepted, variant, Pekalov has sainthood conferred upon him (p. 107).[16] The kind of divine madness which motivates Pekalov, or Lesha in his obsession with not falling behind, is the base material of legend. Myths are created by those who act out of an obsessive desire not to be forgotten, either by successive generations, or, as in Lesha's case, by fellow-workers. As Makanin's narrator states:

> In order to call across the century, and another, a third, a fifth, legend doesn't have to strain its throat. The legend shouts with its beauty, and as it were with its meaninglessness and clear consciousness of the fact that sensible people will be buried and forgotten.
>
> That very grief of man, that he will be forgotten . . . that he has lost his roots and link with his ancestors – is that not the same thing? Is it not a super-human spiritual pain, extended in time? p. (108)

The chapel erected in Pekalov's honour has long since crumbled away, but Pekalov remains in legend; he has achieved his small measure of eternity. The digging motif which dominates *Utrata* takes on a new significance; Pekalov is symbolically attempting, one may argue, to discover his roots, to dig back through the centuries, under that river of time which often provides a cliched referent for the present. His digging can also be interpreted psychologically; as he digs backwards in time and his mania strengthens, he confronts the deeper, primeval layers of his own mind.

In a state of delirium, states Makanin in *Utrata*, man's knowledge frees itself from rationality and discovers genetic memory; 'you are able to perceive and hear the past, moreover, live it' (p. 114). The eternal voice of legend echoes through the years, conflating them. The narrator, trapped in his contemporary timeline and in his illness, imagines himself to be Pekalov; and later, walking down a dark corridor, sees it change into a damp tunnel like that under the Urals (p. 118). He is able to make that connection across time, unlike the narrator of the final section of this curious text, who, wandering at night across the places of his childhood, cries out into the night, soundlessly and meaninglessly (p. 134).

The voices we hear and the voices with which we attempt to make ourselves heard across time and space are connected with the primitive in man. In *Stol*, this concept translates into the idea with which Makanin began his writing career; the belief that man must confront his guilt, arising from his race's capacity for bestiality, before he can complete the circle of birth and death, and conquer time. The underground place, now not a tunnel, but a cellar, in *Stol* is the Stalinist past, the time of terror. The protagonist of *Stol* imagines that while he is being investigated, the floor beneath him might give way; he would find himself in a cellar with a figure out of a nightmare, an enormous man 'waving knouts and straps', bent on extracting pain through torture and rape (p. 25). Unlike other writers such as Sorokin whose recent interest in sex appears only to be that of titillating or shocking the reader accustomed to the pre-El'tsin era of predominantly sexless Russian literature, Makanin uses sex as a means of exploring the topography of barbarism.[17] Describing an act of necrophilia in *Stol*,[18] Makanin's narrator adds an ironic postscript:

> Sex, I think, has more than once been linked ritually to judgement – the link goes back into the depths of time, to tribal customs. (It hurts me when I think about this: two paces from the question table lies an abyss). (p. 29)[19]

Makanin has, in several of his texts, looked into the abyss, seeking the 'living voice', the voice of man's past, filled with barbarism, mania, crime, the past which has in some cases become legend. The voice of his Urals past is a voice to which not only the writer, but his characters, must listen, if they do not want to find themselves alienated from the eternal choir. The primeval voice of his childhood is the most powerful in Makanin's work; *Utrata* and *Otstavshii* remain his two finest texts, in which the living voices of Urals legend join past to present, suggesting that these works will not be forgotten.

Notes

1. *Stol, pokrytyi suknom i s grafinom posredine*, *Znamia* 1 (1993) 9–53, p. 25: 'you can not know about the time of the cellars or the time of white coats, but in this is the essence – that, not knowing, you know', states the narrator, referring to the prison cellars and hospitals where dissidents were tortured during the purge years.
2. During an interview I conducted with him in Moscow on 20/5/1994, Makanin related how he had selected and 'reworked' the Urals stories he had heard in his youth, dealing with local figures and legends.
3. A. Bocharov, *Literatura i vremia* (M., 1988), p. 152, has noted the parable element in Makanin's work, also the presence of what he terms 'pritchevaia ironiia' (p. 226). See also N. Ivanova, 'Ochen' predvaritel'nye itogi', *Literaturnaia ucheba* 1 (1981), 118–27, p. 122: 'pritcha proslaivaet . . . vsiu (ego) prozu'; and Piskunova, S., and Piskunov, V., 'Vse prochee – literatura', *Voprosy literatury* 2 (1988), 38–78, p. 55: 'pritcha privlekaet Makanina, kak maskimal'no *obnazhennaia* siuzhetnaia konstruktsia'.
4. Makanin refers to this incident in *Golosa*; see V. S. Makanin, *Otstavshii, povesti i rasskazy* (M., Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1988), pp. 9–10. Future references to *Golosa* will appear in the text in parentheses.
5. The character of Belov is somewhat reminiscent of the earnest Vadim Belov in Iurii Trifonov's *Studenty* (1950), although critics have noted a similarity between *Priamaia liniia* and D. Granin's *Idu na grozu*; see V. Bondarenko, 'Vremia nadezh', *Zvezda* 8 (1986) 184–99.
6. *Priamaia liniia* appeared in the eighth number of the journal Moskva for 1965; Makanin's career officially began in this year, and not in 1967, when the text was reissued, as some biographical notes indicate. For reviews of the work, see V. Litvinov's 'Mir, my idem k tebe!', *Literaturnaia gazeta* 7/9/1965, p. 5, and L. Terakopian's 'Trudnyi put' k debiutu', *Komsomol'skaia pravda* 5/10/1965, p. 8. More reviews of *Priamaia liniia* appeared the following year: see V. Akimov, 'Fiziki zhivut na zemle', *Literaturnaia gazeta* 22/3/1966, p. 4; 'Chitateli obsuzhdaet 'Priiamuiu liniiu'', *Literaturnaia Rossia* 21/6/1966, p. 21; L. Anninskii, 'Smert' geroia', *Literaturnaia gazeta* 2/8/1966, p. 3; V. Voronov, 'Formula cheloveka', *Moskovskii komsomolets*, 29/4/1966, p. 5; G. Ashanina, 'Mir skvoz' serdtse', *Znamia* 7 (1966), 240–2; N. Bank, 'Priamaia zhizni nashei', *Ural* 7 (1966), 175–7, and M. Zolotuskii, 'Shefy, chify i chelovek', *Komsomol'skaia pravda* 16/3/1966, p. 8.
7. V. S. Makanin, *Priamaia liniia* (M., Sov. pisatel', 1967), p. 233.
8. V. S. Makanin, *Otstavshii, Znamia* 9 (1987), 6–59, p. 39.
9. Voices are referred to in other texts by Makanin. In *Predtecha* (1982) they are linked to morality; the narrator talks of he 'who has not lost his voice, although he sang badly, perhaps mainly because he sang badly', or, in other words, because he contravened the lacklustre *mores* of the day. See also 'Rasskaz o rasskaze' (1976) in which the narrator hears 'separate voices' in the building in which he lives, and which he envisages as a symbol for life.
10. See Nina Denisova, 'K voprosu o priamoi, ili Apologiia Valechki Chekinoi', *Literaturnoe obozrenie* 9 (1975), 36–9, who argues against the belief of I. Shtokman (in the same issue of *Literaturnoe obozrenie*, pp. 33–5) that Makanin is a rational writer.
11. Not all the tales are necessarily meaningful – in chapter thirteen of *Golosa* authorial irony comes to the fore in an apocryphal story about Achilles, who only moved to Greece after constantly being made drunk by the ancestor of one Serega.
12. See M. Lipovetskii, 'Protiv techeniia. Avtorskaia pozitsiia v proze Vladimira Makanina', *Ural* 12 (1985) 148–58, on voices, p. 151.
13. The twelfth chapter in this 'literary' work was published separately by Makanin as a somewhat idiosyncratic article on Gogol'. See V. S. Makanin, 'Gogol' i konfuznaia situatsiia', *Literaturnaia ucheba* 2 (1979) 183–187.
14. This section appeared in translation in *Leopard 1. Dissonant Voices* (ed. O. Chukhontsev) (Harvill, London, 1991), 119–130. Other sections from the text have appeared as separate extracts in Makanin's *Rasskazy* (M., Sovremennik, 1991).
15. The motif of digging first appears in Makanin's *Povest' o Starom Poselke* (M., Sov. pisatel', 1974), p. 80. See M. Lipovetskii, 'Paradoks o gore i tunnele: Vladimir Makanin i ego siuzhet', *Literaturnaia gazeta* 10/6/1992, p. 4.
16. Makanin also includes another legend: a 7th-century Chinese acupuncturist, whose mania for experimentation leads him to attempt a lobotomy on the sleeping, and unwilling emperor; an act which the latter interprets as an assassination attempt.

17. Sex is not a major component of many of Makanin's texts. It appears briefly in *Laz*, in which the protagonist encounters a recalcitrant shop assistant and realises that she wishes to be paid sexually, and in *Dolog nash put'*, in which it serves merely as a means for pointing out that although man may progrss in technological terms, certain archaic instincts remain. In *Kvazi*, sex is an expression of power; the unpleasant Strekalov runs a *barak* for workers desperate for Moscow residence permits, sexual favours from the women one of his methods of payment for helping them avoid the authorities.

18. See also the story 'Neshumnye', *Novyi mir*, 9 (1991), in which another scene of necrophilia is briefly depicted.

19. A table is, somewhat oddly, given its negative connotations in *Stol*, utilised as a boat on the Urals river by the narrator and his childhood friends, p. 39.

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Nikolai Gumilev and Engineer Krestin: the problem of publication on the eve of the 'Lost Tramcar'

Michael Basker University of Bristol

In a short memoir of Nikolai Gumilev first brought to light in the wake of his rehabilitation in Russia in the late 1980s, Gumilev's fellow poet and protégé Nikolai Avdeevich Otsup (1894–1958) makes brief reference to a night 'sometime in 1920', which he, Gumilev and a small group of acquaintances had spent drinking together until 5 a.m. in the Petrograd flat of an engineer named Krestin. The occasion was the conclusion of a contract between Gumilev and Krestin for the republication of 'several' of Gumilev's books of verse. According to Otsup, however, Gumilev, who had 'received an advance' from Krestin, failed to recognise that their agreement had no practical commercial basis, and that Krestin, in the straitened circumstances of War Communism, was in reality extending to him an unconditional financial subvention:

> Gumilev didn't pause to think why at such a difficult time some eccentric should find it possible to buy from him the rights to *Zhemchuga*, *Kolchan* and other collections of verse. N[ikolai] S[tepanovich] had no suspicion of a friendly conspiracy. Yet the agreement, written by hand on two sheets of paper over the poet's signature, was immediately given over to me by the engineer Krestin, and, when they wish, lovers of authorial manuscripts are welcome to see this curious document. Thanks to the intervention of Gumilev's friends, Krestin had played the noble role of *metsenat*, under the guise of a publisher planning to grow rich on poetry.[1]

This is not, as it happens, Otsup's only reference to such an agreement. As émigré critic and memoirist, editor of Gumilev's selected verse,[2] and even, at the age of almost 60, author of a French doctoral dissertation on Gumilev's life and work,[3] Otsup was the most assiduous and trustworthy of those younger poets whose company Gumilev had sought between 1918 and his execution in 1921 in preserving his memory abroad through decades of proscription at home. Otsup had also described the episode in question in an article published in New York in 1953. There, however, the engineer was identified as Aleksandr Vasil'evich K.; it was stated that the contract for republication related only to Gumilev's fifth book of verse, *Kolchan*; and a precise date was given: not 1920, but the night of 29–30 December 1919.[4] Such inconsistencies might seem of little consequence, for the episode is clearly a minor one, from which, indeed, no publication of Gumilev's verse ensued. They can readily be resolved, however, by quoting in full the 'curious document' which Otsup took with him into emigration and which, though evidently still unknown to Gumilev scholars, he had been so willing to make public. This might in turn provide useful insight into Gumilev's activities and aspirations during a final, still inadequately-documented period in his life, which yields precious little by which to gauge his plans and state of mind. The document is indicative, in more general terms, of the peculiar circumstances of literary life in War-Communist Petrograd; and has a bearing, too, on the dating of one of Gumilev's most famous poems.

The original of the text which follows is on a plain sheet of paper, in Gumilev's usual hand. It is signed by him, but not by Krestin. Spelling and orthography have been modernised in accordance with usual practice:

Договор

Петроград, декабря 29 дня 1919 года. Мы, нижеподнисавшиеся, Николай Степанович Гумилев, с одной стороны, и Александр Васильевич Крестин, с другой стороны, заключили настоящий договор в нижеследующем:

1) Крестин приобретает от Гумилева право на издание его, Гумилева, поэтических произведений, составляющих две книги «Чужое небо» и «Колчан», в десяти тысячах экземпл.

2) Внешняя сторона издания и продажная цена экземпляра определяется Крестиным.

3) За приобретенное право издания вышеупомянутых книг Крестин уплачивает Гумилеву тридцать тысяч рублей при подписании настоящего договора.

4) Материал для издания Гумилев передает Крестину немедленно.

5) Крестину предоставляется право передавать свои права по этому договору другим лицам по усмотрению Крестина.

6) Срок настоящего договора истекает через три года со дня его подписания, т.е. 1 января 1923 года, независимо от того, будут ли выпущены эти издания или нет.

7) В случае своевременного предупреждения Крестиным Гумилева о трудности выпустить в срок эти издания, действие договора может быть продолжено на срок еще двух лет, т.е. до 1 января 1925 года.

Н. Гумилев

Of 'engineer Krestin' it can be said with certainty only that he is not the Platon Frederikovich Krestin identified by the Russian editors of Otsup's memoir as a possible acquaintance of the poet from as early as 1909.[5] Aleksandr Vasil'evich Krestin is mentioned by no other biographer of Gumilev, and appears to have had no other significant connection with the literary life of the period. It seems reasonable to assume that he was primarily an acquaintance – and perhaps coeval – of Otsup (who evidently still found it imprudent to identify him in print in the year of Stalin's death), and that it was largely on Otsup's initiative that the deal (or charitable subsidy?) of December 1919 was arranged.

Curiously, Krestin was not the first engineer to provide financial support for an essentially insubstantial publishing venture of Gumilev's: he had been preceded in this by Nikolai Sergeevich Kruglikov, who in 1909 had been persuaded to hand over 200 roubles in support of *Ostrov*, a pioneering monthly journal to be devoted entirely to poetry. Gumilev had quarrelled with the original publisher, the journalist A. I. Kotylev, but even with Kruglikov's assistance had insufficient funds to retrieve the second issue from the printer's: the journal folded, and its subscribers were reimbursed.[6] What, however, of his agreement with Krestin a decade later? How seriously did Gumilev take the prospect of publication – against which, it now emerges, he received not merely the 'advance' to which Otsup referred, but payment in full of 30,000 roubles? Did he remain as gullibly oblivious to Krestin's intentions as Otsup suggests; or might a different construction more convincingly be placed upon this later episode?

At first sight, Gumilev's conclusion of a contract for the republication precisely of *Chuzhoe nebo* and *Kolchan* would seem entirely logical. Faced upon his return from London to Bolshevik Petrograd at the end of April 1918 by the pressing need to earn a living in drastically altered conditions – and doubtless fired too by an enthusiasm and impatience to reestablish himself on the literary scene from which he had been distanced ever since volunteering for military service in August 1914 – he at once embarked on a vigorous and remarkably ambitious programme of publication. Within a few weeks, he had succeeded in persuading his friend and literary advisor, Mikhail Leonidovich Lozinskii, to resurrect the 'Giperborei' publishing venture which had been a main outlet for the Acmeists before the Revolution. As early as mid-July – apparently on money borrowed from the printers against future sales[7] – he had thereby succeeded in publishing his 'African' narrative poem, *Mik* (which he had tried repeatedly to place elsewhere since 1914);[8] his recent free versions of oriental poetry under the title *Farforovyi pavil'on: Kitaiskie stikhi*; and a new, sixth collection of original verse, entitled *Koster*.[9] Yet with the resources of 'Giperborei' stretched to the limit, Gumilev had also (with the evident blessing of Lozinskii) made contact with the owner of the 'Prometei' Publishing House, N. N. Mikhailov, concerning possible republication of his earlier works. He apparently offered each of his five previous books of original poetry – including, in some form, even the early *Put' konkvistadorov* (1905), the very existence of which he had preferred to deny at the time of his most active anti-Symbolist polemics – and also his translation of Gautier's *Emaux et camées*.[10] An announcement which he prepared that summer for the newspaper *Birzhevye vedomosti* indicates that *Romanticheskie tsvety*, *Zhemchuga*, *Chuzkoe nebo* and *Kolchan* (his second, third, fourth and fifth books of original verse) were soon all accepted.[11] This is confirmed by publisher's lists.[12] In the event, however, only the first two titles were to appear with 'Prometei', which, due to rapidly worsening economic conditions and the attendant onset of an acute paper-shortage,[13] brought out no new books between summer 1918 and March 1921, and produced nothing more by Gumilev.[14] His reversion to *Chuzhoe nebo* and *Kolchan* in 1919 would therefore seem understandable – particularly if, as his ability to hand over copy to Krestin at short notice would imply (clause 4), he had already prepared them for re-issue the year before. And in so far as *Romanticheskie tsvety* and *Zhemchuga* had reappeared with extensive revisions,[15] the non-appearance of those other books seems cause for genuine regret.

The two collections were nevertheless by no means all Gumilev might have offered to Krestin by the end of 1919. Quite apart from the already extensive translation work he had undertaken for 'Vsemirnaia literatura',[16] and his translation of *The Epic of Gilgamesh* which – presumably because 'Giperborei' had been unable to take it on as intended[17] – had appeared with Z. I. Grzhebin that May,[18] Gumilev's outstanding plans for publication had for some time included his versions of the 'Abyssinian songs' he had collected during his pre-War travels;[19] a book of essays on Acmeism;[20] and the narrative poem *Dva sna* (the one [?] completed manuscript of which, handed over for publication on his behalf by K. I. Chukovskii, may, however, already have been irretrievably lost by December 1919).[21] In addition, he had that year been preparing a second, presumably larger edition of *Mik* (in November he had also handed over to 'Vsemirnaia literatura' the corrected text for a second edition of *Gilgamesh*);[22] and he had evidently completed the cycle of poems about Africa which he eventually brought out, under the title *Shater: Stikhi 1918 g.*, in two different editions, published in rapid succession, when circumstances would again allow after the onset of NEP in 1921. (It is a sign of the times that the first, produced on the spur of the moment in Sevastopol', was on poor quality paper, bound in sugar wrappings).[23] Work on his five-act tragedy, *Otravlennaia tunika*, was also fully concluded.[24] There was, in other words, no shortage of material, both unpublished and more recent than *Chuzhoe nebo* and *Kolchan*, which Gumilev might have chosen instead to hand over to a potential publisher had he been at all confident of seeing it in print.

It was also the case, moreover, that by December 1919 Gumilev had sought to take further the principle of large-scale republication of previous works which had been initiated, apparently less all-inclusively than he might have hoped, in his dealings with 'Prometei'. In January 1919 he had signed a contract with the newly-formed 'Soiuz deiatelei khudozhestvennoi literatury' for a volume of his collected verse running to 10 printer's sheets.[25] This would have been sufficient to account for virtually the entirety of his then published output; but fell into abeyance in the late spring, with the undignified demise of 'Soiuz deiatelei' following public accusations by Sologub of financial mismanagement.[26] By mid-June the rights to a substantial collection of his verse had instead been sold to Z. I. Grzhebin.[27] Again there was no practical outcome: Zinaida Gippius, indeed, suspected Grzhebin of buying up at nominal prices, without hope of immediate publication, any 'writer with a name', so that, 'in the event of a coup, the whole of Russian literature would be in his hands, by contract, for many years to come'.[28] Yet – presumably for reasons of prestige as much as financial gain – the idea of producing something akin to a collected works evidently continued to attract Gumilev. No sooner had the publishing crisis began to ease, in March 1921, than he offered his '*opera omnia*' to 'Petropolis', only to find himself unable to proceed because of previous agreements with Mikhailov and Grzhebin.[29] By this time at least, he could therefore not have felt bound, either, by his three year contract with Krestin (the initial legality of which may anyway have been in doubt). And by comparison with more grandiose designs in the meantime, even in December 1919 the project to republish *Chuzhoe nebo* and *Kolchan* could scarcely have engendered the same enthusiasm as the first approach to 'Prometei'.

Other aspects of the contract with Krestin also indicate that Gumilev had probably from the outset regarded it less seriously than Otsup suggests. From early in his career Gumilev had taken considerable care over the format and physical appearance of his verse collections,[30] and had received particular encouragement and assistance in such matters through his association with M. L. Lozinskii.[31] In 1918, too, it was a declared intention of the reinstituted 'Giperborei' to pay 'great attention to the artistic aspect of editions, including graphic insets'; and Gumilev also announced a projected series of 'Knizhnaia redkost' publications which were to have taken the aesthetics of production a stage further, with vignettes and hand-coloured drawings accompanying limited-edition translations of rare foreign-language texts.[32] Although the only fruit of this more ambitious project appeared after Gumilev's death, in 1923,[33] high standards were indeed maintained in the 1918 output of 'Giperborei' (the frontispiece of *Mik*, for example, carries a line drawing of Gumilev's dated 1910, while Farforovyi pavil'on included illustrations from a Chinese text of 1724 in the collection of Petrograd University). Conversely, in 1921, Gumilev apparently felt sufficient disquiet at the designs commissioned by the publisher Iakov Blokh for 'Petropolis', with which he had placed the manuscript of his last book, *Ognennyi stolp*, to insist that his work appear in plain covers.[34] The surrender of authorial control over the format of *Chuzhoe nebo* and *Kolchan* written into clause 2 of the agreement with Krestin is in other words an entirely uncharacteristic abdication of further involvement, which might be taken to signal the absence of any serious expectation of publication.

The projected print-runs of 10,000 copies per volume seem to point to a similar conclusion. Gumilev would have been keenly aware that Aleksandr Blok – his rival in popularity for the role of leading Petrograd poet – had been able to command print runs of that size for two separate editions of *Dvenadtsat'* (one sponsored by the Central Committee of the Left SRs!).[35] Moreover, his own abortive contract for a collected *Kniga stikhov* with 'Soiuz deiatelei khudozhestvennoi literatury' had been for an edition of 20,000 copies. (Blok, apparently at Gumilev's instigation, was offered an identical contract for a four-volume edition of his 'Collected Works', which he was confident of selling, 'mainly in the provinces', within six months.)[36] Yet this vastly exceeded the size of any previous edition of Gumilev's verse, – the largest to date, and the most obviously comparable to the project with Krestin, being the 1918 republication of *Zhemchuga* by 'Prometei' in an edition of 2,100. And although, as Akhmatova remarked, editions of poetry began to increase in size in the early 1920s,[37] it is also indicative that his *Ognennyi stolp* was to appear with 'Petropolis' in August 1921 in an edition of 1,000 copies. A second edition of a further 3,000 copies was brought out by 'Petropolis' in Berlin the following year; while the largest edition of Gumilev before the intervention of the censorship was the 4000 copies of his *Pis'ma o russkoi poezii* brought out by 'Mysl'' in Petrograd in 1923. Whatever his aspirations to a wider readership, it must therefore have been perfectly clear to him, with his almost daily experience of publishers and needy authors, that at the end of 1919 the prospect of publishing his work in the editions envisaged with Krestin – an 'unknown' engineer, inevitably much less favourably placed than such publisher-entrepreneurs as Grzhebin – was not even remotely imminent. Indeed, before regular publication became feasible once more, Gumilev himself was to bring out mimeographed editions of a hand-produced journal, in four issues of between 23 and a mere 5 copies, and illustrated manuscript booklets of his own verse in five, two and even single copies.[38] And though clauses 6 and 7 of the contract with Krestin plainly anticipated non-publication in the near future, the combination of impracticably high print-runs with the exceptional condition of immediate payment both *in full* (hardly in the author's interests at a time of ever-wilder inflation, if long-term publication were really envisaged), and *before* submission of manuscripts (hardly in the interests of any serious publisher, seeking to pay off an impecunious author in anticipation of rising prices!), make it difficult to believe that Gumilev could fail to have been aware of the insubstantiality of the contract he signed.

If this is to suggest that he was thus a knowing participant in an elaborate but nonetheless transparent charade, the underlying reasons seem perfectly clear. Though Gumilev's own meagre resources, frugal requirements and indomitable spirit are well-documented,[39] his material need in the winter of 1919–20 was evidently extreme. His second wife, Anna Nikolaevna, had given birth to a daughter in April. By November, the shortage of food and fuel had become so acute that his new family had to leave Petrograd, together with his son by Akhmatova, for his mother's home in Bezhetsk.[40] With mother and other dependent relatives also to support there, Gumilev was in desperate need of money to supplement the limited food rations he received for his tireless literary work; and he had already frequently resorted to the widespread but readily exhaustible expedient of selling off books and dwindling possessions.[41] Yet by the unanimous accounts of memoirists, he was proudly self-reliant as well as immensely industrious; and though a degree of financial patronage may not have been particularly uncommon in enabling writers to survive the period of War Communism,[42] he would doubtless have found the fictitious contract with Krestin – arranged by the solicitous Otsup at a time which marked the beginning of his closer acquaintanceship with the elder poet[43] – considerably more palatable than unconcealed acceptance of a badly needed gift.

It would also appear that the grand-sounding sum of 30,000 roubles, though sufficient to have been welcome, would have been by no means embarrassingly inordinate. For comparison, on the previous day, 30 December 1919, Gumilev had received 2,928 roubles from the 'Tvorchestvo' publishing house and journal for the sale of just four poems.[44] (It is a measure of inflation that the sale of two poems to the same publisher 14 months before, in October 1918, had brought only 168 roubles.)[45] In early February 1920, the fee for reading two poems to a gathering of students at the literary studio of 'Dom iskusstv' was 1,500 roubles;[46] in March 1920, Akhmatova received 75,000 roubles from Grzhebin, for the rights to one or more books, and set the proceeds largely against the purchase of one new dress;[47] while before the year was out, Kuzmin was able to sell the elegantly produced limited edition of his 'pornographic' *Zanaveshennye kartinki* for 10,000 roubles per copy.[48] On a more humdrum level, Zinaida Gippius listed the following (black market) prices in her diary for 9 December 1919:

> A pound of bread – 400 r., of butter – 2,300 r., of meat – 610–650 r., salt – 380 r., box of matches – 80 r., one candle – 500 r., flour – 600 r. (the flour and bread are black, almost surrogates).

A month earlier, she had noted the cost of an unspecified amount of 'firewood' as '30,000 roubles'.[49] It is therefore scarcely surprising that Kornei Chukovskii, with a family of six to support, lamented in November 1919 that during the previous month he had found it necessary to sell everything he could, to produce 90,000 roubles; but even that sum would be too little to live on in the month that followed.[50] Gumilev could doubtless have accepted a mere third of that amount (10 days' sustenance?) from Krestin with reasonably good grace and no undue awkwardness, whilst the element of charade involved may well have appealed to his sense of theatrical play.[51]

Finally, something should be said of the literary consequences of the evening with Krestin – the date of which coincided with a first public poetry recital held at the House of Arts (Dom Iskusstv) on the Moika, at which both Gumilev and Otsup had appeared alongside Blok, Kuzmin, Piast, Georgii Ivanov, V. Rozhdestvenskii 'and others'.[52] The gathering at Krestin's must therefore have followed the recital (which was due to begin at 6 p.m.), and it is reasonable to suppose that one or more of the younger participants, Ivanov and Rozhdestvenskii, might have joined Gumilev and Otsup. (Although Blok would certainly not have done so, he and Gumilev were to meet again the following day, when Gumilev was amongst those who responded to Blok's paper on 'Judaism in Heine' at the editorial offices of 'Vsemirnaia literatura'.)[53] It is the evening's aftermath, however, which is of special interest; for Otsup records that when the assembled company left Krestin's the following morning to wander home through the deserted streets (at a time surely determined in the bleak and hungry Petrograd of 1919 more by curfew regulations than any abundance of food and drink) they were surprised at that early hour to hear the sudden noise of an approaching tram. Gumilev, in high spirits after all that had preceded, jumped onto the footplate of the empty vehicle as it slowed down before Kamenoostrovskii most, and rode away across the Neva. Two days later he read to Otsup a first version of 'Zabludivshiisia tramvai'.[54]

This is, however, only one of several explanations of the genesis of Gumilev's best-known poem. Irina Kunina relates it instead to a tram-ride with Gumilev in the spring of 1918; P. N. Luknitskii, the poet's first biographer, asserts categorically that the poem was composed in March 1920; and Irina Odoevtseva, in a lengthy account which seems remarkably consistent with Otsup's in suggesting both that the poem was engendered, after a sleepless night, by the unexpected appearance of a real tram in the deserted streets of early morning, and that it was essentially completed in a matter of a few hours, dates it from spring 1921.[55] Yet if, as Akhmatova considered,[56] Kunina's date is undoubtedly too early (stylistic considerations apart, it is on the simplest level scarcely credible that if such a poem had been written in the still relatively relaxed circumstances immediately following Gumilev's return to Russia, he should have refrained for so long from reading it in public or selling it for publication), Odoevtseva's date, which has found cautious acceptance amongst some responsible modern investigators,[57] is unquestionably too late: (Gumilev is known to have read 'Zabludivshiisia tramvai' in public at another poetry evening in Dom iskusstv on 6 October 1920, and again at the Polytechnical Museum in Moscow (with Maiakovskii in the audience) on 2 November.[58] By contrast, the documentary authentication of Otsup's account of the episode with Krestin (despite minor discrepancies between versions, and the questionability of his subjective interpretation) renders somewhat uncompelling the argument advanced by Gumilev's most recent editor, N. A. Bogomolov, that the frequent unreliability of Otsup's memoirs militates against acceptance of his dating for 'Zabludivshiisia tramvai'.[59] Despite the alleged rapid composition of the first draft, Gumilev evidently worked carefully and perhaps over a protracted period of time on the final text of 'Zabludivshiisia tramvai'.[60] Yet the correspondences in spirit between the accounts of his two former pupils, Otsup and Odoevtseva, suggest an essential core of truth in what they write, while Otsup's claim seems strengthened by his recollection that the poem originally contained a stanza with the French form 'Impératrice' instead of the later 'imperatritsa'.[61] This is borne out by a surviving archival variant.[62] In the absence of detailed argumentation on the part of Luknitskii,[63] it might therefore reasonably be concluded that the first version of this important poem, widely regarded as a significant new departure at the very end of Gumilev's career, was in fact probably composed as Otsup states, more than a year and a half before his untimely death.

Whatever the urban realia behind the conception of 'Zabludivshiisia tramvai', the poem unquestionably draws in addition upon a broad array of literary and philosophical precedents.[64] One of these may have been Longfellow's poem 'The Day is Done', which Gumilev would have known in Annenskii's translation;[65] but, with Otsup's account in mind, it seems scarcely coincidental that he had been working on his own translation of that poem at 'Vsemirnaia literatura' in late November 1919, only a few weeks before the evening with Krestin.[66] Another, more profound influence on 'Zabludivshiisia tramvai', as Elaine Rusinko has argued, may have been the philosophy of Henri Bergson.[67] And it is therefore worth quoting in conclusion Otsup's much earlier, unpublished observation that Gumilev's poem was 'written in the style of another, younger Acmeist, who attended Bergson's lectures at the Collège de France, 1913–14'.[68] Though the insight is acute, the impact of Bergson – on Mandel'shtam amongst others – was sufficiently ubiquitous in post-Revolutionary Russia for Otsup (who indeed studied in Paris just before World War I) to be accused here of over-stating his own importance. Yet by bringing Gumilev together with 'engineer Krestin' in December 1919, he might nevertheless be counted directly (if inadvertently) responsible for creating the circumstances which engendered his mentor's masterpiece.

Notes

1. N. A. Otsup, 'Vokrug imeni N. S. Gumileva', in *Zhizn' Nikolaia Gumileva*, ed. Iu. V. Zobnin, V. P. Petranovskii and A. K. Staniukovich (St. Petersburg, 1991), p. 201.
2. N. S. Gumilev, *Izbrannoe* (Paris, 1959).
3. N. A. Otzoupe, 'N. S. Goumilev' (Doctorat présenté à la Facultée des Lettres de L'Université de Paris, 1952).
4. N. A. Otsup, 'Nikolai Stepanovich Gumilev', *Opyty*, 1, 1953, pp. 137–8.
5. *Zhizn' Nikolaia Gumileva*, p. 293.
6. On the history of *Ostrov. Ezhemesiachnyi zhurnal stikhov*, see 'Neizvestnye pis'ma N. S. Gumileva' (Publikatsiia R. D. Timenchika), *Izvestiia AN SSSR. Seriia literatury i iazyka*, 46, 1 (1987), pp. 59–60; and the commentary to the letter of A. I. Kotylev to A. Belyi of 23 March 1909 in *Aleksandr Blok. Novye materialy i issledovaniia* ('Literaturnoe nasledstvo', 92: Moscow, 1980–7), 3, 350.
7. E. Stepanov, 'Nikolai Gumilev. Khronika', in N. Gumilev, *Sochineniia v trekh tomakh* (Moscow, 1991), 3, 405. It might be added that *Mik*, at least, was printed by the Voennaia tipografiia on Dvortsovaia ploshchad', and the stock held at the bookshop of Mel'e & Co. at Nevskii Prospekt, 20.
8. See the commentary in N. Gumilev, *Stikhotvoreniia i poemy*, ed. M. D. El'zon (Leningrad, 1988), pp. 600–1.
9. The three books were published respectively on 28 June, 9 or 11 July, and 13 or 14 July 1918 (ibid., p. 406; V. Luknitskaia, *Nikolai Gumilev: Zhizn' poeta po materialam domashnego arkhiva sem'i Luknitskikh* (Leningrad, 1990), p. 211).
10. See Gumilev's letter to Lozinskii of 18 July 1918: 'Neizvestnye pis'ma N. S. Gumileva', pp. 77–8. Gumilev's translation of T. Got'e, *Emali i kamei*, had appeared in 1914 with the St. Petersburg publisher M. V. Popov; on his retrospective endeavour to discount the appearance of *Put' konkvistadorov*, see G. P. Struve, 'N. S. Gumilev: Zhizn' i lichnost'', in N. Gumilev, *Sobranie sochinenii v chetyrekh tomakh*, ed. G. P. Struve and B. A. Filippov (Washington, 1962–8), 1, xi.
11. The announcement is reproduced in N. Gumilev, *Neizdannoe i nesobrannoe*, compiled and ed. with commentary by M. Basker and S. D. Graham (Paris, 1986), p. 86. On its date see also N. S. Gumilev, *Pis'ma o russkoi poezii*, compiled by G. M. Fridlender, with commentary by R. D. Timenchik (Moscow, 1990), p. 346.
12. See, e.g., the 'Katalog Knigoizdatel'stva "Prometei"' on the endpaper of M. Kuzmin, *Vozhatyi. Stikhi* (Prometei: SPb., 1918). Though all four titles by Gumilev are listed, only the two which actually appeared are priced (at 5r. 50 and 6r. 50 respectively).
13. For some pertinent statistics on the breakdown of publishing during War

Communism, see R. A. Maguire, *Red Virgin Soil* (Princeton, 1968), pp. 5–7.

14. The renewal of 'Prometei''s activity was marked by an edition of Kuzmin's *Aleksandriiskie pesni* originally advertised alongside Gumilev's works as forthcoming in 1918: see J. E. Malmstad, 'Mixail Kuzmin: A Chronicle of his Life and Times', in M. A. Kuzmin, *Stikhotvoreniia*, 3 (Munich, 1977), p. 259.

15. For details, see Gumilev, *Stikhotvoreniia i poemy*, pp. 545–6, 552–4. Three poems from the rejected (?) *Put' konkvistadorov* were included in revised form in the 1918 edition of *Romanticheskie tsvety*.

16. For a detailed breakdown, see I. F. Martynov, 'Spisok perevodov, vypolnennykh N. S. Gumilevym dlia izdatel'stva "Vsemirnaia literatura" i Z. I. Grzhebina', *Gumilevskie chteniia*, 2 (*Wiener Slawistischer Almanach*, 15, 1984), pp. 87–95. Gumilev's published translations in 1919 included, most prominently, S. T. Kol'ridzh, *Poema o starom moriake*.

17. Cf. Gumilev, *Neizdannoe i nesobrannoe*, p. 85.

18. This is the date given in Luknitskaia, *Gumilev*, pp. 222–3, on the basis of a copy inscribed to Lozinskii on 17 May 1919. Stepanov ('Gumilev. Khronika', p. 410) accepts an earlier dating on the basis of an inscription to Blokwhich reads 21 March 1919 (cf. *Blok. Novye materialy i issledovaniia*, 3, 57). Yet since Grzhebin first set up as an independent publisher only in March 1919 (Stepanov, 'Gumilev. Khronika', p. 411) – and Gumilev, moreover, met his associate Lozinskii almost daily at that time – there is surely a characteristic slip on his part: the insciption on Blok's copy of *Gilgamesh*, too, should evidently read 21 *May* 1919.

19. Some of the texts may date from as early as 1911 (cf. V. Chudovskii, 'Literaturnaia zhizn': Sobraniia i doklady', *Russkaia khudozhestvennaia letopis'*, 1911, 9, pp. 142–3), by which time Gumilev was also collecting Abyssinian art (Gumilev, *Pis'ma o russkoi poezii*, p. 355). On his intention to produce them as an illustrated edition in 1918, see Gumilev, *Neizdannoe i nesobrannoe*, p. 86. The texts were subsequently rejected by the 'Eastern Board' of 'Vsemirnaia literatura' (Gumilev, *Stikhotvoreniia i poemy*, p. 603), and first published in full (sadly, without Gumilev's illustrations) only by M. D. El'zon (ibid., pp. 478–84).

20. Announced in *Novaia gazeta*, 10 July 1918. Cf. also in this connection Gumilev's undated post-revolutionary plan, headed *'Stat'i': '1. O kollektivnom tvorchestve. 2. Ob akmeizme. 3. Medal'ony. 4. O shkolakh. 5. O perevodakh Gomera. 6. Nov[ye] rets[enzii]'* (Pushkinskii Dom, R. 1, op. 5, No. 494. Communicated by Sheelagh Graham).

21. Cf. N. A. Bogomolov's editorial note in Gumilev, *Sochineniia*, 1, 564–5; and Luknitskaia, *Gumilev*, p. 213.

22. See K. Chukovskii, *Sochineniia v dvukh tomakh* (Moscow, 1990), 2, 536; Luknitskaia, *Gumilev*, p. 227. The second edition of *Mik* eventually appeared only posthumously, at the end of 1921, with the 'Mysl'' Publishing House in Petrograd.

23. On dates of composition and circumstances of publication see Gumilev, *Sochineniia*, 1, 532–2; Gumilev, *Stikhotvoreniia i poemy*, pp. 583–4.

24. On Gumilev's various public readings of this play during 1919, see N. S. Gumilev, *Dramaticheskie proizvedeniia. Perevody.* Stat'i, ed. D. I. Zolotnitskii and M. D. El'zon (Leningrad, 1990), p. 391.

25. The contract, dated 27 January 1919, is reproduced in *Gumilevskie chteniia* (*Wiener Slawistischer Almanach*, 9, 1982), pp. 383, 385–6.

26. For details, see the commentaries to F. K. Sologub's letter to Gumilev of 23 July 1919, in *Gumilevskie chteniia*, 2, pp. 72–3.

27. *'Zapiska izdatel'stva "Vsemirnaia literatura" v Narodnyi Komissariat prosveshcheniia o deiatel'nosti izdatel'stva'* (16 June 1919), in *Istoricheskii arkhiv*, 1958, 2, p. 78.

28. 'Peterburgskii dnevnik. 1914–1919', in Z. Gippius, *Zhivye litsa: Stikhi, dnevniki* (Tbilisi, 1991), 1, 185.

29. See M. Kuzmin, 'Dnevnik 1921 goda' (Publikatsiia N. A. Bogomolova i S. V. Shumikhina), *Minuvshee*, 12 (1991), p. 454. For fuller information on 'Petropolis', see A. G. Timofeev, 'Mikhail Kuzmin i izdatel'stvo "Petropolis"', *Russkaia literatura*, 1991, 1, esp. pp. 189–94.

    Grzhebin was finally to reissue *Koster*, in two separate, posthumous editions (one marked 'Berlin; Pb. ; M.', the other 'Berlin: Pb.'), in 1922. It was 'Petropolis', however, which eventually brought out second editions of *Chuzhoe nebo* and *Kolchan*, in Berlin in 1936 and 1923 respectively.

30. See his exchange of letters with V. Ia. Briusov concerning *Romanticheskie tsvety* (N. S. Gumilev, *Neizdannye stikhi i pis'ma* (Paris, 1980), pp. 33, 80); and the letter of D. Kardovskii to Gumilev of 2 November 1909 concerning the design of *Zhemchuga* (A. Ustinov, 'Two Letters of Count Vasily Komarovsky', in *A Sense of Place: Tsarskoe*

Selo and Its Poets, ed. L. Loseff and B. Scherr (Columbus, Ohio, 1993), pp. 286–7, n. 9).

31. See, e.g., Lozinskii's letter to Gumilev of 5 March 1914 and the accompanying editorial commentary, in Gumilev, *Neizdannoe i nesobrannoe*, pp. 147, 282–3.
32. Ibid, pp. 85–6
33. Tit Petronii Arbitr, *Matrona iz Efesa*, Perevod s latinskogo, posleslovie i primechanie G. I. Gidoni, s predisloviem N. S. Gumileva i 12-iu graviurami na dereve Grigoriia Gidoni (Petrograd, 1923). The volume was announced by Gumilev for 'Knizhnaia redkost' in 1918 (see previous note), but appeared with no indication of publisher.
34. See Malmstad, 'Kuzmin', p. 259.
35. Another was brought out by S. M. Alianskii's 'Alkonost', with which Blok had a privileged relationship (see I. A. Chernov, 'A. Blok i konigoizdatel'stvo "Alkonost"', *Blokovskii sbornik* (Tartu, 1964), pp. 530–8). Even during the publishing famine of 1920, 'Alkonost' brought out his *Sedoe utro* in an edition of 10,000, while Grzhebin published 14,000 copies of *Za gran'iu proshlykh dnei*.
36. Cf. *Blok. Novye materialy i issledovaniia*, 4, 592–3.
37. A. Kheit, *Anna Akhmatova: Poeticheskoe-stranstvie. Dnevniki, vospominaniia, pis'ma A. Akhmatovoi* (Moscow, 1991), p. 232. Akhmatova, whose poetry had appeared in print-runs very similar to Gumilev's (though with more frequent reprintings), had in mind editions of 5,000.
38. See P. Nerler, "Novyi Giperborei", *Literaturnaia ucheba*, 1988, 2, pp. 125–31. One of Gumilev's manuscript booklets, entitled 'Persiia', is reproduced in his *Stikhotvoreniia i poemy*, pp. 317–28.
39. A particularly valuable source are the numerous references to Gumilev during 1919 in K. Chukovskii, 'Dnevnik (1918–1923)', *Novyi mir*, 1990, 7, pp. 140–77.
40. Cf. Stepanov, 'Gumilev. Khronika', pp. 411, 413.
41. Luknistakaia, *Gumilev*, p. 224.
42. Cf., e.g., Malmstad, 'Kuzmin', p. 253.
43. Cf. Otsup, 'Nikolai Stepanovich Gumilev', pp. 137–8.
44. GBL, f. 1 (S. A. Abramova), k. 4, ed. khr. 24. The poems in question were 'Devochka', 'Somali[iskii poluostrov]', 'Persidskaia miniatiura' and an unidentified 'Chinese' poem. (Communicated by S. D. Graham.)
45. GBL, f. 1 (S. A. Abramova), k. 5, ed. khr. 9. The two poems were 'Egipet' and 'Sakhara'. (Communicated by S. D. Graham.)
46. *Blok. Novye materialy i issledovaniia*, 2, 242.
47. A. Akhmatova, *Desyatye gody*, ed. R. D. Timenchik and K. M. Polivanov (Moscow, 1989), p. 250.
48. Malmstad, 'Kuzmin', pp. 251, 252.
49. Gippius, *Zhivye litsa*, 1, 226, 216. Though Gippius' diary is untrustworthy in some respects, her repeated listings of such prices over a lengthy period are clearly authentic.
50. Chukovskii, 'Dnevnik', pp. 160–1.
51. For a discussion of 'theatricality' in Gumilev's biography, see M. Basker, 'Lermontov and Gumilev: Some Biographical Parallels', in *Mikhail Lermontov: Commemorative Essays (1991)*, ed. A. D. P. Briggs (Birmingham, 1992), esp. pp. 16–27.
52. See the poster announcing an 'Evening of Petrograd Poets' for 'Monday 29 December', reproduced in Gumilev, *Stikhotvoreniia i poemy*, between pp. 128 and 129. An editorial note to the effect that the date was a misprint for '20 December' (ibid., p. 606) is difficult to account for: 20 December 1919 was a Saturday, whereas 29 December was indeed a Monday, and heralded a series of regular Monday events at Dom Iskusstv. See also, e.g., M. Slonimskii's account of the evening in question, in *Zhizn' isskustva*, 334–6 (1920).
53. See A. A. Blok, *Sobranie sochinenii v vos'mi tomakh*, 6 (Moscow–Leningrad, 1962), p. 512; and his *Zapisnye knizhki* (Moscow, 1965), p. 484.

    Gumilev was himself translating Heine at this time in connection with the multi-volume edition of the German poet being prepared under Blok's editorship for 'Vsemirnaia literatura'. On 25 December 1919 Gumilev had completed his translation of 'Atta Troll'; by 9 and 20 January 1920, respectively, translations of 'Vitzliputzli' and 'Bimini' (see Luknitskaia, *Gumilev*, pp. 227, 240).
54. Vokrug imeni Gumileva', pp. 201–2; 'Nikolai Stepanovich Gumilev', pp. 137–8.
55. I. Kunina, 'Moia gumilevskaia vesna', *Literaturnoe obozrenie*, 1991, 9, p. 99; Luknitskaia, *Gumilev*, p. 240; I. Odoevtseva, *Na beregakh Nevy* (Washington, 1967), pp. 421–4.
56. P. N. Luknitskii, *Acumiana: Vstrechi s Annoi Akhmatovoi*, 1 (Paris, 1991), p. 241.
57. E. Rusinko, 'Lost in Space and Time: Gumilev's "Zabludivšijsja Tramvaj"', *Slavic and East European Journal*, 26 (1982), pp. 398-9; Iu. L. Krol', 'Ob odnom neobychnom tramvainom marshrute ("Zabludivshiisia tramvai" N. S. Gumileva)', *Russkaia literatura*, 1990, 1, pp. 209, 217 n. 18.
58. Stepanov, 'Gumilev. Khronika', p. 419;

O. A. Mochalova, 'Navsegda', in *Zhizn' Nikolaia Gumileva*, pp. 109, 257 nn. 12–14.

59. Gumilev, *Sochineniia*, 1, 543.

60. See Bogomolov's extended commentaries, ibid., 544–5.

61. 'Nikolai Stepanovich Gumilev', p. 138.

62. Reproduced in Gumilev, *Neizdannoe i nesobrannoe*, between pp. 132 and 133.

63. This may yet, however, be forthcoming, as his *Trudy i dni N. S. Gumileva* still remains unpublished. The role of E. Mal'kina, as the poem's putative addressee, also remains to be illuminated by a future archival publication which may have some bearing on the poem's date.

64. In addition to the studies already cited, see the following discussions of subtext and mythopoetic tradition: I. Masing-Delic, 'The Time–Space Structure and Allusion Pattern in Gumilev's "Zabludivshiisia Tramvai"', *Essays in Poetics*, 7 (1982), pp. 62–83; R. D. Timenchik, 'K simvolike tramvaia v russkoi poezii', *Trudy po znakovym sistemam*, 21 (1987), pp. 135–43; L. Allen, '"Zabludivshiisia tramvai" N. S. Gumileva: Kommentarii k strofam', in his *Etiudy o russkoi literature* (Leningrad, 1989), pp. 113–43; K. Ichin, 'Mezhtekstovyi sintez v "Zabludivshemsia tramvae" Gumileva', in *N. Gumilev i Russkii Parnas* (St. Petersburg, 1992), pp. 92–7; and S. V. Poliakova, 'Istochnik odnogo obraza iz "Zabludivshegosia tramvaia" Gumileva', ibid., p. 98.

65. Pointed out by both Bogomolov (Gumilev, *Sochineniia*, 1, 544–5) and Timenchik (Gumilev, *Pis'ma o russkoi poezii*, p. 344).

66. Luknitskaia, *Gumilev*, p. 227.

67. 'Lost in Space and Time', pp. 383–402.

68. Otzoupe, 'N. S. Goumilev', p. 158.

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Шотландский архитектор В. Гесте в Москве. *Формирование новой образной концепции Москвы — русского регулярного города на традиционной основе.*

Tat'iana Ruchinskaia

Part 2

Ко времени сдачи В. Гесте проекта реконструкции города в Москве была создана специальная Комиссия для Строений, которая должна была руководить всей строительной деятельностью в столице. До нас дошел один из уцелевших планов 1810 года, сочиненный в Комиссии для Уравнения Повинностей, на который позднее Комиссия для Строений нанесла назначенные Гесте площади и свои проектные предложения т.е. — «площади, которые Комиссия Строений признала не нужными, которые остаются в прежнем положении с некоторым урегулированием и предлагаются вновь».

Проект Гесте был одобрен Александром I. 17 октября 1813 года директор чертежной Кесарино выступил на заседании Комиссии с рапортом, в котором подверг критике проект Гесте, доказывая невозможность его выполнения. Основные возражения Комиссии против проекта 1813 года состояли в следующем:

1. Вновь назначенные площади располагались на частных землях, покупка которых обошлась бы во много миллионов рублей; некоторые из них назначались «в излишней и ненужной обширности», а другие в отдалении от населенных кварталов.
2. Улицы и переулки «прожектированы вновь прямыми линиями через обывательские владения по гористым и низменным местам, а тем великое число дворов и земель раздроблены на части или оставлены в середине кварталов и других владений без всякого с теми улицами и переулками сообщения».

Отвергая нереальную схему Гесте, Кесарино предлагал Комиссии Строений разработать новый проект перепланировки Москвы. 5 января 1814 года. По предписанию Главнокомандующего города Комиссия приказала директору чертежной Кесарино сочинить 23 специальных плана «всем площадям существующим, предполагаемым Комиссией и назначенным Гесте». Выполненная Кесарино работа была представлена 13 февраля 1814 года и легла в основу принятых Комиссией решений.

Комиссия строений предложила более рациональный подход к реконструкции Москвы, который исходил из глубокого знания и понимания его традиционной композиции. Новый прожектированный план регулировал Москву, примеряясь к ее исторически сложившемуся плану.

Внутриквартальные и дворовые простанства после пожара 1812 г. формировались практически заново. В 1808 до 1812 гг. были выпущены 3 альбома «образцовых проктов фасадов жилых домов для частных строений». Первые два альбома были составлены В. Гесте и Л. Руской в 1809 году, третий был подготовлен архитектором П. Стасовым в 1812 году. Все образцовые фасады были выполнены в классическом стиле, что придавало бы застроенным домами улицам до известной степени ансамблевый характер.

Комиссия строений предложила В. Гесте в 1811 году создать стандартные проекты застройки городов. В 1811 году он предложил 12 планов образцовой застройки и 17 планов площадей. Они были опубликованы в 1812 году под названием «Разделение городской застройки на отдельные строения и на владения, проектруемые В. Гесте». Все 26 предложений были разделены по группам в которых были представлены кварталы трехугольной, четырехугольной, круглой, пяти и шестиугольной форм.

Все кварталы предписывалось застраивать по периметру. В центре каждого квартала располагалась общественная зона — улица с площадью, на которую выходили внутренние сады. Главная идея общей композиции внутриквартальных пространств — создание монументальной перспективы, которая строилась на основе следующих элементов длинной прямой улицы или аллеи на которую выходили частные сады и площади с общественным зданием, колонной или триумфальной аркой для завершения созданной перспективы. Площади планировались квадратных круглых и полукруглых форм.

Каждое владение имело 3 вида домов — угловой дом, дом с выдающейся вперед центральной частью и прямоугольный дом. В. Гесте в своих проектах застройки кварталов вокруг идеальных площадей, отдавая дань Московской живописности, пытаясь создать неформальные пространства, проектировал 2-х ступенчатый фронт застройки площадей и (дома имели 2 типовые секции, расположенные на красной линии улицы и в глубине, имеющие зеленую зону дворов, примыкающие непосредственно к улице). При этом неприрывное чередование секций и строгие геометрические пропорции площадей делали их более похожими на площади георгианского Эдинбурга, чем на традиционно Московские.

Как известно английская живописность застройки носила геометризованный характер и создавалась благодаря узким и кривым улицам, застроенными сплошными фасадами домов. Московская традиционная живописная система застройки и планировки имела более сложный и многоступенчатый характер и создавалась кривизной улиц и большим количеством неформальных пространств, прилегающих непосредственно к улице.

На «Плане столичного города Москвы с показанием прожектов площадям и улицам, существующим и вновь предполагаемым», сочиненным в 1817 г., можно заметить, что среди мер по благоустройству города особое место выделялось укрупнениям кварталов и «урегулированию владельческих дворов с увеличением их для удобной застройки». «Для удобного производства строений предполагается под прямыми углами все те владения регулировать.»[9] Это является по сути дела практическим осуществлением нереальных предложений архитектора В. Гесте по созданию в Москве новых регулярных кварталов.

Во время перепланирования Москвы после пожара 1812 года большое внимание уделялось регулированию площадей. Требования к новым площадям предьявлялись функциональные. Казалось необходимым создать новые и урегулировать старые площади для рынков, въездные площади, расчистить от строений церковные площади и открыть древние храмы и создать новые общественные пространства.

В своем проекте реконструкции города Гесте наибольшее внимание уделял пространству за Земляным городом. В связи с этим им были предложены проекты въездных площадей Москвы. Четырнадцать въездных площадей при заставах, которые были расположены на частных землях, были запроектированы Гесте. Направление радиальных магистралей города и их пересечение с Камер-Колежским валом опеделяли топографию въездных площадей, которые вместе с центральными площадями составляли основу плана реконструкции Москвы, предложенную архитектором В. Гесте. Однако Комиссия Строений полагала, что «при отдаленности от населенных кварталов никакой торговли и строений там быть не может, и останавливаются у застав поселяне при выезде из Москвы по продаже своих произведений на короткое время, для чего достаточно пространства, а потому все сии площади признаются не нужными.»[10]

В Альбоме Комиссии Строений, помеченого 1812 годом, имеется план регулирования группы центральных площадей вокруг Кремля и Китая города с предложениями Комиссии Строений и В. Гесте. Красную полщадь Комиссия Строений представляла иначе чем проектировал В. Гесте. Лавки у рва у Кремлевской стены сносились и ров засыпался как предполагал Гесте. Но между резалитами Верхних Торговых рядов прибавлялся, лицом к площади, еще один ряд который скрадывал лишнюю после засыпки рва ширину площади.

Площадь у собора Василия Блаженного

Комиссия предполагалось открыть только с севера, оставляя к югу от него застроенные кварталы. Эта застройка связывала собор Василия Блаженного с Подолом, расположенным от него вниз, к Москве реке.

Ильинская площадь оставлена Комиссией в существующем положении. Площадь от Большой Дмитровки до Неглинной, запроектированную Гесте, предлагалось оставить, а за рекой Неглинной «планировать возвышение, где находился Пушечный двор, а открытый канал с бассейнами внизу этого возвышения, перекрыв арками, засыпать».[11] Благодаря этому получилась бы непрерывная площадь от Большой Дмитровки до Варварских ворот Китай города. Вопреки проекту Гесте, Комиссия не согласилась застроить Моховую площадь. Было признано достаточным расширить площадь до 10 сажен, вследствии чего Моховая площадь распространится до Кремля. Впоследствии, при постройке Манежа в 1817-1825 годах, Моховая улица все же была расширена на предполагаемую В. Гесте ширину.

Неглинной площадью называли пространство по течению р. Неглинной от современой Пушечной улицы до Боровицких ворот. После заключения р. Неглинной под землю здесь проектировалась площадь на месте южной половины современной площади Свердлова и площади Революции, а также квартала между ней и проспектом Маркса. Далее проектировалась площадь на месте Александровских садов и квартала между Троицкими и Боровицкими воротами. На востоке эта площадь шла бы между стенами Китай города и Лубянским проездом до Варварской площади.

Моисеевскую площадь, лежащую на углу Моховой и Тверской улицы, было решено оставить без всякой застройки объединяя лишь этажи зданий общим фасадом. По проекту Гесте здания, расположенные на противоположной стороне Китайской стены, в Охотном ряду, подлежали сломке.

Новая Петровская площадь проектировалась между домом Благородного собрания и Неглинной улицей от Спасского переулка. Неглинная заключалась в трубу. Комиссия строений согласилась с проектом Архитектора Гесте соединить эту площадь со всеми площадями, расположенными по окружности стен Кремля.

От Никольских ворот к бассейну Неглинной для регулирования против окружности стены назначена прирезка к обывателским и другим владениям от уже существующей площади. Данное пространство превращалось в равный по окружности стены разрыв по проекту Гесте. Варварскую площадь Комиссия сочла нужным уменьшить и сделать ее симметрично с Никольской. Гесте предполагал перепланирование площади за счет расширения ее и продление всего разрыва до Никольской.

В проектировании Комиссии Строений и В. Гесте полукольцевой системы новых площадей, раскрытых к Кремлю и Китаю городу, получила последовательную реализацию идея ориентации новых регулярных ансамблей на исторический центр города.

Площади, образованные на месте развязок улиц Комиссия Строений предписывала лишь регулировать. По проекту Гесте при Слободском Дворце назначена полуциркульная площадь на земле новолютеранской кирхи и двух обывательских владений. «К открытию сей площади лютеранская кирха с строениями и двором должны уничтожаться и расположена оная не против дворцовых апартаментов, а перед старым зданием Желтого дворца, почему и назначается существующую площадь распространить отрезкою казенных, одной обывательской и частию церковных земель.»[12] Как показано на плане площади, Комиссия предлагала сделать площадь прямоугольной расширив примыкающую к ней улицу за счет казенной земли.

Перепланировке рыночных площадей очевидно уделялось особое внимание. Арбатскую площадь, ввиду приезда на нее в базарные дни возов с продуктами, Комиссия решила удлинить до Антипьевского переулка откуда начинался Пречистенский бульвар. По проекту Гесте данная площадь должна была остаться в прежнем положении.

Между Пречистенкой и Арбатом Гесте проектировал новую площадь, пересекающую Большую Арбатскую улицу и расположенную на 25 обывательских владениях. По мнению Комиссии данная торговая площады признана не нужной т.к. расположена близко от рынков у Смоленских и Арбатских ворот.

Тверская площадь у Тверских ворот по проекту Гесте и Комиссии Строений оставлена в прежнем положении. Близ нее была назначена Дмитровская площадь возле Страстного монастыря и бульвара в «связи с недостаточным пространством Тверской площади для торговли дровами и сеном».[13] Комиссия предлагала распространить ее по обеим сторонам новой улицы, соединяющую Большую и Малую Дмитровку. Гесте предполагал открыть площадь между началом новой улицы и монастырем, но Комиссия отдавала большую часть этого места под дворы притча монастыря и потому распространяла площадь по другую сторону улицы, снося для этого несколько дворов до пустыря перед домом Гагарина и полностью уничтожая переулок.

Площадь у Красных ворот Гесте намечал сделать четырехугольной формы, увеличив ее за счет прибавления монастырского погоста к улице. Комиссия запроектировала ее треугольной, с сохранением возле нее Сенной площади, которую Гесте предлагал уменьшить.

Болотная и Калужская площади оставались без изменений. Площадь на Полянском рынке Комиссия решила «открыть и расширить для пищевого рынка ввиду отдаленности других рынков». Серпуховская площадь по проекту Гесте расширялась на частных дворовых землях в виде прямоугольника, доходившего на севере до Екатериненского переулка. По мнению Комиссии Строений «столь обширной в сем месте при весьма незначительном рынке площади совсем не нужно, тем более, что вблизи ее есть Калужская и Конная площади.»[14] Поэтому площадь была оставлена в существующем виде.

Таганская площадь по проекту Гесте существенно расширялась к востоку до Грязного переулка, к западу к улице Большие Каменьщики и к югу до церкви Воскресения на Таганке. Комиссия оставляла площадь в прежних размерах лишь регулируя ее — «обширность сей площади не соответствует торговле и съездам на оной».[15]

Площадь при Немецком рынке оставлена Гесте без внимания. По проекту Комиссии Строений «к открытию этой площади деревянные строения необходимо сломать и часть владельческих земель обратить в площадь в виде треугольника, о основанием по Немецкому переулку с лавками по сторонам».[16]

На площади Смоленского рынка по обе стороны проезда с Арбата на Смоленскую улицу предполагалось «по сносе Земляного вала сохранить стоявшие здесь здания».[17]

Между Малой Дмитровкой и Новослободской улицей на разрыве в 20 сажен Земляного вала намечены две гостиницы, а против Каретного ряда на разрыве Земляного вала два здания с лавками. Между гостинницей у Малой Дмитровки и лавками у Каретного ряда запланирована Угольная площадь.

Георгиевская площадь близ Кудрина при церкви Георгия по проекту Гесте намечена на частных дворах и землях прилегающих к разрыву Земляного города и вблизи Кудринского рынка с проложением Малой Никитской через сад Вдовьего дома. Открытие площади по мнению Комиссии не было необходимым.

Церковные площади по мнению В. Гесте должны были выполнять роль общественных площадей. Так например вокруг Зачатьевского Монастыря по проекту Гесте предполагалась прямоугольная площадь, к открытию которой уничтожалось большое число частных дворов. Комиссия строений сочла площадь не нужной в связи с «малозначительностью монастыря и не приспособленостью площади к торговли».[18] Поэтому, предполагалось лишь устроить проезды вокруг монастыря и проложить новые переулки.

Новая Казицкая площадь прямоугольной формы, при церкви Ермолая на Козьем Болоте про проекту Гесте назначена на месте частных дворов простирающихся от церкви к востоку и к западу. С юга по плану площадь доходила до Большого Козихинского переулка, который вливался в площадь, выходя на Большую Садовую. В постановлении Комиссии Строений «сия площадь, выходящая за обширный разрыв Земляного вала, отдаленная от рынков, никакой торговлей или съездом занята быть не может и поэтому признается совершенно не нужной».[19]

Новые площади вокруг церкви Никиты Мученика на Басманной, храма Мартина Исповедника на Большой Алексеевской, церкви Воздвижения Креста Господня на Пометном Вражке, церкви Тихвинской Божьей Матери, церкови Николы в Песках в Большом Николопесковском переулке, предложенные Гесте, были отвергнута Комиссией. «Тамошние жители довольствуются потребностями с ближайших рынков поэтому там, кроме нескольких мелочных лавочек, никакой торговлили съезда быть не может, то предполагаемая площадь при значительной издержке останется навсегда пустою, а потому совершенно не нужной».[20]

Круглая площадь вокруг Донского монастыря, описанная вокруг квадрата, рассчитанная на показ архитектурного ансамбля монастыря со всех сторон. Комиссия Строений предложила оставить «в настоящем положении с некоторым регулированием при общем прожекте».[21]

Площади в Грузинах около церкви Георгия придавалась Гесте лишь новая «фигура». Комиссия предлагала «оставить ее в настоящем положении с некоторым регулированием при обшем прожекте».[22]

Основываясь на постановлении об очистке от всяких строений мест, где были каменные стены Белого и Земляного города, сделаны следующие предложения по регулированию пространств разрывов по Земляному, Белому городу и Камар-Коллежскому валу. Предписывалось «устроить на разрывах Белого и Земляного города гостиницы. Каменные здания у Причистенских, Мясницких и Петровских ворот по одну сторону, у Никитских, Сретенских и Покровских по обе стороны, привесть наружностию против апробированных фасад».[23]

Гесте в своем проекте перепланировки Москвы после 1812 года предлогал проложить три новые улицы для разгрузки основных магистралей. Первая — между Серпуховской и Тверской заставами. Она должна состоять из двух параллельных рядов улиц. Первый ряд состоял из Большой Серпуховской, Пятницкой, Балчуга, Москворецкой улицы, Красной площади, Тверской и Первой Тверской Ямской улиц. Второй ряд из Малой Серпуховской, Большой Ордынке, Болотной площади, Васильевской площади, Красной площади, новой улицы, проходящей между Тверской и Никитской, параллельно им идущей ко Второй Тверской-Ямской. Вторая магистраль предполагалась от Моховой до Пресненской заставы (через Большую и Малую Никитские улицы и новый проезд по саду Вдовьего дома и Бльшую Пресню). Третья магистраль проектировалась от Охотного ряда до Миусской заставы, соединяющая ее с Малой Дмитровокй и Новослободвкой улицей. Новую Тверскую улицу Гесте предлогал проложить прямой перспективой от Тверской заставы к Университету (между старой Тверской и Никитской улицей). В своем рапорте автор пишет, — «сия улица может быть проведена от заставы до бульвара с малым трудом, от бульвара до университета будет не мало ломки в строениях не важных, и в устье сей улицы, между университетом до Тверской назначена площадь».[24]

Улица, соединяющая Большую и Малую Дмитровку около начала Успенского переулка и новой площади у Страстного монастыря запроектирована Гесте. От Тверской улице до Петровки идет Страстной бульвар-аллея из рядов деревьев. За ним между монастырем и Петровкой, показан узкий квартал домов с переулком, идущем вдоль него.

Улица, проектируемая Гесте, продолжающая Малую Никитскую и выходящая на Кудринскую около церкви Покрова в Кудрине, была проложена по саду Вдовьего дома. «Сие важное заведение останется с самым малым пространством земли, под передним двором имеющейся, имежду двух улиц, а притом по возвышению места сего против горизонта, соединения сия улица должна будет на значительном расстоянии углубляться, и важное здание сего дома подвергнуться может разрушению, почему и назначается к распространению на самом рынке Кудринской площади и расширению улицы одноэтажный корпус... сломать, а вместо оного построить вновь по линии двора и часть двора отрезать...».[25] Проектируемые Гесте улицы Комиссия Строений сочла не нужными.

По проекту В. Гесте из двенадцати полей Москвы предполагалось застроить шесть. В связи с тем, что часть перечисленных Гесте пространств являлись местами общественных гуляний или были заняты огородами и пашнями, Комиссия Строений предположила следующие поля оставить с некоторым регулированием. Донское поле предназначалось для военных учений, на Девичьем поле в течение лета несколько раз бывало народное гулянье и проводились учения войск. На Миусском поле располагался обширный торг лесными материалами. На Сокольническом поле производились генеральные маневры войск и 1 мая проходило народное гулянье. На Каланчевском поле летом проходило артиллерийское учение, а зимою обширный торг лесными материалами.

Так после пожара 1812 года шаг за шагом осуществлялись попытки приведения всех городских пространств Москвы к единой регулярной системе и формирования нового образа Москвы как регулярного русского города на традиционной основе.

Примечания

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21. Там же. стр. 30.
22. Там же. стр. 34.
23. Там же. стр. 13.
24. Там же. стр. 16.
25. Там же. стр. 16.

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An introduction to Bella Ulanovskaia

Rosalind Marsh University of Bath

At a fascinating, albeit somewhat chaotic festival entitled 'Women of Russia in Art', held in London from 14 to 20 April 1995, which was designed to 'celebrate women artists living and working in today's Russia', I was fortunate enough to meet Bella Ulanovskaia from St Petersburg, a writer with a highly original voice who deserves to be better known. She gave me two sketches written in early 1995 which **had not then been published in Russia**, which afforded me a rare opportunity to translate a Russian text with the help of the author.

The first sketch translated below consists of brief extracts from a longer *curriculum vitae,* and the second represents Ulanovskaia's response to a journalist's **questions**:

> **1) What does the Great Patriotic War mean to you – an official state myth or a reality?**
>
> **2) Does 'war prose exist for you? If so, what kind?,**

which, in her words, 'turned into a short story'. The Russian text of her sketch 'Vozdushnyi boi' ('Aerial Battles') eventually appeared in the May 1995 edition of the journal *Znamia,* along with responses from other contemporary writers **of the post-war generation**.[1]

Ulanovskaia was born in 1943 in Irbit in the Urals, but her family moved to Leningrad in 1946, and she graduated from the Department of Languages and Literatures of Leningrad State University in 1967. After a short career as a journalist she rose to prominence as a literary scholar, reading a number of papers on Dostoevsky and Sologub at academic conferences. At the World Congress of Slavists at Harrogate in 1990 she presented the paper 'Voluntary Seclusion: The Life of a Lonely Old Woman in a Deserted Russian Village'.[2]

She began to write fiction in the late 1960s, but was unable to publish in Russia until Gorbachev's succession, although she circulated some of her stories in *samizdat*. Her most important works to date are: 'Al'binosy' (written 1979, published 1984), 'Osennii pokhod liagushek' (1987), 'Puteshestvie v Kashgar' (1987), 'Boevye koty' (1992), 'Volchii len' (1992) and 'Den', kogda upal "Chellendzher"' (1993).[3]

The short sketches which I have translated below add greater colour and immediacy to the brief biographies of Ulanovskaia which have already appeared in print.[4] The first fragment describes her work for the newspaper *Leningradskii metrostroitel'* (*Leningrad Metro Builde*r) and her participation in the group set up under the direction of Nina Perlina to establish the Dostoevsky Memorial Museum in the years 1969–71, and evokes her love of nature in north and central Russia, where she has travelled extensively and hunted with her English setter.

'Aerial Battles' reflects Ulanovskaia's delightful sense of humour, her predilection for fragmented forms combining philosophical speculation with precise details from the natural world, her concern for the environment, her ironic approach to the Soviet regime and her dislike of contemporary Russian nationalism, particularly when it takes such militaristic forms as the invasion of Chechnia.

Izabella Iur'evna Ulanovskaia

I was born in the Urals. I graduated in Russian literature from Leningrad University. I am a prose writer, essayist and literary historian.

After leaving university I had to work more under the ground than on its surface. In helmet and boots, I descended into mine shafts and mooched about in tunnels when the metro was under construction. Damp clods of Cambrian clay poured on to my reporter's notebook.

My next place of work raised my horizons steeply, but I still did not manage to come out on to the surface. The scholarly department of the future Dostoevsky Museum was temporarily housed in one of many cat-inhabited cellars.[5] It was rather stuffy, of course. I might have stifled there altogether if it had not been for my annual solitary wanderings around north and central Russia. (While I was still a student I had already travelled round all the fishing villages on the shores of the White Sea).

My first substantial prose publication in the Soviet press become possible only in 1985; up to then I had published in *samizdat* journals and the émigré journal *Ekho*.

Aerial Battles

'If you are surrounded in wartime, don't walk out on to the main road, but steal past on a side track . . . '[6]

This piece of advice came from Grandfather Kamenkov of Ermolov village in the Pskov region. I did not include it in my story 'Fighting cats', since that consisted of daft advice on how to get out of situations which were unlikely to recur.[7] Fedor Klement'evich's advice was sensible: a path saved his life.

But did he really believe that I and all the rest of us would be surrounded?

Let's break out! The war has ended a long time ago, but we are still surrounded by our own persistent fears, prejudices and preconceptions, by yesterday's myths.

Sergei Kovalev broke out of the circle of conventional ideas. His voice sounded out loud amid the siege of Grozny.[8]

I don't know if others feel the same, but since early childhood I have dreamed of bombers and fighter planes. A plane has been shot down and starts falling right on top of you, and you have no strength to run away. This dream kept recurring until one day, when I was already grown up, I dreamt of the same aerial fight and the same shot-down plane falling headlong, and felt the same terror; the plane still looked tiny against the blue background of the sky, but it was about to fall straight down, and then the most unexpected thing happened: I happened to have an old bucket, of the type that usually stands on the floor near a Russian stove, and managed to place it in the path of the tiny falling plane, and then this little bomber fell down in precisely the right place, hissed harmlessly like a smouldering log, and began to cool down, because, in good housewifely fashion, I had poured a little water on the bottom of the slop bucket.

Now I find it comic whenever bomber pilots, shot down ingloriously in foreign mountains, twirl their moustaches, affecting a heroic air.[9]

When I was a child I used to stare very intently at every plane flying by: quite close to us near Leningrad was an old wartime aerodrome where small planes often conducted training flights, and I always used to look closely to see if it was a foreign plane.

Sometimes the star and the inscription 'USSR' could not be seen straight away, and I would wonder if this was a plane without any identification marks which was about to start shooting. I would stop, stand rooted to the spot and carry on staring, however afraid I was – if it was an enemy, at least he would know that he had been spotted.

Once, when I was ski-ing down a mountain, a plane flew towards me; I descended further, took off my skis and clambered up the snow in my felt boots, then, holding my skis in my hand, slid down again, and the whole time the little plane circled above me like the dove of peace.[10] There was no one around apart from us. I showed off my daring, sliding again and again down the mountain which was quite steep and had a long slope, and he demonstrated all his skill, looping the loop and soaring into the air, but not flying away.

Of course, my head was stuffed full of tales about the 'real man',[11] about Zoia and Shura[12] and Vas'ka and his comrades.[13] This tangled mass of ideas from all the well-known novels became so firmly ensconced that it subsequently weaned me off any kind of war literature. It was something like the ball of hair which often forms in calves' stomachs if they are excessively sociable and lick each others' coats all over; vets are very familiar with this disease in young animals.[14]

I endowed the heroine of 'Journey to Kashgar' with a disease of this kind.[15] She had swallowed an extra-large ball of matted hair.

My father was a teacher who taught future vets and livestock specialists. At the front he had been a lieutenant in the infantry.

He related how in one liberated Ukrainian village he had had a long talk with a peasant, who was sitting on the good-quality roof of his own hut:

'What, aren't you glad that we've driven the Germans away?'

'Why should I be glad? We'll have to go back into the collective farm.'

I couldn't get my head around this. I asked:

'Who was he? A traitor, a collaborator?'

'An ordinary peasant. His new roof wasn't the only one, whole houses were built while the Germans were there'.

My father took part in a famous operation – the forced crossing of the Dnieper.

They got across the Dnieper on whatever materials came to hand, took a number of the villages near the river, then fell into a trap which they managed to escape from at night. After a flare had faded and they had taken the next opportunity to leap out and run for it, my father saw tracer bullets flying straight at him, felt a blow and fell.

He managed to shout to the soldiers running past: 'Tell them that Lieutenant Ulanovsky has been killed!'

The wound was not mortal. The explosive bullet hit his shirt button, and shrapnel lodged in his chest. Later some pieces of shrapnel were extracted in a field hospital, but one remained in his chest for the rest of his life.

When my father came to and crept towards our trenches, he was lucky enough to find the guards asleep.

I don't write 'the fascists', because when my father spoke about the war, he always said 'the Germans'.

In post-war concerts on the radio, in the outburst of music from the 'socialist camp', among all those chardashes and Cracoviennes, among all those dances from Hungary and Romania and all those Czech polkas, no German folk music was ever to be heard.

A simple, plain melody, played on a mouth organ maybe, would have evoked any number of evenings in the trenches: when we've had our sing-song, it'll be the worse for you!

Folk music can wait; we'll listen to classical music, or, better still, the song of the nightingales. It's spring now. Admittedly, our nightingales are rather loutish, and only know three or four phrases. Sometimes one of these simply falters, sounding like the hoarse cackling of the thrush. It makes you want to correct them, to give them a little training: to place a record player out on the window sill, for example, and put on a record of the ace nightingales from Zvenigorod;[16] it would be interesting to see if that would have any influence on those who live in a ten kilometre radius from the underground factory with the suspicious-looking dumps and high background radiation; it's such a sickly school for nightingales here that it's lucky they have survived at all.

Let the soldiers sleep, and let the suburban rabble of nightingales listen, the useless blockheads.[17]

March 1995

Notes

1. **Published in *Znamia*, no. 5, 1995, pp. 198–9 under the general rubric 'Voiny u nikh v pamiati netu,/Voina u nikh tol'ko v krovi' (pp. 183–99).**
2. Translated by Alla Zeide and Kurt S. Schultz, *Russian Review*, 51, 2, (1992), pp. 198–203.
3. 'Al'binosy', first published in *Ekho*, 13 (Paris, 1984), 117–43; subsequently in *Krug. Literaturno-khudozhestvennyi sbornik* (Leningrad: Sovetskii pisatel', 1985), pp. 215–44; translated by Arlene Forman in Helena Goscilo (ed.), *Lives in Transit* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Ardis, 1993); 'Osennii pokhod

liagushek', *Neva*, 12 (1987); 'Puteshestvie v Kashgar', *Sintaksis*, 28 (Paris, 1990) and *Neva*, 2 (1991); 'Boevye koty', *Znamia*, 2 (1992); 'Volchii len', *Novyi mir*, 5 (1992); the story 'Den', kogda upal "Chellendzher"' has appeared in Italian translation in *Nuova Europa* (Milan, 1993). A collection of Ulanovskaia's stories has also been published: *Osennii pokhod liagushek* (St Petersburg: Sovetskii pisatel', 1992).

4. See the entry by Helena Goscilo, 'Ulanovskaia, Izabella Iur'evna', in Marina Ledkovsky, Charlotte Rosenthal and Mary Zirin, (eds.), *Dictionary of Russian Women Writers* (Westport, Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, 1994), pp. 679–80; and the short introductory remarks by Catriona Kelly, in her *Anthology of Russian Women's Writing*. 1777–1992 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 360.
5. This unsatisfactory temporary accommodation was needed because the building designated as the Dostoevsky Museum, the writer's former flat at 5 Kuznechnyi pereulok, was temporarily closed for repairs.
6. The spelling 'stiaga' is used instead of 'stega' to suggest the speaker's dialect.
7. Ulanovskaia's story 'Boevye koty' contains such advice as: 'What to do if you happen to get lost in a familiar place', 'What to do if a long-distance route is laid right through your house' and 'What to do if bear cubs run up to you in the forest and start playing with you, and you see the mother bear emerging nearby': see Ulanovskaia, *Osennii pokhod liagushek*, pp. 172, 179.
8. Sergei Kovalev, the human rights activist and former dissident, strongly condemned El'tsin's invasion of Chechnia, **and was subsequently dismissed**.
9. An ironic reference to the conservative politician Aleksandr Rutskoi, shot down in Afghanistan.
10. A reference to the emblem of the Soviet peace movement, a recurrent symbol in Soviet propaganda when Ulanovskaia was a child.
11. This refers to the socialist realist classic by Boris Polevoi, *Povest' o nastoiashchem cheloveke* (*A Story about a Real Man*, 1946), which concerns Aleksei Meres'ev, a Soviet aviator shot down by the Nazis, who has his legs amputated, but subsequently retrains himself and, equipped with artificial limbs, becomes a famous fighter pilot.
12. The heroine Zoia Kosmodem'ianskaia, a member of partisan group who, according to legend, refused to betray her fellow partisans when she was caught by the Germans, tortured and hanged, and her brother Aleksandr. According to Ulanovskaia, when the coffin was opened the body proved to be not that of Zoia, but of her sister; nevertheless, the Soviet authorities decided not to publicise this information, but to perpetuate the useful myth.
13. This refers to a patriotic rhyme about the Young Pioneer 'Vasiuk-Trubachok' and his friends, which was popular during the 1940s.
14. Ulanovskaia is well acquainted with the novels of James Herriot, published in Russia since glasnost, which refer to this disease in young animals, known as *plica polonica*.
15. The story 'Journey to Kashgar' is translated by Catriona Kelly in her *Anthology of Russian Women's Writing*, pp. 361–89. It concerns a fictional, semi-autobiographical war heroine who is presented in an ironic fashion very different from the portrayal of the classic heroines of Soviet war literature.
16. The nightingales of Zvenigorod are reputed to have the most beautiful song of all Russian nightingales. The very name 'Zvenigorod', which evokes the verb 'zvonit'', suggests beautiful sounds, such as the ringing of bells. The word 'ace' suggests fighter pilots, providing a link with the first part of the sketch.
17. The actual phrase used is 'zapushchennye oboltusy', a term commonly used by teachers to chide naughty pupils, which extends the image of the 'school for nightingales'.

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New developments in Russian vocabulary

Natalya Gogolitsyna Bristol Grammar School

Being in a constant process of change, language adjusts itself to new conditions of existence. Periods of rapid change and active developments in a society can act as accelerators of linguistic processes that are taking place in a language anyway, but in a less evident and intensive way. In order to make different parts of the linguistic mechanism work an external push is needed, but the character of the movement is defined by the peculiarities of the mechanism itself.

Huge social, political, ideological and economic changes in the life of Soviet and Russian society in the last decade caused great changes in the Russian language, particularly noticeable in vocabulary, the most dynamic part of the language. New subjects, relations, actions and movements have come to life in Russian society and they had to be named. So the Russian language was challenged and it had to meet the challenge using all the resources it possessed – old and new.

Traditionally vocabulary of a language is supplemented in three ways:

1) formation of new words and word combinations with the help of lexical and morphological means existing in the language;
2) borrowing of foreign words;
3) semantic change of existing words.

We shall now see in what way these processes worked in the Russian literary language in the new conditions of development. The main source of material for analysis taken was Словарь перестройки – The Dictionary of Perestroika – published in St Petersburg in 1992.[1] It contains about 950 words and expressions culled from Russian newspapers and magazines between 1985 and 1991 and is a continuation of Russian lexicographic tradition in recording and describing new words and word combinations appearing in the language.[2]

Analysis of innovations shows that most new vocabulary is formed from existing native words with the help of traditional morphological resources – primarily affixes.

Prefixes – без – бездуховность, безгласность; – де – деидеологизация, департизация, деполитизация; – не – неконвертируемость; – пере – переименование, перестройка; – сверх – сверхиндустриализация, сверхобеспеченные; – анти – антирусский, антиреклама, антисталинский.

Suffixes – ик – биржевик, боевик; – чик – аппаратчик; – ник – отказник, пятизвездник; – щик – застойщик; – ист – путчицт; – изм – фракционизм, фундаментализм, центризм, популизм; – ость – духовность, дефицитность.

In colloquial innovations we frequently find a k-suffix, abbreviating word combinations – незавершенка, оборонка. In slang one can come across the suffix -ух – чернуха, порнуха.

It was observed that derivatives make more than 90% of all the words in modern literary Russian. Among new formations the amount of derivatives is still higher.

Compounding is another way for forming new words – видеосалон, необольшевизм, телефакс, телемарафон. There are also stub compounds – инофирма, партаппарат, порнобизнес, самиздат, тамиздат.

New abbreviations came into use – СКВ – свободноконвертируемая валюта, ОМОН – отряд милиции особого назначения, СП – совместное предприятие.

Not only new words but also new word combinations were formed – малый кооператив, табачный бунт, ценовой шок, институт президентства, либерализация цен, бартерная экономика, открыть границы. Some paraphrases are used –

отец народов (ирон.) о Сталине, чума XX века – о СПИДе; phraseological units – писать в стол, охота за ведьмами.

Among new words registered in the dictionary you can find about 50 loan words, mostly from English – рейтинг, импичмент, тинэйджер, менталитет, маркетинг, спонсор, дилер, охлократия, хоспис, харизма, файл, ноухау.[3] It is important to mention the high frequency of usage of political terms and business and computer terminology borrowings in present-day Russian.

The peculiar feature of the new vocabulary in the discussed period lies in the fact that many words have existed in the language before but now have received either a new meaning or a new stylistic colouring. The word «открытость», for example, is illustrated in the dictionary in the following way: «Понятие открытости включает в себя контроль общественности за принятием ключевых решений (повторение ошибки вторжения в Афганистан должно быть невозможным), свободу убеждений, свободу получения и распространения информации, свободу выбора страны проживания и места проживания внутри страны» – Андрей Сахаров. Мир, прогресс, права человека.

The words «бизнес» and «бизнесмен» lost the negative colouring they used to have before.

A large group of words both Russian and borrowed took on a new life in new conditions when they became highly activised (актуализированы) – аренда, беженец, инфляция, конверсия, кооператив. These words make up about one third on the Dictionary of Perestroika and they show a response to the needs of the society.

There is another big group of words that have been previously used in reference to foreign or pre-revolutionary Russian society and rechannelled (переориентированы) for describing contemporary Russian life – брокер, гимназия, империя, забастовка, мэр, президент.

Different thematic groups of new words become more active at different periods of time depending on social needs and the development of society. The biggest thematic group of new words in political vocabulary (about 300 words), followed by economic words (170 words).

General analysis of innovations also allows us to observe tendencies in language development – internationalisation of vocabulary and the growing use of terminology, mainly political and economical. So the period of radical change in all spheres of Russian society put Russian language to the test and made it use all the resources it had. For the formation of lexical innovations in the literary language traditional means were used – affixation, compounding, abbreviation (about 40% of all words in the dictionary), borrowing from other languages (5%) and semantic change which includes activised use of words that had marginal status in the language before (33%) and rechannelling of words that have been used in reference to foreign or pre-revolutionary society (17%). These linguistic processes were stimulated by extra-linguistic means – social factors.

Notes

1. Максимов В. И. и др. *Словарь перестройки.* С. Петербург, 1992.
2. Неологические словари «Новые слова и значения». М., 1971, 1984 и справочники «Новое в русской лексике». Словарные материалы. 1977, 1978, 1979 и др. Под ред. Котеловой Н. 3.
3. Тимофеева Г. Г. Орфография англицизмов в русском языке 60–90 х годов. *Русистика* 6, December 1992.

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Любовь в повестях Тургенева «Фауст» и «Первая любовь»

Dmitry Shlapentokh Indiana University

Одной из специфик русской литературы является ее философско-социальная направленность, и очень часто сюжеты весьма, с первого взгляда, абстрактного характера приобретают в ней социальное и философское звучание. Эта специфика русской литературы просматривается и в произведениях Тургенева. Обращение писателя к бытовым проблемам нередко является поводом для демонстрации отношения к тем или иным философским системам. Одной из таких систем была философия Шопенгауэра — весьма модная в середине XIX века.

Вкратце философия Шопенгауэра, изложенная в его главном труде «Мир как воля и представление», сводится к следующему.

Бытие, в том числе и человеческое, есть проявление самой «воли к жизни», несущей страдание всем тем, кто охвачен ею. Одним из наиболее мучительных проявлений «воли» является половое влечение. «Воля к жизни» может быть преодолена. Идеальным выходом в этом случае, как полагает немецкий философ, является голодная смерть. Возможно, однако, и своеобразный компромисс: превращение человека «в око мира». Отрешение от «воли» здесь не является полным, в силу хотя бы того, что человек остается жить и, соответственно, продолжает быть вовлеченным, хотя бы частично, в поток «воли». Но кроме самого факта своего бытия он уже свободен от желаний. Мир для него уже не объект вожделений, а лишь эстетическая категория. Исходя из этой теории художник и его деятельность должны быть идеалом. Подобного рода концепция не могла не заинтересовать Тургенева и действительно оказала влияние на его творчество.[1] Однако Тургенев внес в философскую систему Шопенгауэра свои собственные мотивы, свое видение мира. В нашей работе на примере повестей Тургенева «Фауст» и «Первая любовь» будет сделана попытка проследить как влияние Шопенгауэра на формирование «философии любви» писателя, так и то специфическое, что отличает «философию любви» Тургенева от шопенгауэровской. Наш анализ начнем с рассмотрения шопенгауэровских элементов в повестях.

Во-первых, к шопенгауэровской трактовке любви как «воли к жизни» — страдания предрасполагала личная жизнь писателя. По замечанию Зайцева писатель отличался «легкой эротической впечатлительностью»[2] и его романы не всегда были счастливыми.

Известно, что многие из произведений Тургенева списаны с его личной жизни; он, например, прямо отсылает к ним журналиста, запрашивающего писателя о биографических данных.[3] «Фауст» и «Первая любовь» не составляют исключения. Н. А. Островская пишет, что в образе отца героя «Первой любви» просматриваются черты отца Тургенева.[4] Так что нет ничего удивительного в том, что личные неурядицы Тургенева и способствовали окраске «Фауста» и «Первой любви» в пессимистические тона шопенгауэровской философии.

Наконец, анализ текста повестей также свидетельствует в пользу влияния Шопенгауэра на творчество писателя. Герой «Фауста» почти сорокалетний мужчина прибывает в родную деревню, в которой он не был почти десять лет. Судя по контексту повести, он не слишком преуспел в жизни и возвратился в родное гнездо в поисках последнего пристанища. Природа, как бы следуя желаниям героя, поворачивается к нему умиротворяющим гулом леса, роскошью разросшегося сада, реликвиями угасших поколений. Перебирая старые журналы и книги, глядя на постаревших слуг, герой готовится отплыть в последнюю гавань — в старость и смерть, пантеистически погрузиться в океан небытия. Но портрет «Манон Леско», напоминающий портрет бабушки Веры, героини повести, сыгравшей роковую роль в судьбе героя, растревожил дремавшие страсти. Герой тянется к «Фаусту» Гете, читает его, и роковой шаг сделан: «Моя молодость пришла и стала передо мною как призрак; огнем, отравой побежала она по жилам, сердце расширилось и не хотело сжаться, что-то рвануло по его струнам, и закипели желания».[5] Разбуженная страсть героя цепной реакцией передается Вере.

Воспитанная в строгих правилах своей матерью, Вера никогда не читала книг и тем самым не искушала своего темперамента, ибо «боялась тех тайных сил, на которых построена жизнь и которые изредка, но внезапно пробиваются наружу».[6] Разбыженные страсти героя пали искрой на досель никем не тревоженную чувственность героини». Происходит эмоциальный взрыв.

Накал страстей, их внеличностный, космический характер подчеркивается образами природы: буколическое щебетание пташек и шелест листвы уступает место «зловещему багрянцу», который пробивал тучу, «как бы вырываясь из раскаленного жерла...» «Быть грозе», — замечает один из героев повести.[7] И гроза действительно разразилась, но «гроза» эта эмоционального характера: Вера приходит на свидание с героем и «внезапно» оба они оказываются в обьятиях друг друга. Грехопадения не происходит, но Вера чувствует себя великой грешницей и умирает вскоре после роковой встречи.

Страсть как космическая сила, неуправляемая человеком, страсть как источник страдания — во всем этом можно легко отметить характерные черты «философии любви» Шопенгауэра.

Сходные идеи можно найти и в «Первой любви». Герой повести — юноша, почти мальчик, ищет предмета обожания, коим и становится его соседка Зинаида, дочь обедневшей княгини. Вскоре, однако, он узнает, что Зинаида влюблена в его отца и до безумия: даже удар хлыстом не мешает ей боготворить своего избранника. Постепенно и отец героя воспламеняется ее страстью и так сильно, что, прося мать героя о разводе, даже расплакался. Герой поражен слезами отца и понятно почему: еще так недавно он кичился перед ним своей железной волей:

«— Свобода, — повторил отец, — и знаешь ли ты, что может дать свободу?

— Что?

— Воля, собственная воля, и власть она дает, которая лучше свободы.»[8]

Но и этот человек оказывается бессильным перед «волей к жизни» — слепой страстью. Раздавленный ею, он пишет своему сыну перед смертью: «Сын мой, — писал он мне, — бойся женской любви, бойся этого счастья, этой отравы...»[9]

И здесь в «отраве», от которой предостерегает отец героя, можно легко разглядеть шопенгауэровскую любовь-страдание.

Однако, при всем влиянии Шопенгауэра на творчество Тургенева, его виденье любви не сводилось лишь к переложению на язык образов философии немецкого мыслителя. Философия любви Тургенева была гораздо трагичней шопенгауэровской.

Главное отличие Тургенева от Шопенгауэра заключается в том, что для Тургенева любовь столь же духовно-эмоциональное влечение, как и физическое. Возьмем для примера «Первую любовь». Зинаида тянется к отцу героя в первую очередь из-за превосходства его волевых качеств. Она говорит герою, что полюбит лишь того, «который сам бы меня сломил».[10] Влечение героя и Зинаиды к друг другу также основано на духовно-эмоциональном притяжении личностей. Это подчеркивается писателем через то, как герои воспринимают друг друга: центром образа является лицо, особенно глаза. Именно глаза Зинаиды поражают героя во время их первой встречи: «В это самое мгновение... Я увидел *огромные серые глаза* на подвижном, *оживленном* *лице* — и все это *лицо* вдруг задрожало, засмеялось, белые зубы сверкнули на нем, брови как-то забавно поднялись».[11] Зинаида тоже обращает внимание прежде всего на лицо героя: «Мне ваше *лицо* нравится, я предчувствую, что мы будем друзьями».[12]

Духовно-эмоциональное влечение подобно физическому. Оно тоже представляет собой космическую силу. Герой после встречи с Зинаидой вспоминает ее лицо, а тут же происходящая гроза как бы подчеркивает космическую подоснову чувств героя: «эти немые молнии, эти сдержанные блистания, казалось, отвечали тем немым и тайным порывам, которые вспыхивали так же во мне...»[13] Итак, по мысли Тургенева, любовь столь же духовное влечение, так и физическое, а это и окрашивает любовь писателя в тона более мрачные, трагические, чем у Шопенгауэра. Действительно, немецкий философ видит в духовном мире человека силу, дающую ему возможность выплыть из разрушительного потока физического влечения и найти убежище в эстетическом созерцании. Для Тургенева духовное влечение сливается с физическим, являясь равным с ним по своей космической мощи. Высокая духовная организация героя усугубляет его беспомощность перед лицом разрушительных потенций физического влечения, а не спасительная гавань, в которой можно найти убежище. Эта одухотворенность «воли к жизни» объясняет нам и то, что Тургенев, в отличие от Шопенгауэра, не уповал на спасительность искусства.

Вторым элементом «философии любви» Тургенева, отличающей ее от шопенгауэровской, является то, что для писателя страсть связана с нарушением долга и, соответственно, с муками растревоженной совести.

Возьмем для примера «Фауст». В нем все время подчеркивается необходимость следования долгу. Герой говорит себе: «должно жить с пользой, с целью на земле, исполнять свой долг...»[14] В конце повести он вновь повторяет эту же мысль. Жизнь — «не исполнение любимых мыслей и мечтаний, как бы они возвышенны не были», жизнь — это «исполнение долга».[15] В этом упоре на исполнение долга явно просматривается влияние Э. Канта. Последний, как известно, указывал, что человек не может быть наказан за его деяния, ибо, воспринимая лишь феномены-образы мира, он не может ориентироваться в реальности. Свобода — атрибут мышления, а посему человек может быть судим только за свои намеренья. По Тургеневу же, намеренья столь же мало зависимы от человеческой воли, как и деяния. Это однако не освобождает человека от следования нравственному императиву. Всякое отклонение от прямой линии, прочерченной нравственным императивом, карается без всякого снисхождения. Вера не согрешила во время своего свидания с героем, но имела намеренье согрешить. И это намеренье оказалось равнозначным реальному грехопадению и расплата неизбежна: дух матери, появившись из подсознания-небытия, указывает Вере, что ей вынесен смертный приговор и, действительно, вскоре после рокового свидания Вера умирает.

Наконец, перейдем к третьему специфическому элементу «философии любви» Тургенева. По Шопенгауэру, смерть, правда, только смерть голодная, была последним и надежнейшим оплотом против страдания порожденного «волей к жизни». У Тургенева нет и следа этого утешения смертью: смерть была для него страшным Ничто — ужас которого превосходит все муки, порождаемые «волей к жизни». Вот, например, как описывает Тургенев смерть в «Первой любви»: «Помнится, несколько дней спустя после того дня, когда я узнал о смерти Зинаиды, я сам, по собственному неотразимому влечению, присутствовал при смерти одной бедной старушки, жившей в одном с нами доме. Покрытая лохмотьями, на жестких досках, с мешком под головой, она трудно и тяжело кончалась. Вся жизнь ее прошла в горькой борьбе с ежедневной нуждой, не видела она радости, не вкушала от меда счастья — казалось, как бы ей не обрадоваться смерти, ее свободе, ее покою? А между тем, пока ее ветхое тело еще упорствовало, пока грудь еще мучително вздымалась под налегшей на нее ледяной рукой, пока ее не покинули последние силы, — старушка все крестилась и все шептала: «Господь, отпусти мне грехи мои» — и только с последней искрой сознания исчезло в ее глазах выражение страха и ужаса кончины».[16]

Лишь внешне сходится Тургенев с Шопенгауэром в восприятии бытия, ибо, по существу, это два разных мыслителя, два разных мироощущения.

Шопенгауэр несмотря на свой пессимизм видит для человека, особенно для художника, возможность примирения трагичееких антиномий бытия, возможность избежания страдания. Для писателя же такой возможности у человека нет.

Примечания

1. О влиянии Шопенгауэра на Тургенева указывают в своих работах М. Гершензон/ М. Гершензон, *Мечта и мысль И. С. Тургенева*. (Москва, 1919); Marina Ledovsky, *The other Turgenev: from Romanticism to Symbolism* (Wurzburg: jalverlag, 1973); Eva Kagan-Kans, *Hamlet and Don Quixote: Turgenev's Ambivalent Vision* (Mouton, 1975).
2. Борис Зайцев, *Жизнь Тургенева* (Париж, YMCA Press), стр. 83.
3. Зайцев, *Жизнь Тургенева*, стр. 143.
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4. Peter Brand, *I. S. Turgenev. Sein Leben und sein Werk* (Wiesbaden, Otto Harrasowitz, 1977), pp. 138–39.
5. И. С. Тургенев, *Собрание сочинений в десяти томах*, т. 6 (Москва, Государственное издательство художественной литературы, 1962), стр. 121.
6. Там же, стр. 125.
7. Там же, стр. 130.
8. Там же, стр. 218.
9. Там же, стр. 248.
10. Там же, стр. 221.
11. Там же, стр. 204.
12. Там же, стр. 208.
13. Там же, стр. 217.
14. Там же, стр. 141.
15. Там же, стр. 149.
16. Там же, стр. 250.

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Developments in the Modern Russian Lexis

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Background

As the vocabulary of a language reflects reality and is extremely sensitive to social change, its development cannot always be uniform and steady. There must be moments of great redefinition, particularly during periods of major social upheaval. In terms of Russian history it might be said that very few periods have proved to be as eventful as the present one. The events of the past decade and the last five years in particular have shown that both social life (the consequences of the transition to the market economy, etc.) and political life (changing political situation) in the former Soviet Union are undergoing dramatic change. In this respect, it is hardly surprising that the world of the Russian lexis is also subject to similarly dramatic developments.

The question of change and reaction to it is, of course, not new to any language, and in this respect, Russian is no different; it has a well-documented track record of its own. Indeed, attitudes towards such change in today's Russian language evoke mixed responses, with some criticisms echoing comments made with reference to developments in the pre- and post-revolutionary language. During the 18th and 19th centuries, for example, purists (such as Šiškov) led a strong campaign against the excessive use of Europeanisms and Gallicisms in Russian, suggesting that words such as the *(forte)piano* should not be called the *фортепьяно* but the *тихогром*; and Paul the First wanted the French word *магазин* to be removed from shop signs.

Further evidence of social attitude toward linguistic change may also be found in post-Revolutionary (1917) Russian, where the early years of the Soviet régime saw such a proliferation of abbreviated forms and acronyms (*ликбез – ликвидация безграмоности, НЭП – Новая экономическая политика*) that some writers felt obliged to warn their contemporaries of the dangers of overuse.[1]

Purist attitude towards change in today's Russian language also has parallels with the language of the post-World War Two period. Although, one could argue that the purist movement lost its way to some extent in the 1920s–1930s, there was nevertheless a strong revival of purist sentiment after the Great Patriotic War, with some Soviet linguists proposing that loan words (mainly from English and based on cultural, technological and industrial phenomena) be replaced, with Russian items suggested as alternatives:[2] the terms *голкипер* (from the English *goalkeeper*) and *французские булки* (*French sticks, batons*), for example, were replaced by the Russian *вратарь* and *городские булки*, respectively.

Indeed, the purism debate is still raging on, both because a rather striking feature of the modern Russian language is the extensive borrowing of foreign words and the introduction of new items, and because the process of linguistic change is also seen as an indicator of often unwanted social change.

Furthermore, despite the constant publication of dictionaries of new words appearing in standard Russian since the early 1970s,[3] the development of the language is arguably so dynamic that no dictionary could fully keep up.

The development of the lexis and the role that it plays in naming or categorising new phenomena is not limited, however, to borrowing. Lexical change also has other aspects. Of course, modern Russian has witnessed an influx of foreign words and expressions, some of which completely duplicate existing Russian equivalents, such as *политес, (вежливость, хорошие манеры), преференции (предпочтения), интенции (намерения), вербальный (словесный)), легитимный (законный), эксклюзивный (исключительный), аутентичный (подлинный), экстремальный (чрезвычайный),* but other means of word formation are also possible. Some very awkward tautological expressions, based on foreign *and* Russian constructions, such as *реальная действительность, информационное сообщение, служба сервиса, эксперты-специалисты, отдельные индивиды, другие альтернативы* have also appeared. Indeed, irony about the inappropriate use of foreign words is conveyed in the following piece:

> В последние годы почти начисто исчезли из нашего словаря выражения вроде «исключительные условия» или «необычное положение» Они превратились в *экстремальные*. Соседка по даче вместо того, чтобы привыкать к свежему воздуху, — *адаптируется*. *Адаптация и акклиматизация* длятся у нее уже семь лет. И я боюсь, что еще через семь лет моя собеседница оставит от русского языка одну грамматику. Основания для этого опасения тем более велики, что другой мой сосед, душа человек, как говорится, рубахапарень, превратился в ее устах в *коммуникабельного*. Я сам пока хожу в *сентиментальных интеллектуалах*. И то хорошо, могла бы ведь назвать, скажем, *индифферентным эгоистом* или *инфантильным индивидуумом...* [4] (Our italics)

Foreign students choosing to study the Russian language because of its unique character are often rather astonished and confused by the abundance of foreign words in it, particularly loans from English. Their attitude is understandable, but one must not forget that the acquisition of loan words and their misuse are two different things. In this respect, two general tendencies in language development must be kept in mind: first, the tendency towards expressiveness; and second, the tendency towards economy. In fact, these viewpoints might well explain the rise of loan words in the last two–three hundred years: the gallicisms discussed earlier were popular in salon *jargon*, both because of their inherent expressivity and because French culture was *en vogue* at the time. Another instance is the rise of expressive loans in non-standard language use (*slang, žargon*) by Soviet and post-Soviet youth groups keen to underline group identity and indicate user attitude.

There is also very significant change in the style of Russian newspapers, which was rather bureaucratic in the Soviet period. At one time so-called *beautiful* expressions, such as *белое золото* (white gold, i.e. cotton), *черное золото* (Black gold, i.e. oil), *голубые дороги* (blue roads, i.e. rivers), *голубой экран* (blue screen, i.e. television), etc. were quite common. In reality, such metaphors did not make the language more expressive, but, on the contrary, rather trivialised it. However, the language of *perestrojka* and the post-*perestrojka* period is witnessing the elimination of such expressions, and is making the Russian language more liberated and less formal. As a result, fresher metaphors appear where there was once newspaper cliché. In addition, colloquial speech is becoming a more common element of the Russian newspaper style, and sometimes slang words are used.[5] Even weather forecasts in some newspapers have become not formal but rather humorous and colloquial in style:

> Не будет: ветра, дождя, хорошего настроения, денег, подсолнечного масла и соли в магазинах, желания жить, учиться и бороться, как завещал Ильич, которого сегодня в Петербурге тоже не будет.
>
> Будет: расти атмосферное давление, температура воздуха в Петербурге +1, +3.[6]

This passage might be rather difficult for learners of Russian as a foreign language to understand because they are usually less familiar with colloquial expressions. Moreover, the article also pre-supposes acquaintance with the socio-cultural background, as it both contains hints about the possible removal of Lenin's body from the Mausoleum in Moscow for burial in St

Petersburg, and refers to occasional shortages of various foodstuffs.

Trends in Word Formation

Fortunately, the mechanisms of word creation and word formation in Russian do not operate in a chaotic or random manner, but according to certain processes. In fact, new lexical items are formed in compliance with established word formatory patterns.

These patterns are by and large extremely consistent both in the standard and the on-standard forms of the language. Apart from borrowing, the main processes at work in the development of new forms are affixation, the creation of compound words, abbreviation, univerbation and resemanticisation.

Affixation

In the last ten years more than eight thousand words have appeared in the Russian language. As Russian is a language with a highly developed morphological structure, the most productive method of word-formation is affixation. About 40 per cent of all new Russian words have been formed in that way, that is by adding suffixes, infixes and prefixes. Furthermore, it is significant that all these affixes, as well as the stems of new words, have existed in the language before. Indeed, new meanings of existing words frequently emerge by combining the two, with the meaning quite often becoming idiomatic: the word *деревенщик*, for example, is formed by adding the suffix *-щик* to the stem деревен (country). However, the derivative has a rather remote relation to the original meaning of the motivating word. The *Деревенщик* is a writer who writes primarily about life in the country (i.e. village prose writer). Another example of affixation is provided by *несун*, a noun formed from the verb of motion *нести* (to carry) and the suffix *-ун* to denote a person who takes things from his work place, that is, a thief. Similarly, the word *везун* has been formed from the verb of motion *везти* (to carry something using transport). Thus, a person referred to by this term takes things from his work place by car. Other examples of this method are words such as *вещизм* (consumerism, combination of a Russian stem and an international suffix), *брежневщина* (negative phenomena in the period of the former USSR leader Leonid Brežnev; combination of stem derived from surname and suffix denoting negative attitude), *дедовщина* (barrack-room brutality, particularly against new army recruits; combination of the military *jargon* term *дед* (lit. grandfather) and a suffix denoting negative attitude).[7]

Numerous new verbs have been formed by adding regular verb endings (such as *-овать* and *-ировать*) to word-formatory stems. It is interesting to note that many of the stems are those of loan verbs and are either colloquial in style or relate to other styles (such as business, commerce), for example, *комплексовать* (to have *complexes*), *парковать* (to *park* a car), *конфликтовать* (to have difficult relations with someone. This word has been formed using the stem of the loan word *conflict*), *факсовать* (to *fax*), *отксерить* (to *make a photocopy*), *коммерциализировать* (to *commercialise*), *спонсировать* (to *sponsor*) etc.

A number of new words have the noun ending *-ия* such as *конверсия* (*conversion*) and *-ация* (*-tion*) added to the stems of loan words: *приватизация* (privatisation), *либерализация* (liberalisation), *презентация* (presentation), although the application of this suffix is not new to Russian.[8] It must be noted, however, that these words have a particular meaning in Russian which is not immediately apparent to the foreign user/learner. Thus, *конверсия* means the conversion of military industrial sites into civilian factories; *либерализация* means mainly price liberalisation; *презентация* relates primarily to the presentation of new banks, magazines, etc.; and *ваучеризация*, formed from the word *ваучер* (*voucher*), relates to the acquisition and use by Russian citizens of privatisation cheques (to by shares, etc.) to the value of 10,000 roubles.

Compound forms

Another large group of words (about 40 per cent of the whole bulk of new words) consists of words with a compound structure. Very often the first element in such compound words is an international – often Greek – stem, such as авто- (auto-), теле- (tele-), кино- (cinema), видео- (video), радио- (radio-), фото- (photo-), супер- (super-), etc. These elements are added to word formatory stems, for example, *автоответчик* (answering machine), *телемост* (a television programme with participation of audiences broadcast by satellite), *видеопират* (a person who makes illegal or 'pirate' copies of video films), *радиотелефон* (mobile telephone), *фотомодель* (cover model), *супермодный* (extremely, *super/mega* fashionable). Compound words may also consist of two stems with or without a link vowel between them, e.g. *россиеведение* (Russian area studies, similar to *страноведение* (area studies), a calque from the German *Landeskunde*, and which has replaced *советология*, or *the study of the Soviet Union*), *иномарка* (a foreign car). Indeed, the creative processes at work here are excellently illustrated by *катастройка* a word created by the émigré writer, Aleksandr Zinov'iev, on the basis of *катастрофа* (*catastrophe*) and *перестройка* (*perestrojka*) and an extremely sarcastic term relating to the failure of Gorbačev's famous policy.

Another very productive pattern of the formation of compound words is the use of two words linked by a hyphen: *город-миллионер* (a city with population of more than one million people), *мать-одиночка* (single mother).[9] Such compound words are very idiomatic in their meaning and clearly illustrate one of the main tendencies of a language, that is a tendency to use minimum language means to convey a certain meaning. For example, the compound word *дом-музей* conveys the meaning of a whole sentence: it is not just a museum or a house, but a house where a famous person once lived and which has been converted into a museum after his or her death.

Abbreviations and truncated forms

Apart from compound words, there are also many truncated and abbreviated forms (of which there are more than 17.5 thousand) in modern Russian. Abbreviated words are a relatively new phenomenon in the language, as this process is something which was absent from the Russian language of the 19th century, but which became very popular after the October Revolution. Indeed, it would be impossible to understand the language of newspapers and other genres without knowing the most popular acronyms, such as *СП* (*совместное предприятие* – joint venture), *АО* (*акционерное общество* – stock company), *СКВ* (*свободно конвертируемая валюта* – hard currency), *БД* (*«Белый дом»* – the so-called White House in Moscow), НЛО (*неопознанный летающий обьект* – UFO), *бомж* (*без определённого места жительства* – homeless person).[10]

Another very popular mechanism in word formation is truncation. Such forms are also mainly used in colloquial speech or *slang* and are prominent in Russian word formation. Modern examples include: *фанат* (from *фанатик* – fan, fanatical person), *компромат* (from *компрометирующий материал* – compromising material), *рест* (from *ресторан* – restaurant), *баскет* (from *баскетбол* – basketball), *универ* (from *университет* – university, *uni'*), *гос* (from *государственный экзамен* – state examination held at the end of a university course, *final*), *маг* (from *магнитофон* – tape-recorder).

Univerbation

Univerbatory forms are very characteristic of colloquial speech. Such forms are created by adding the colloquial suffix *-ка* (pl. *-ки*) to a standard stem derived from a truncated adjective: *атомка* (from *атомная станция* – nuclear power station), *оборонка* (from *оборонная промышленность* – the defence industry), *читалка* (from *читальный зал* – reading room), *минералка* (from *минеральная вода* – mineral water), *кроссовки* (from *кроссовые туфли* – training shoes). This word formatory pattern also reflects language tendency to use minimum language means.

Loans

As has been established, the use of foreign loans is also characteristic of word creation in contemporary Russian. Such words make up about 7–8 per cent of new items and are often used for reasons of language economy or as part of marketing ploys. Words indicative of this are: *маркетинг* (marketing), *менеджер* (manager), *брокер* (broker), *дилер* (dealer), *инвестор* (investor), *спонсор* (sponsor), *ноу-хау* (know-how), *имидж* (image), *рейтинг* (rating, score), *брифинг* (briefing), *компютер* (computer), *принтер* (printer), *телекс* (telex), *факс* (fax), *ксерокс* (photocopier, photocopy), *стресс* (stress). Many loan words are used in everyday consumer language: *тостер* (toaster), *миксер* (mixer), *таймер* (timer), *джинсы* (jeans), *кардиган* (cardigan), *гамбургер* (hamburger), *чизбургер* (cheeseburger), *гриль* (grill); and in the language of sport and leisure: *серфинг* (surfing), *скейтборд* (skate-board), etc. It should be noted, however, that although these and other loan words have equivalents in English, it is often the case that they convey a different (wider or narrower) meaning. For example, the word *шейпинг* derived from the English *shaping* and is now used by Russians to describe a certain type of gymnastics ('aerobics', primarily for women) which helps to 'shape' the body.

Another word formatory mechanism is the application of Russian endings to loan stems. This is common in non-standard Russian, particularly youth slang: *шузы* (*туфли* – from shoes), *крезовый* (crazy, excellent [1970s youth slang]), *герла* (девушка – from *girl*), *тины* (from *teenagers, teens*), etc.

Semantic properties

About 10 per cent of new words have been formed semantically, that is, where words develop new meanings, e.g. *афганец* (original meaning – Afghan, new – Soviet veteran of Afghanistan), *металлист* (original meaning – metal-worker, new – admirer of heavy metal music), *грязный* (original meaning – dirty, new – radioactive, particularly after the Chernobyl disaster), *деревянные* (original meaning – wooden, new – derogative name for Russian roubles), *«памятники»* (members of the nationalistic society 'Pamjat'', the original meaning of the word is *monuments*), *совок* (the original meaning is *dustpan*, the word now is often used as a derogative name of the former Soviet Union and also of a Soviet citizen, the stem of the word is quite close to that of the word *совет* or *советский* – Soviet).[11]

With the collapse of communism in Russia some old words reappear and begin a new life in the language, especially those considered bourgeois in the Soviet era. Typical of this are such items as *Дума* (Duma – the newly elected Russian Parliament), *благотворительность* (charity), *меценат* (patron of art). Others belonging to the Soviet period are disappearing. For example, words popular in the Gorbachev period such as *перестройка* (*perestrojka*) and *гласность* (*glasnost'*), which have even been borrowed by many other languages, are no longer popular in Russia. The word *товарищ* (*comrade*, now often regarded as a *sovietism*) has all but disappeared as a mode of address, with the word *господин* (*Mister, Sir*) often used instead. Finally, some words change their stylistic meaning. The word *бизнесмен* (businessman), for example, is now used without the somewhat derogative meaning it had before, when the term *заниматься бизнесом* (to do business) was more relevant when describing illegal or criminal activity than *bona fide* business.

Endpiece

Although this article has looked at many aspects of word creation and of new developments in the Russian lexical system, it nevertheless gives only a general idea of the breadth, scope and complexity of the process. There are many mechanisms at work in word creation, each used by native speakers sometimes unaware both of the foundations which lie at the root of word formation and of the rich background knowledge which its analysis can provide. As the famous Russian poet, Osip Mandelštam, once noted: 'so well organised, so systematic a language is not only a door to history but history itself.'[12] There is more than a grain of truth in this.

The changes taking place in the modern Russian language are so significant, that it is quite natural that linguists both in Russia and abroad are very interested in them. However, it is essential that we all continue to monitor its evolution and encourage more research and greater enquiry in this field, both for the sake of language learning (which might well benefit from closer acquaintance with the question of word formation) and linguistics as a whole.

Notes

1. The writer Mikhail Bulgakov discusses this phenomenon in *Дьяволиада,* where he refers to the *главцентрбазспимат (главная центральная база спичечных материалов).* See Bulgakov, M., *Дьяволиада,* London, Flegon Press, 1970, p. 5.
2. Comrie and Stone refer to this as the 'Struggle against Cosmopolitanism'. See Comrie, B. and Stone, G., *The Russian Language since the Revolution*, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1978, p. 144.
3. See *Новые слова и значения: Словарь-справочник по материалам прессы и литературы 60-х годов,* edited by N. Z. Kotelova, Moscow, 1971; A new edition of the dictionary was issued in 1984, and annual supplements are also available.

   Other works analysing new words include: *Максимов В. И. и др., Словарь перестройки, С. Петербург,* 1993; Irina H. Corten, *Vocabulary of Soviet Society and Culture: A Selected Guide to Russian Words, Idioms, and Expressions of the Post-Stalin Era, 1953–1991*, Duke University Press, Durham & London, 1992; Dola Haudressy, *Les Mutations de la Langue Russe. Ces Mots qui Disent L'Actualité*, Paris, Institut d'Etudes Slaves, 1992.
4. See *Pravda*, 26/08/84.
5. Words such as *тусовка* (*gathering; get-together*) are beginning to appear more regularly in the Russian press, although mainly in articles for youth or explaining youth slang.
6. *Smena, 1992.*
7. Another example of inherent expressiveness in suffixes is contained in the suffix *-уха*, as in *чернуха* (negative depiction of the life in the USSR by the mass-media) *фильм-чернуха* (video-nasty), *порнуха* (pornography), *показуха* (sham, show).
8. Vinokur refers to the introduction of suffixes such as *-изм* and *-изация* in the nineteenth century. See Vinokur, G. O., *The Russian Language – A Brief History*, London, CUP, 1971, p. 133.
9. Also *отец-одиночка* (single father). This is similar to the Kazan' colloquial term *мама-/папа-курица* (mother hen [fussing mother]), which may be a loan from colloquial French *mama-/papa-poule*.
10. The female equivalent *бомжика* is also widely used.
11. The term *совок* is quite regularly used in non-standard Russian, as is demonstrated in an article appearing in the youth publication *Спид-Инфо: «А вообще у нас тут и польские панки появляются, и немецкие, говорят, даже английского видели, но они в наш совок не въезжают...» Spid-Info, (31), No. 10, October, 1992, p. 8. ('But in general we have Polish punks popping up, and German too. Someone said they even saw an English one, but they don't join our lot.' It should also be noted that the verb «въезжать/въехать» can mean 'to understand', 'to get' in youth slang).*
12. See Osip Mandelštam, *О природе слова,* Collected works, ILLA, 1966, p. 269.

INSET Training for Teachers of Russian

Russian Day
15 June 1996
London

Russian Day
12 October 1996
Bradford

Enquiries to: Association for Language Learning, 150 Railway Terrace
Rugby CV21 3HN Tel: 01788 546443 Fax: 01788 544149

Доска

SALT Russian Day

'Outlook on Russian' was the title given to the SALT Russian Day which took place at St Modan's High School, Stirling, on June 17. It had three main aims: firstly, to provide an overview of the present state of Russian teaching in Scottish schools, secondly, to give teachers the chance to discuss survival strategies' and thirdly, to present existing and newly published materials. In all nineteen Russianists attended, of whom 14 were from the secondary sector, four from tertiary education and one the Russian assistant from Glasgow University. Geographical areas represented were Glasgow, Edinburgh, Ayr, Jedburgh, Dundee, St Andrew's, Peterhead and Inverness.

The first hour of the morning had been set aside for delegates to describe their own situations vis à vis Russian teaching and for an open forum on the future. In the event this session took most of the morning. The picture which emerged came as no surprise, Russian is in a parlous state in Scottish schools. Scottish Exam Board presentations have fallen dramatically. In one school a long standing tradition of Russian teaching had been brought to an end, in several other schools experienced teachers were hanging on to small classes by the skin of their teeth, in others Scotvec Module 1, in one case Module 2, was being taught to small groups and in another school a Russian club was being run at lunch time for a couple of interested pupils. It was difficult to see where student teachers were going to do their practice. Reports from the universities were more encouraging with Russian being sound at Glasgow, Strathclyde, Heriot-Watt, and St Andrews, alive in Edinburgh and Dundee.

Factors militating against the survival of Russian were the absence of a language policy, devolved management, lack of sufficient numbers to appease managers, a crowded curriculum, primary foreign languages and diversification. A well disposed headteacher, a Principal teacher defending his/her own position and the willingness of beginning teachers to offer modules were all factors in helping Russian to survive, albeit at a low level. The outcome of discussions was a decision to write letters to the press so that at least people would be made aware of the threat to Russian and so that this important language should not disappear by default.

In the little time which remained before lunch copies of a Russian Module 1, prepared a few years ago by a group of Strathclyde teachers and currently in use in several schools, were distributed to interested parties. Ideally, we would have liked more time to discuss the use of these materials since they were of particular interest to a number of the teachers present. An excellent buffet lunch had been provided for us, the best he had ever had on such an occasion, as one delegate said.

The afternoon session began with a lively presentation by Kathy Talbot of her 'Russo-file' photocopiable materials for beginners. It was good to see somebody attempting to fill the gap in commercially produced materials which all Russian teachers experience. We were particularly indebted to her for travelling up from Yorkshire the day after her return from a school trip to France.

No language day would be complete without a talk from a native speaker and we were privileged to have Valya Shaklay, Russian assistant at Glasgow University, who spoke to us about her native

Byelorussia. She outlined its history, geography and language and spoke on the painful topic of Chernobyl and its effects on Byelorussia. She emphasised in particular the threat to the health of the younger generation and the lack of help for Byelorussia from the Russian authorities.

The day ended with an invitation to delegates to look at and, where appropriate, take away materials made redundant by the closure of one school's Russian department.

It had been good to see that a significant number of Russianists from many parts of Scotland had been prepared to sacrifice a Saturday in summer to find out about and offer support to the teaching of Russian. Our hope was to persuade others in education to rally to its defence.

JOYCE JAMES, Glasgow

Help!

If you are teaching GCSE Russian that may well be your heartfelt cry! We are still awaiting news of the third stage of the revised ***Iskra****, but in the meantime teachers trying to deliver the GCSE syllabus will need to hunt for what they need from a variety of sources. The most helpful, we think, are listed below, but if we have missed out anything, do let us know – as long as it is something that is actually available, of course! Look out for* ***Ruslan Russian 2*** *next spring – it's the follow-up to the excellent book 1. Teachers of A-level can also look forward to* ***Tranzit*** *in 1996, a new course by Michael Ransome and Daphne West. For advanced students, 1996 promises to be a good year, as we also have news of the companion* ***workbook*** *to Terence Wade's* ***Comprehensive Russian Grammar*** *and, from the same pen,* ***A Russian Etymological Dictionary****. Watch this space . . .*

GCSE

Teach yourself Russian (book and cassette) – D. West (1995 Hodder and Stoughton)

Ruslan Russian 1 (book and cassette or CD plus linked IBM PC program) – J. Langran and N. Veshnyeva (1995 Ruslan)

Iskra 1 and 2 (revised edition – books and cassette) – Nuffield/SCRTA (1992 Stanley Thornes)

Breakthrough Russian (book and cassettes) – H. Coynash (1993)

Русский язык в диалогах (book, audio and video cassettes) – J. Klapper (1986)

All the above are in Grant and Cutler's 1995–96 catalogue.

Привет! GCSE Basic Level course – J. Nashvili, 17 Minster Road, Sheffield S30 3XS

Russian for You – M. and A. Jameson (open learning programme 1994) – Lancashire College, PR7 1NB

Iskra Language Notes, Пламя, Russian–English GCSE vocabulary list and other materials by David Ash, Bolton School

Russo-file – Visual Materials for teaching Russian – K. Talbot, 26 Westfields, Richmond, N. Yorks

Various materials designed for GCSE have been produced privately since 1988 by Natalya Veshnyeva, City of London School for Girls.

For IBM PC: *Lingua Language Teacher* (Russian) – Akore software Ltd Notts. NG22 8NQ (language exercises to manipulate vocabulary and grammar)

Would you like to see materials which others produce? Have you any teaching materials/ideas which you would be prepared to share with your colleagues? What better place than the pages of this journal?

Ugolok novykh slov i vyrazhenii

Welcome to yet another Ugolok and yet again it is a mixed bag 'culled' from the Russian media.

1. «носитель» – a special type of courier who transports large sums of cash for companies
2. «обьективка» – a write-up
3. «система сдержек и противовесов» – the Russian equivalent for a system of checks and balances
4. «опустить» – to bring somebody down a peg or two (Example: Президента «опустили»)
5. «Все на крючке» – Everything is OK
6. «Быть на связи» – to be in touch
7. «имиджевый» – a new adjective derived from the word «имидж» (example: имиджевый ролик – advertising)
8. переакцентировка – a shift in emphasis
9. прогнозист – forecaster (economic or financial)
10. «подковерная стадия» – a hidden stage
11. «притирка» – adjustment, adaptation
12. прицельный – targeted (example: прицельные кредиты)
13. домашняя жестокость – domestic cruelty (to one's family, including physical violence)
14. «щипач» – a pickpocket (one who usually operates in public transport at peak time)
15. номинация – nomination
16. анаболики – anabolic steroids
17. приватизм – private life, privacy
18. приват – a person who leads a private life
19. виктимология – victimology
20. фан/фанат – fan or fanatic of a pop-group/football team etc.
21. промискуитет – promiscuity
22. шредер – shredder
23. сервер – server (computing)
24. клуб «пирамида» – pyramid club
25. «прайм-тайм» – prime time
26. листинг – listing (stock exchange term)
27. ступор – stupor

Any suggestions?

RUTH SOBEL, Beaconsfield

'Burnt by the sun' (Curzon Cinema, Mayfair, London, August–September 1995)

A new film from director and producer Nikita Mikhalkov always arouses pleasurable anticipation, and 'Utomlyonnyye solntsem', inexplicably translated as 'Burnt by the sun', entirely fulfils these expectations. Made in 1994 as a Russo-French co-production by Studio Trite of Russia and Camera One of France, with Michel Seydoux as co-producer, it has screenplay by Mikhalkov, from a story of Gaidar based on the true life-and-death of Sergei Kotov, a retired hero of the Revolution, played by Mikhalkov. If this sounds as if the film is a one-man show by Mikhalkov, this is quite understandable, since the part of Kotov's daughter is played by his enchanting 6-year old daughter Nadya.

The film opens on Stalin's birthday in 1936, in a comfortable dacha outside Moscow. Celebrations are in full swing, but the spectre of Stalin overshadows the jollity, and while the people enjoy bathing in the river, Moscow radio is broadcasting the political show trials. This is the light and dark of the film, for Kotov and KGB agent Mitya share not only a woman's love but a secret from the past, which catches up with them. Thus the warm Chekhovian comedy, which envelops us from the beginning, is soon tinged with fear and terror.

This is a film to enjoy for its 'Russianness': the country setting, the raw emotions, the intensity and vitality of the characters, and the immediately recognisable warm and stifling atmosphere of family life. It is also a moving love-story of father and small daughter, the more poignant as we see approaching the chilling climax.

The film is dedicated to 'all those who were burnt by the sun of the Revolution'. See it.

JOAN SMITH

Shostakovich: Cheryomushki: musical comedy (Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith, London, 1994)

First performed in 1959 in Moscow, 6 years after Stalin's death, this light confection from a serious composer aroused contrary reactions when produced on the English stage. Did it merit the immense amount of work put into it by David Pountney, who adapted the original libretto, Gerald McBurney, who re-orchestrated the music, Lucy Bailey, who directed, and Paul Andrews, who designed the sets, or was it, as described by Elizabeth Wilson in her recent biography of Shostakovich, 'one of the occasional weak works in his output', which the composer 'didn't care to talk about'.

We should not forget that Shostakovich had a great sense of fun, and wrote several works in humorous vein, but the topical subject of this musical comedy is the new housing co-operatives being raised in the cities of Russia at the time, a theme which even an Offenbach or a Lehar might have found challenging. The music is trite and unimaginative, and disappointingly lacking in satiric edge, while the cardboard-cartoon sets manage only to keep the whole effect on a pedestrian level. Yet many of the audience enjoyed it and were full of praise for its revival. Was it worth it? For a light but uninspiring evening, maybe, but forget about the symphonies and quartets, and forget about Shostakovich too. He probably would have preferred it that way.

JOAN SMITH

A Layman in Kazakhstan

Sitting by fountains in the centre of Almaty on a summer's afternoon, it is difficult to reconcile that pleasant atmosphere with the 'depressingly Soviet-style' description of the capital too often used by western journalists. Stranger still is to read in the British press of the fear of civil war when you are shading under trees in a park with Kazakhs and Russians quietly playing chess on neighbouring benches. As you would expect, Colin Thubron more accurately evokes the city in his recent book 'The Lost Heart of Asia' when he writes of Almaty's streets running 'half empty through hosts of oaks and poplars'.

On such afternoons I occasionally muse that I am following in the footsteps of my fellow countryman, Fitzroy Maclean, and am carrying on the traditions of Central Asian travel. However whereas he travelled overland and on a semi-clandestine basis, more often than not shadowed by the secret police, most Westerners now arrive by Lufthansa and are hounded only by taxi drivers. Kazakhstan therefore is markedly different these days with the expatriate community even including a businessman selling time-shares in the Canaries.

Although it is difficult to know how much of a living he makes, for people cushioned by western salaries life in Almaty is relatively easy as various shops and delicatessens have opened up to cater for the material needs of foreigners and locals who have the necessary purchasing power. However for the large section of the population which does not, the combination of recession and inflation has made them worse off and a common reaction to the political and economic changes of the last few years appears to be resignation or underlying but muted resentment.

Added to this is the situation of the ethnic Russians who, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, now find themselves living in an independent country where formerly they had been the dominant group. Although the Kazakhstan government is conciliatory in its dealings with Moscow, and regardless of the reaction of Kazakh people to the Russian presence – be it indifference, acceptance or dislike – the difficulty of psychological adjustment remains.

Economic factors also play a part, particularly in the case of the German minority who have the possibility of returning 'home' to a dynamic economy with the prospect of a better paid job and higher standard of living. Therefore it is misleading to characterise emigration from Kazakhstan as a flight from the threat of ethnic cleansing or Islamic fundamentalism. Fashionable though it was to predict such eventualities when the Central Asian republics came into being, and while such predictions may have contributed to people leaving, in the case of Kazakhstan these fears have proved groundless.

For the recently arrived foreigner, emigration is more something which one reads of as having taken place in the past, as opposed to witnessing colleagues or neighbours actually packing up and leaving. Indeed on a more mundane level the first impression for someone who does not speak Russian is likely to be the language barrier and, for those who do, deciphering unfamiliar words in Cyrillic only to realise that they are Kazakh apparently can be frustrating.

One of the attractions of Kazakhstan is the opportunity to learn Russian but attempting to do so from scratch, particularly on a part-time basis, is a difficult and daunting task. Added to this is the problem of finding a good teacher able to teach Russian as a foreign language, my early encounters having reminded me painfully of the unimaginative way in which I was drilled in French grammar and vocabulary as a schoolboy. Fortunately at different times since then I have been able to continue with foreign languages under more favourable conditions, either at language school or while living overseas, and from a layman's standpoint am reasonably confident of what works for me in terms of teaching methods. However for someone learning Russian as their first foreign language, grappling with the alphabet and the grammar at the outset can be difficult enough without the demotivating effect of a bad teacher.

My advice to someone intending to work in the former Soviet Union ('FSU') and hoping to study Russian in the process would be to get as much professional tuition as possible before leaving home and go well equipped with good textbooks, study guides and languages cassettes in order to have alternatives when the inevitable plateaux and dead ends are reached. For those unfamiliar with grammar, some basic tuition in the subject, while possibly unappealing, undoubtedly will help the beginner subsequently chart his or her way through the minefield of cases, conjugations, declensions and aspect which makes Russian such a stimulating (i.e. difficult!) language.

Students of Russian emerging from British colleges and universities of course already will have overcome these difficulties and are ideally placed to benefit from the opportunities at present to live and work in the FSU. At times I have the impression that languages students to an extent discount the possibility off working in business, in my opinion unfairly viewing themselves as untrained or somehow ill-suited by the nature of their studies. There also exists the traditional gulf between higher education and the business community with some academics viewing languages more as something which should be studied rather than used, while too many British businessmen still consider languages as only being spoken by foreigners.

Hopefully this situation is improving and I certainly would encourage any graduate in Russian to capitalise on his or her skills and get a job in the FSU. Although the type of work could well be very different from that typically envisaged for language students by career advisors, it may very well prove interesting, challenging and rewarding. Even if there are still some of the invevitable frustrations which go along with having to make a living, the chance just to be in this part of the world, particularly at this time, is too good to miss.

Being able to go to Kirghistan for a weekend break is fun and a visit to Samarkhand, Bukhara or Khiva simply becomes a question of making the arrangements rather than an unrealised dream. However whether or not you subsequently make the right choice between ехать and ездить when describing the trip to your language teacher is an altogether different matter.

HOWARD TINDALL

Notes

C. Thubron, *The Lost Heart of Asia* (William Heinemann Ltd. 1994).

Forthcoming Events of Russian Interest

1. Ruslan Russian 1 Teachers' Seminar
Saturday March 2nd 1996, Kingsway College, London.
(For details please contact: John Langran, Ruslan, 19 Highfield Road, Moseley, Birmingham, B13 9HL. Tel. 0121 449 1578)

2. Weekend of Intensive Spoken Russian
15–17 March 1996, Lancashire College, Chorley
(Tel. 01257 276719 Fax 01257 241370 or contact John Langran, Ruslan.)

3. Russian Language Course and Cultural Studies
18–21 March 1996, University of Glasgow
(For details please contact: Marie Tate, Faculty of Arts Office, University of Glasgow. Tel. 0141 330 6209 Fax: 0141 330 4537)

4. Russian Saturdays, Kingsway College, London (Intensive Language Practice in Graded Groups.)
3rd February – Beginners
17th February – Intermediate and Advanced.
Please contact John Langran, Ruslan, for further details.

Editorial Note

This December edition still includes a number of articles which continue our special tributes to Terry Wade, Sheelagh Graham and Marcus Wheeler. Professor Wheeler was wrongly quoted in the June edition as having been a former editor of the ATR journal; Professor Wheeler was active in very many areas of Russian studies and for all his valuable contributions to the field over the years, warmest thanks are extended to him.

A most successful Russian Day was held in Bolton School on October 14th. This was attended by many Russian teachers; congratulations and thanks are due to David Ash and colleagues and to ALL for sterling work and excellent organisation. Key papers from this Day will be published in June 1996. As was announced at Bolton, the next edition of the journal will be largely devoted to the teaching of the Russian language. Readers are invited to submit articles, comments, notes, summaries of ideas that have been successful in teaching etc. by the beginning of February 1996 for inclusion in this special edition. A number of interesting papers have already been received. A full report of the recent Russian Language Olympiad will also feature in June 1996. Congratulations to Tom Dickins and to gold-medal winner, Adam Fergus.

A short list of forthcoming Russian events has been provided in this edition. Any information about future events would be most welcome and every effort will be made to publish details in the relevant issue of the journal.

Philip Hood is the new reviews Editor. Thanks are extended to Riitta Pittman for all her work and Philip is warmly welcomed 'on board'.

As always, I am most grateful to the Russian Committee, for support and ideas and to contributors for their work.

MARGARET TEJERIZO

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Reviews

Secret Empire. The KGB in Russia Today, by J. M. Waller. *Westview Press, Boulder, San Francisco, Oxford, 1994. X + 390 pp . No price indicated.*

KGB. Death and Rebirth, by Martin Ebon. *Praeger, Westport, Conn., London, 1994. XIV + 229 pp. No price indicated.*

The Perestroika Deception. Memoranda to the Central Intelligence Agency, by Anatoliy Golitsyn. *Edward Harle, London and New York, 1995. XXVI + 248 pp. No price indicated.*

The authors of these three books realize that the USSR of 1985 is not the CIS of 1995 – the size and role of the Communist Party and of the Soviet armed forces have obviously changed considerably over the last decade. The two most interesting questions are whether most of the changes are irreversible and whether the security services, in particular, have altered very significantly since the official end of the Soviet Union in 1991.

Through his provocative subtitle (there is of course *no* KGB in Russia today, as he well knows), J. Michael Waller conveys a healthy scepticism about the prospects for democratic parliamentary, civilian or social control over the size and activities of the various Russian security and espionage organizations (he has disappointingly little to say about military intelligence, the GRU). Vadim Bakatin and Boris El'tsin failed to liquidate the KGB during the last third of 1991, and by the beginning of 1992 it was already too late to prevent the secret police from playing at least as important a role in Russian society as it had played hitherto. Naturally, the 'new' security services had to rely on 'old' cadres, as there were virtually no other experts available; moreover, imminent social unrest was expected as a result of the Gaidar reforms. Waller stresses that many of the younger and brighter KGB officers officially left the service and entered politics and the new 'commercial structures', so that today it is harder than ever to establish whether there are any areas of Russian life in which the security services (and the Mafia, one might add) are not active. The author states his position clearly: 'There was no break with the past . . . The reformists preserved not just the structures and personnel but also the essence of Moscow's state security organs . . . the KGB was reformed by the Russian Federation without being re-formed.' (pp. 4, 5, 100.) Although this is a valid opinion, as are Waller's conclusions on pages 276 and 286, his Table of 'Changes and Continuities in the Russian Security Services, 1994' relative to the Soviet system is much too crude to be of use. He finds four 'complete changes' and 77 'continuities' (there is no place in his scheme for 'partial changes'). One of the 'continuities', for example, is 'official censorship' which, we are blandly told, 'continues' – something which any reader of the Soviet and Russian press must surely query. It is not clear whether Waller himself reads the Russian press (he refers to the newspaper *Krasnaia zvezda* as a magazine [p. 218], for instance) or has a good knowledge of Russian, and the book has not been well proofread – pages 368 and 370 are almost identical, – but this study is the result of a great deal of hard work and I am looking forward to a new, expanded edition taking the 'KGB' through its latest change of name and into 1995.

Martin Ebon's book is also about the resurrection of the KGB after the official demise of the USSR and is an easier and lighter read than Waller's volume. Although it contains some grotesque mistakes (e.g., Lagle Parek is referred to as though she was male [pp. 125, 127]; 1990 saw the Nineteenth Congress of the CPSU [p. 188], and the weekly *New Times* is called a monthly [p. 213]) and seems to rely entirely on secondary Western sources and translations from the Russian-language press, it is worth the attention of those who need an introduction to the subject. Unlike Waller, Ebon has something to say about the security services in *all* the former Soviet Union Republics. His last sentence is valid: 'And so, a reborn KGB will continue to live on, under whatever name.'

For Anatoliy Golitsyn, what has been happening in the 'former' Soviet Union over the last ten years is a gigantic fraud, originally envisaged in 1958–1960 and based on the experience of Lenin's New Economic Policy of the 1920s. Once the West, especially the USA, has disarmed sufficiently (after all, the Cold War is over and there is no 'Soviet threat' any more, is there?) and helped the 'former' Soviet economy back onto its feet, the 'old' nomenklatura (which is still occupying most of the important positions in the 'former' USSR) will, together with their Communist Chinese colleagues, impose convergence and, ultimately, world government, on their terms, on a naive and unsuspecting West. This is more than a long-term policy; it is a strategic game plan drawn up by Shelepin and the KGB over 35 years ago, refined and adapted since then, but neither fundamentally altered nor abandoned. The obvious weakness of Golitsyn's theory is that there is still no confirmation in the public domain from any other source that such a strategy still exists or has ever existed. Before dismissing this book out of hand, however, one might at least consider the possibility that Golitsyn could prove to be right, if only for the wrong reasons. The West has been disarming, the Russian economy should start to get stronger before long, the CIS is holding together, Russian foreign policy has become more aggressive, there has been no de-Sovietisation programme (unlike the de-Nazification of Germany), there have been remarkably few signs of national repentance, the Communist Party of the Russian Federation and Zhirinovsky's Liberal-Democratic Party may well be the two strongest and most popular political parties in Russia, and the West is still throwing billions of tax-payers pounds, dollars and marks at the 'Russian problem'. Golitsyn's book is repetitive and monotonous, but it is worth looking at, if only because it is so unusual.

MARTIN DEWHIRST
University of Glasgow

'Getting by with **Get by in Russian** . . .'

This book is accurately described by its author as a basic 'survival kit' and was of tremendous assistance during the first month of what hopefully will be a two year immersion in the language, albeit working in Kazakhstan

As someone who does not know a diphthong from a consonant, I tend to skip the pronunciation guide which often forms the introduction to this type of book. However the Cyrillic alphabet has to be tackled in order to begin deciphering the language and the book very successfully gives the learner a feel for the sound of Russian by way of vocabulary which is used at a later stage.

Once the initial difficulty is overcome, the Cyrillic alphabet in general proves to be a good guide to pronunciation However the book's system of transcription reproduces the sound of Russian so well that I often found myself ignoring the Cyrillic altogether. While this may be an advantage for those wanting simply 'to get by', the temptation has to be avoided if reading skills are to develop.

A minor but irritating aspect of the transcription is the practice of denoting the soft sign 'ь' as 'y' in English e.g пять as 'pyaty'. Perhaps an ear more attuned than my own to the language detects the soft sign but I found that the book gave the misleading impression that all the numbers between 5 to 20, for example are pronounced with a 'y' as in 'rickety – Russian numbers are difficult at the best of times without this additional quirk being introduced!

That said the book is virtually a must for anyone keen to acquire a practical grounding quickly. After the initial effort the mystery of the alphabet is unravelled and it becomes a fun, if occasionally challenging, guide to pronunciation. If anything the book is too short and a follow-up 'Get By a Bit Further' would be welcome.

HOWARD TINDALL,
Kazakhstan

Inside the Film Factory, New Approaches to Soviet Cinema, edited by Richard Taylor and Ian Christie. *Routledge, 1991. 256 pp. ISBN 0 415 04951 2.*

The Red Screen, Politics, Society, Art in Soviet Cinema, edited by Anna Lawton. *Routledge, 1992. 360 pp. ISBN 0 415 07819 9.*

Kinoglasnost Soviet Cinema in Our Time, by Anna Lawton. *Cambridge University Press, 1992. 288 pp. ISBN 0 521 38814 7.*

The Zero Hour Glasnost and Soviet Cinema in Transition, by Andrew Horton and Michael Brashinsky. *Princeton University Press, 1992. 287 pp. ISBN 0 691 01920 7.*

It is widely acknowledged that the first effects of glasnost were felt in cinema, that 'most important of all the arts'. We witnessed the release of many previously shelved films, the restructuring of the film industry, with positive and negative results, an exploration of the past's 'black spots' in both documentary and feature films (not only a process of coming to terms with the past but also a way of shedding light on the present); there have been re-appraisals and often rehabilitation of important film directors, scriptwriters, actors and actresses; and now we are witnessing the first steps from a cinema in transition to a new, post-Soviet cinema. In order to appreciate developments in cinema in the former Soviet Union

Western readers need some form of orientation. The four books under review serve as helpful guides for both general and more specialised readers.

Given the nature of the books, this review aims to be more informative than analytical.

Inside the Film Factory covers the whole history of cinema in Russia and the Soviet Union. It contains three specially written essays: Ian Christie's 'Down to earth: *Aelita* relocated', Denise Youngblood's 'The return of the native: Yakov Protozanov and Soviet Cinema', and J. Hoberman's 'A face to the *shtetl*: Soviet-Yiddish cinema 1924–36'. There is also a compilation piece on Alexander Medvedkin based on two interviews from 1977 and 1985. Yuri Tsivian's 'Early Russian cinema: some observations' is an expanded version of his 'Silent Witnesses. Russian Films 1908–1919' (1989). The other essays are slightly revised versions of material that has appeared elsewhere: 'Kuleshov's experiments and the new anthropology of the actor' by Mikhail Yampolsky, '**Intolerance** and the Soviets: a historical investigation' and 'The origins of Soviet cinema: a study in **industry** development' by Vance Kepley Jr, 'A fickle man, or portrait of Boris Barnet as a Soviet director' by Bernard Eisenschitz (here translated from the French), 'Making sense of early Soviet sound' by Ian Christie and 'Ideology as mass entertainment: Boris Shumyatsky and Soviet cinema in the 1930s' by Richard Taylor. As Taylor and Christie argue in their introduction, the decision to reprint some of the material was a conscious one: the re-evaluation of Soviet cinema is a complex process, one which involves constant questioning of rigid categorisation, of periodisation, of oversimplification, of overemphasis on aesthetics to the detriment of the role of economics. Some of these essays were among the first to plead for an opening up of approaches. It is clear that the same spirit which informed their previous editorial collaboration, **The Film Factory** (1988), also informs this one.

Tsivian attempts to define Russian style in early cinema. He notes the emulation of high art forms, audience preference for tragic endings, intertitles (like chapters from a book), film reciters. Yampolsky's contribution argues persuasively that '[Kuleshov's] theory of montage derives genetically from the new conception of the anthropology of the actor' (p. 31). Kepley's first essay re-appraises Griffith's influence on early Soviet cinema, suggesting that we need to turn to Russian avant garde art, theatre and literature fully to appreciate montage aesthetics. Kepley's second contribution reaches the ironic, if not paradoxical conclusion that the golden age of Soviet cinema owed its existence to the shrewd exploitation of market forces under NEP, in other words, to capitalist practices. Youngblood re-assesses the work and the legacy of Protazanov, showing especially how instrumental he was in the creation of a Soviet school of acting. Hoberman's excellent essay offers a fascinating account of Soviet-Yiddish cinema and its achievements despite its problematic status and the precarious situation of its members. Both Christie's and Taylor's essays effectively illustrate how important it is to stand back and look again at the developmental history of Soviet cinema. Christie shows how film-makers tried to tackle the enormous technical, aesthetic and political problems posed by the introduction of sound. Taylor offers a more sympathetic view of the career of Boris Shumyatsky) who ran the Soviet cinema industry from 1930 to 1938. Although commonly regarded as a mere party hack, Shumyatsky nonetheless helped to create a popular cinema consisting of films with plots that entertained and educated.

The Red Screen gathers together, in revised form, papers that were read at the Conference on Soviet Cinema held at the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies at the Woodrow Wilson Center in September 1986. Two more essays were added later. The result is a survey of Soviet cinema from its beginnings to the New Model. Anna Lawton's first-rate introduction traces the development of Soviet cinema and at the same time admirably contextualises each of the contributions. The volume is in two parts: From Potemkin to the Elbe and From the Thaw to the New Model.

In the first part, the beginnings of Soviet cinema and its early developments are treated firstly from economic and sociopolitical perspectives,and secondly from a more aesthetic perspective: Kirstin Thompson's 'Government Policies and Practical Necessities in Soviet Cinema of the 1920s and Richard Taylor's 'Ideology and Popular Culture in Soviet Cinema: *The Kiss of Mary Pickford'* (a skilful reworking of parts of his **The Politics of Soviet Cinema 1917–1929**, with additional material from **The Film Factory**). Denise Youngblood's assessment of Ermler as a populariser is welcome. Aesthetic perspectives are offered in the following essays: Vlada Petric's 'Cinematic Abstraction as a Means of Conveying Ideological Messages in *The Man with the Movie Camera'* (again a reworking, this time of material from **Constructivism in Film** 1987) and Annette Michelson's 'The Kinetic Icon and the Work of Mourning: Prolegomena to the Analysis of a Textual System'. In this intelligent and stimulating reading of Vertov's *The Three Songs of Lenin*, she examines the process by which the film 'canonises' Lenin, inscribing his story as if on an iconostasis. In Vance Kepley Jr's 'Mr Kuleshov in the Land of the Modernists' we have a reappraisal similar to that offered in **Inside the Film Factory**, this time the suggestion is that Kuleshov's thinking was influenced by Russian constructivism. Kuleshov appropriated those classical Hollywood elements that parallelled constructivist concerns: efficiency of filmic discourse/the dynamic machine aesthetic. In 'Films of the Second World War' Peter Kenez argues that they were 'a small oasis of freedom' (p. 169) because the emotions expressed in them were genuine, even if the actual situations were distorted.

The second part begins with Herbert Marshall's 'The New Wave in Soviet Cinema' which examines the importance and the impact of the poetic school (Paradjanov inter al.) against the background of Bleiman's essay 'Chto segodnia, chto zavtra? 1967–71' from **O Kino – Svidetel'skie Pokazaniia, 1924–1971** (Moscow 1973). Though Bleiman was sympathetic, his support for this school was not wholehearted. Marshall explains this by comparing two periods in Soviet cinema: the 1920s and 1930s when narrative competed with montage, and the 1960s and 1970s when Socialist Realism competed with humanism. Intellectual montage and the poetic, 'moral' films were considered

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bourgeois. Bleiman had no option, then, but to condemn the poetic school. Joseph Troncale's 'The War in Kozintsev's Films *Hamlet* and *King Lear*' examines how Kozinstev's came to use the war metaphor. He had experienced the rise of fascism, Hiroshima, and Stalinism: in **Hamlet** he warned against dehumanisation and in **King Lear** he pointed to the terrible cost of spiritual rebirth. 'The Image of Women in Contemporary Soviet Cinema' by Françoise Navailh compares the representation of women in the 1930s, late 1970s and early 1980s. She selects four 'representative' films: Panfilov's *May I have the Floor?*, Gogoberidze's *Some Interviews on Personal Matters*, Menshov's *Moscow Does Not Believe In Tears*, and Babich's *The Guys* (which portrays a strong male protagonist, unlike Gosha in Menshov's film). It's a depressing account, though not wholly unexpected. However, further research is needed concerning the image of women in more recent films. John B. Dunlop's 'Russian Nationalist Themes in Soviet Film in the 1970s' uses *Kalina Krasnaia*, *Siberiade*, *Moscow Does Not Believe In Tears* and *Agony* to argue that the Russian nationalist tendency was allowed expression, though specific issues, such as religion and anti-collectivisation, were censored. Again further research on the 1980s and 1990s would be welcome. In 'Socialist Realism and American Genre Film: The Mixing of Codes in *Jazzman*', Herbert Eagle notes that the film treats two periods: the late 1920s, which led to the condemnation of Jazz in the Soviet Union and the mid 1960s, which gave semi-official recognition to Jazz. He suggests that the film draws on the conventions of American genre film, predominantly the musical of the 1930s, but also the gangster film and slapstick, yet it follows, broadly speaking, socialist realist plot functions (as defined by Katerina Clark). As such the film 'validates the borrowing of Western cultural forms which have become popular with Soviet Youth in particular' (p. 262). I think there is a typographical error on page 252. Surely RAPP was no longer in existence in the mid-1930s. In 'Art and Propaganda in the Soviet Union 1980-85' Val Golovskoy's pessimistic conclusion concerning trends is inaccurate in the light of subsequent events. Giovanni Buttafava's study 'Alexei German, or the Form of Courage' is a sensitive appreciation of German's oeuvre with its recurrent theme of 'the instability of historical *roles*' [what makes a hero? FB], 'the overturning of ideological uncertainties, the ungraspable complexity of the real' (p. 275). Alexander Gershkovich compares Bykov's *Scarecrow* with Evtushenko's *Kindergarten*. Even though both directors are of the same generation, the both films were made at the same studio, and were released at about the same time, Gershkovich justifiably finds Bykov's film honest and modest, and Evtushenko's showy and false. All students of Soviet cinema owe a debt of gratitude to Lino Micciché for invaluable information and statistics presented in 'The Cinema of the Transcaucasian and Central Asian Republics'. Sylvie Dallet's 'Historical Time in Russian, Armenian, Georgian and Kirghiz Cinema' looks at the perception of history, arguing that Georgian directors mock it, Armenians slow it down, Kirghiz resist it, whereas Russian directors either submit to it or escape from it. Why? Because traditions differ: each nationality has a different attitude to work and play. Marc Ferro's 'Does a Film Writing of History Exist?' proposes a global classification of films according to their relation to history. And the collection is rounded off by two essays by young Soviet scholars: both attempt to evaluate the post 1986 changes in Soviet cinema. Mikhail Brashinsky's 'The Anthill in the Year of the Dragon' and Peter Shepotinnik's 'Without Perestroika, without Tarkovsky' have both appeared in **The New Orleans Review** (1990). Brashinsky now lives and teaches in the West, Shepotinnik works for **Iskusstvo kino**. Barashinsky shares Golovskoy's pessimism, whereas Shepotinnik is more optimistic. I think Shepotinnik has the right balance.

Kinoglasnost Soviet Cinema in Our Time and **The Zero Hour – Glasnost and Soviet Cinema in Transition** cover more or less the same ground. Both contain useful reviews of and comments on post-1985 films. Of course, both books were written before the coup and, as Lawton acknowledges, some revision will be necessary in the light of subsequent developments. The same strictures apply to Horton and Brashinsky's book. Lawton sets the scene with a chapter which she had originally written for inclusion in **Post New Wave Cinema in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe** (1989). She goes on to give an excellent account of Perestroika in the film industry, the *khozraschet* debate, the demise of Socialist Realism, commercialisation versus art, the effects of the video boom, shelved films and documentaries, films about social problems, youth counterculture, a superb discussion of blockbusters, such as *The Man from the Boulevard des Capucines, King of Crimes* and *Intergirl*, and a section on parallel cinema. In all her writings Lawton has consistently argued that Soviet cinema is grounded in historical reality, reflecting society at different historical periods. Though film aesthetics can and does help to illuminate films, a broader, socio-politico-cultural approach is needed if we are fully to appreciate the nature and scope of cinematic achievements. Horton and Brashinsky cover similar ground and devote a final chapter to ethnic cinemas. There is much overlap in terms of the films reviewed, though interpretations differ. Approximately 150 films appear in Lawton which do not figure in Horton and Brashinsky. And a similar number appears in Horton and Brashinsky but not in Lawton. There is a reason for this. While Horton and Brashinsky rightly claim to be both 'pluralist and partisan' and at the same time, like Lawton, study films in socio-politico-cultural contexts, they, however, offer a further perspective by making use, where appropriate, of Peter Blos's arguments in **Son and Father: Before and Beyond the Oedipus Complex** (1985). They explore how the father–son transaction – the granting or denial of a ritualistic blessing – characterises many of the most important film narratives concerning the Soviet past It is an interesting idea, though a more detailed exposition of Blos's views would have been helpful. Towards the end of her book, Lawton suggests that glasnost films conjure up the future through the prism of carneval, dystopia and the Apocalypse. In her conclusion, whilst recording the changes in the cinema industry and noting a few box-office successes, she suggests that audience figures in the late 1980s declined because film-goers had seen too much of the same on TV and in the media in general. She argues that what is needed in the 1990s are entertainment and quality films. Horton and Brashinsky's conclusion takes the form of a dialogue, a reaction to Ilienko's 1990 pronouncement that there was no more Soviet Union and no more Soviet cinema. Here the term *zero hour* becomes central, the opportunity to go back to zero, to reinvent one's own cinema – an idea found in Jean-Luc Godard. Both Horton and Brashinsky see the potential and the dangers, especially gross American-style commercialisation, sex and violence. Yet they pin their hopes on 'the best of both worlds' as exemplified, in their opinion, by a director like Sergei Bodrov who made *The Card Player*, 'a near-perfect blend of entertainment and realism, (that is, a cinematic mediatation [*sic*] on present Soviet reality) . . . somewhere between an old Bogart film and Dostoyevsky's stories of gamblers as losers' (p. 249).

Certainly audiences must be wooed back to the cinema in the 1990s. Economics apart, however,that's still a tall order. The Party may be over, but the Past lingers on, and the Coca Cola culture still beckons.

FRANK BEARDOW
University of Sunderland

Reactions to recent interpretations of Bulgakov's **The Master and Margarita.**

The titles of two monographs published in 1991 – Riitta Pittman's *The Writer's Divided Self in Bulgakov's* **The Master and Margarita**, Macmillan, and Edward E. Ericson, Jr's *The Apocalyptic Vision of Mikhail Bulgakov's* **The Master and Margarita**, The Edwin Mellen Press[1] – suggest that they will shed light on two neglected themes in Bulgakov scholarship: schizophrenia and apocalypticism.[2]

However, these interpretations do not take, in my opinion, adequate account of the influence of Goethe's **Faust** on **The**

Master and Margarita. Pittman acknowledges Voland's connection with Goethe's tragedy but ignores the other allusions to it. Ericson dismisses the Faust legend as 'only an ancillary and tangential element' (E63) for the novel's interpretation but concedes that 'most likely [it] played a role in Bulgakov's early thinking about the novel' (E95). However, the choice of the name Voland for the Bulgakovian Devil and his meeting with two Russians in Chapter 1 of the first draft surely settle the matter. Publication of the early drafts of Bulgakov's novel[3] at long last confirms the last statement which was already known from Marietta Chudakova's articles.

1 The Writer's 'Divided Self'?

Pittman believes that **Landmarks** (1909), and in particular Gershenzon's article, is the key to the exegesis of **The Master and Margarita**. Although she concedes that **Landmarks** predates Bulgakov's work on that novel 'by almost two decades', she regards the former as 'a seismograph of the tremors . . . in Moscow in the 1930s' (p. 8). However, elsewhere Pittman veers between the 1920s and the 1930s as the date of the novel's plot. Yet Bulgakov provides the novel's *terminus a quo*. The brightness of the Kremlin's red stars in the novel would suggest either 1935 when they replaced the two-headed copper eagles or, more likely, 1937, when those faded stars were exchanged for better ones. Consequently, the terms in the novel which imply a 1920s setting such as 'interventionists' and 'kulaks' are merely historical allusions.[4]

The intellectual background to **The Master and Margarita** is Marxism-Leninism *regnant*. Pittman borrows the words 'radicals' and 'intelligentsia' from **Landmarks** but the former is surely too vague for the late 1930s. All those radicals had disappeared in the purges and the Soviet intelligentsia by then comprised sychophants; the Master is portrayed as a lone voice in the Marxist-Leninist wilderness. Pittman herself concedes that M. A. Berlioz 'adheres meticulously to the dictates of the official ideology' (p. 9). Yet she identifies the malaise from which Berlioz suffers as 'loss of spirituality', a 'loss of the sense of sinfulness' (p. 10), and a 'Catholic psychology', defined as 'a love for mankind', 'falsely oriented', that 'had killed the love for God'; and the failure 'to acknowledge man's true value', its 'divine aspect' (pp. 10–11). Marxists-Leninists might justifiably argue that they are not unspiritual, in the widest sense. There is no evidence even that Berlioz, the only Soviet intellectual in the novel besides the Master, leaned to mysticism or neo-Kantianism although Kant is mentioned and is important. Actually Berlioz is implicitly condemned at Satan's Ball for his militant atheism.

Certainly split personality is a repeated phenomenon in **The Master and Margarita**. The term 'schizophrenia' compels the reader to consider it but there are degrees of splitting in the novel. There are two Ivans that are simply voices. There are also two Masters and two Margaritas, all discrete characters, and each pair undergoes separate deaths in different parts of the Soviet capital. However, none of them leaves a corpse. The lovers are evidently resurrected *in toto* in the basement and the police conclude that their other selves (patient 118 and the scientist's wife) have been abducted. Berlioz provides a third example of the phenomenon; first, in parody, but nonetheless important thematically, as Ponyriov confuses the editor with his French namesake. Then, literally; after being run over by a tram, M. A. Berlioz' dismembered body is cremated but his head becomes alive again at Satan's Ball. There his head is transmogrified into a chalice and whatever in the head was Berlioz is consigned to 'non-being'.

I infer that Pittman considers Berlioz, the 'old Ivan', and Riukhin to be real characters while Voland, the 'new Ivan', the Master, and Margarita are projections of Ponyriov's psyche. She believes that schizophrenia in the novel is not a medical condition but 'a psychological manifestation of a bifurcate spiritual and moral disposition', the 'friction between prescribed productivity and spontaneous creativity' (pp. 91 & 94). Pittman cites three examples of the artist's conflict over Soviet duty and artistic freedom: the Master reveals to Ponyriov 'the truth about genuine creativity'; Ponyriov's poem causes Berlioz to face metaphysical truths like the existence of Jesus; and Ponyriov's attack on Riukhin's poetry makes him face the truth that his verses are 'inept' (p. 94). To consider Ponyriov a 'shadow-life' or 'other self' to Berlioz and Riukhin here is surely not absolutely essential and in fact further complicates an already complex theme. The order in which those examples is presented is also puzzling and Pittman appears to ignore the fact that they signify Ponyriov's progress towards truth.

Furthermore, Pittman maintains that 'If considered as a whole, [the novel] reflects the kind of psychological and spiritual unity envisaged by Gershenzon. The novel embraces a multiplicity of split personalities . . . who as a result of the devil's appearance in Moscow are made 'whole', as they are brought to view life in its true, multilateral perspective' (p. 17). In particular, they will acquire self-awareness, acknowledging the 'manifestation of God's image in humanity' which she describes as 'one of the fundamental strands in the [novel's] thematic design' (p. 16). Thus Berlioz 'exits as a wiser 'non-being' (p. 64). In fact Berlioz and Ponyriov take decisions affecting their eternal destiny, as they are brought face to face with metaphysical truths. Berlioz' fate is already decided; the sun is setting on him 'for ever' (KL427).

Ponyriov is not a 'fledgling poet' (p. 9) but a famous luminary in the Soviet artistic firmament despite his youth. He is not 'politically naive' (ibid.) either. His replies to the foreign visitor about the existence of God and of the Devil and on who controls human life and order in general on earth are orthodox Marxism-Leninism. Moreover Ponyriov would hardly have been chosen to compose an anti-religious poem for Berlioz's thick journal if his political credentials had been suspect or immature. Ponyriov's problem is his ignorance of Christianity which begins to be remedied as he researches (*sobiral'siia*, Imperfective aspect, KL425) to write the ill-fated poem. Indeed he may (significantly) even have consulted St Matthew's Gospel to have discovered about the adoration of the Magi (a better translation than 'wizards', p. 13). Ponyriov's denunciation of Riukhin's verses for their insincerity indicates the next step towards his (Ivan's) own conversion. The Master confirms Voland's true identity and his own faith in Jesus Christ through his novel, identified as 'an apologia for Jesus Christ' (RL560), and also encourages Ponyriov to cease writing Socialist Realist poetry and to write a sequel (the Epilogue) to his own novel.

The issues which feature in **The Master and Margarita** are: the Soviet government's anti-religious policy during the 1930s ; the imposition of Socialist Realism, Stalin's ideological straitjacket on the arts; the creation of the ideal Soviet person; and the inability of Marxism-Leninism to create the ideal society. Echoes of all those four themes are present in Goethe's **Faust**. Recourse to the concept of 'human godhood' (p. 15) is not absolutely necessary to account for Berlioz' insistence on the alleged triumph of atheism in the USSR. Atheism ('theoretical humanism') is the cornerstone of Marxism. Thus Berlioz' admission about the survival of religion in the USSR after twenty years of Socialism is in itself an indictment of Marxism-Leninism which asserted that religion was merely a tool of the ruling class. M. A. Berlioz is the Soviet government's spokesman and Ponyriov's first Faust-teacher. Ponyriov's ill-fated poem is part of the Soviet establishment's campaign to eradicate Christianity. Voland engages in that education process when he joins the two Soviet writers but he turns the conversation into a dialectic between Soviet ideology and Judaeo-Christianity. After eliciting from them a confession of atheism Voland affirms the existence of God, of Jesus Christ, of the Devil (himself) and of man after death. It is surely no accident that Ponyriov's next teacher, the Master, is branded a '*militant* Old Believer' (emphasis added) when the government's anti-religious campaign in the 1930s was being spearheaded by the League of the Militant Godless.

Bulgakov's allusions to Goethe's **Faust** prove that **The Master and Margarita** is an allegory presented as a Faust-legend and

Goethe's masterpiece provides a precedent for split personality. Bulgakov, in my view, personifies the 'two souls . . . in [Faust's] breast' (lines 1110–18); the one that clings to the earth becomes Berlioz, the one that seeks to rise to higher spheres – the Master. Then Bulgakov divides other attributes of the German superman among his main characters. Berlioz, Likhodeyev, Pilate, the Master and Ponyriov (in the Epilogue) are all Russian Fausts. Berlioz, Pilate, and the Master (if not, Likhodeyev also) are also all projections of Bulgakov himself.

2 An Apocalyptic Vision

Goethe's **Faust**, however, is also a reworking of Dante's **The Divine Comedy** which was influenced by the Revelation of St John the Divine in the New Testament (hereafter *Revelation*). St John borrowed motifs from the Old Testament prophets and from the Books of Enoch, a Jewish inter-testamental apocalypse. *Revelation*, Goethe's **Faust**, and Dante's **The Divine Comedy** are all apocalypses. Bulgakov combines the plots of those three masterpieces as well as features from other works to create in **The Master and Margarita** a Russian apocalypse. Bulgakov's main characters play a role in the reworking of each plot cited, so each Bulgakovian character is potentially an amalgam of characters. Thus Ponyriov is a Russian Wagner in Bulgakov's Faust-legend, a Dante in his **The Divine Comedy**, a St John in the Bulgakovian *Revelation* and, in the Epilogue, the title 'professor' makes Ivan a potential Faust. Consequently, where the different parameters intersect it is sometimes difficult to determine Bulgakov's primary source for any particular incident. Obviously Bulgakov has to sacrifice some features of his three main sources in combining them. Moreover, he indulges his passion for parody, irony and obfuscation.

However, Ericson goes too far when he asserts that despite allusions to *Revelation* earlier in **The Master and Margarita** only Chapters 29–32 constitute an apocalypse and that 'most of [*Revelation*'s] details are absent' (E156). The presence of Voland and his entourage in Moscow is an allusion to the Devil's being cast out of heaven onto the earth with his angels (Rev. 12:9); the Beasts (Rev. 13) are models for Koroviov and Behemoth; and Satan's Ball resembles the scenario in Revelation Chapter 5, the Marriage Supper of the Lamb and the Last Judgement (Rev. 19:7–10; 20:11–15). Some of Ericson's other conclusions are also suspect. For example, according to Ericson, Voland and his henchmen are 'a parody of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse' (E52) but Ericson also endorses David M. Bethea's conclusion that '"Pilate's chief function [is] as an apocalyptic horseman" who brings "judgement (both on others and, equally important, on himself) and death to . . . [Jerusalem]"' (E152). Yet the fact that Pilate is judged himself should raise doubts about that interpretation. Moreover, Pilate actually was of equestrian rank. Furthermore, Ericson sometimes stretches allusion to *Revelation* too far: Voland's cloak in Chapter 32 with Rev. 6:12 and 8:12 (E159); smoke-laden Moscow with the abyss (9:12; E159); the trumpet-simile in Voland's call, 'It's time!' (KL793), and the satanic whistling contest with the seven trumpet-judgements of *Revelation* Chapters 8-11 (E157). Voland's command not to harm people cannot equate with Rev. 7:3 (E158). However, God's two witnesses in Rev. 11:1–14 are, I believe, the prototypes for the Russian lovers; both pairs are killed by a satanic emissary, both are resurrected and both are taken to heaven at God's express command.

State persecution of Christians (E36) and Yeshua's concern about cowardice (E77) obviously link *Revelation* and **The Master and Margarita** but Ericson incorrectly attributes Rev. 21:8 to St John and ignores its implication for Bulgakov's characterisation of Yeshua. Ericson does not mention that the three cities of *Revelation* have their analogues in Bulgakov's novel: the earthly Jerusalem in both, Babylon/Moscow, and the heavenly Jerusalem/the Master's eternal refuge. Veiled criticism of one city (Rome and Moscow) and its ideology through another, more ancient one (Babylon and Jerusalem, respectively) is another overlooked common feature.

In addition, Bulgakov makes four (if not five) separate allusions to Jesus Christ's visit to encourage His servant St John in prison on Patmos island in *Revelation* Chapter 1. Two occur in Bulgakov's first chapter. Ponyriov wants to consign Kant to Solovki (KL429), the notorious Soviet prison camp for Russian Christians in the White Sea, for believing in the existence of God. The second allusion to Christ's visit in *Revelation* Chapter 1 clearly parodies it. Voland reveals that he has just visited Stravinsky's clinic where the Master is a patient (KL433) and which Ponyriov and the Bulgakovian Narrator regard as a prison. St John declares that he was imprisoned for 'the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ' (v. 9) and the Master has been hounded to a mental breakdown for writing 'an apologia for Jesus Christ' (KL560).

The Master's visit to Ivan Ponyriov in Chapter 13 repeats the allusion to *Revelation* Chapter 1, this time without parody. The precedent for the Master as a Christ-figure here is the Prison-Scene in Goethe's **Faust** (lines 4406–612) which is also based on *Revelation* Chapter 1. Ponyriov shares the same name as the author of *Revelation* and, like Christ (Rev. 1:18), both Faust and the Master have a set of keys; the Apocalyptic keys provide the symbolic interpretation of Stravinsky's clinic. Ericson does not say whether the parallel he discerns between the Master's white hair after his ordeal (KL795) and the description of Jesus in Rev.1:14 (E102) is a parody. I think, not because the Master's behaviour resembles Jesus'/Yeshua's kenotic character; the Master's description of Ponyriov as 'disciple' (KL790) has a biblical ring; and the Master's experience is analogous to Christ's: physical suffering, death, resurrection and ascension. This is Bulgakov's affirmation of the truth of the Gospels.

Voland's parody of Jesus in *Revelation* Chapter 1, however, extends beyond mere mockery. For St John also asserts that he is 'in the kingdom . . . of Jesus Christ' (v. 9) and presents Jesus as the eventual supreme ruler of the universe (19:16). Voland raises the theme of the ideal society in Chapters 1 and 2 of Bulgakov's novel. Yeshua's prophecy of a 'kingdom (tsarstvo) of truth and justice' (KL447) implies a king and three potential rulers are presented in Chapter 1: 'Man himself' (KL430), according to Marxism-Leninism; Jesus Christ, when Voland casually mentions a millennium which, by implication, disqualifies any mortal man (ibid. and Rev. 20:5); and Satan himself (Voland). For a footnote to *Revelation* Chapter 1 in the Russian bible explains that Jesus is dressed as a Jewish high priest. However, the robe and the golden band around his chest also suggest an important official, army officer or a king. The glorified Jesus is the Melchisedekan king-priest (see Heb. Chapters 5–7) and Melchisedek was king of Salem, the future Jerusalem (Heb. 7:1). Voland is identified as a kingpriest too. St John declares that Satan dwells in Pergamos where he has set up his throne (Rev. 2:13) and Voland commandeers Berlioz's flat for his ball at which a queen presides. Voland is a bachelor and Christ has a wife and bride in *Revelation* (19:7; 21:2); I believe Margarita symbolises the Church of Christ. Voland's metamorphosis at the ball is a parodic role-reversal based on the incident in Zechariah Chapter 3 featuring Satan and the high-priest, Joshua (Greek 'Jesus').

Ericson dismisses the novel's conclusion (Chapters 29–32) as merely an 'extended parody'(E152) of the Johannine Apocalypse and Pittman's analysis is intrinsically pessimistic . She asserts that the Master's eternal refuge is only 'a different kind of lifelessness' from Soviet reality and that 'Bulgakov makes no use of such terms as . . . forgiveness and redemption' (pp. 112–13). But the title of Chapter 32 *does* and it applies both to Pilate and to the Master. They and Matthew Levi are admitted to Heaven through God's grace just like Goethe's Faust. In the Epilogue Ponyriov, ostensibly cured of religious mania, exhibits the same Faustian potential for salvation[5] although Ponyriov's striving is within his spirit. Enoch, St John, Dante, Faust, and the Master all undertake an apocalyptic odyssey to acquire knowledge which they pass on to others in a literary work. Since the Master's novel (Parts I and II of Bulgakov's novel) is destroyed by fire and Ponyriov promises to write a sequel, he presumably adds the Epilogue if he does not also re-write the Master's novel. Before Bulgakov's death his spirit (the Master) bequeaths to the younger generation of Russian writers (Ponyriov) his novel whose message is Bulgakov's utter rejection of Marxism-Leninism and his faith in the ultimate triumph of Christianity.

Notes

1. Page numbers preceded by P refer to Pittman's monograph, those by E to Ericson's; KL signifies the 1973 *Khudozhestvennaia literatura* edition of **The Master and Margarita**.
2. Owing to lack of space other conclusions that they make cannot be discussed here. My silence does not imply agreement with them.
3. Mikhail Bulgakov. **Velikii kanzler**, Viktor Losev (ed.), Novosti, Moscow, 1993.
4. 'The Swallow Hills', renamed after Lenin in 1925, indicates Bulgakov's attitude to the Soviet regime.
5. The original Faust-legend contains a sequel in which Wagner acquires his own devil and imitates his master, Faustus.

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The Letters of D. S. Mirsky to P. P. Suvchinskii, 1922–31, G. S. Smith. *Birmingham Slavonic Monographs, ISBN 0704415216, viii + 238 pp., 7 black and white plates, 1995, £16.00 including postage.*

D. S. Mirsky, erstwhile Guards officer and then staff officer in Denikin's Volunteer Army, emigrated from Russia in 1920. From 1922 to 1932 he taught Russian literature at London University. During these years he wrote his celebrated *History of Russian Literature* (originally published in two volumes in 1926 and 1927), and became a convinced Marxist. By the end of the 1920s it is possible he was a collaborator with the Soviet secret service. In 1931 he Joined the Communist Party of Great Britain and returned to Russia in 1932, almost certainly destroying his archive before he left.

The musicologist P. P. Suvchinskii, one of the founders of the Eurasian movement, lived in Paris and was probably Mirsky's closest friend during his years in emigration. As the editor points out in an informative Introduction, the intensity of Mirsky's letters to Suvchinslii grows steadily. Up to the end of 1927 the letters are mainly concerned with literary matters They contain, as one might expect, much comment on the subject of Russian literature. They also illuminate Mirsky's relationship with Marina Tsvetaeva and provide his final judgement on her as a poet. Furthermore, they contain valuable information concerning the problems surrounding the important émigré literary Journal *Versty*, of which Mirsky and Suvchinskii were the principal editors. The archive of the Journal has been lost, so the letters are particularly interesting for the light they shed on how the journal was conceived, organised, financed, and so on.

In January 1928 Mirsky and Suvchinskii visited Gorky in Sorrento. According to Suvchinskii, Gorky tried to persuade them to go back to Russia, promising to set them up there. After this visit, Mirsky and Suvchinskii appeared to be aiming for a rapprochement with Soviet Communism and they split the Eurasian movement. They applied for a visa to return to Russia on the same day, Mirsky in London, Suvchinskii in Paris. Mirsky was granted one, Suvchinskii, to his considerable astonishment, was not. Mirsky was to die in a Gulag in 1939, whereas Suvchinskii survived in emigration until 1985.

Professor Smith is to be thanked for his persistence in tracking down these letters, to which Suvchinskii would not allow access. One of his main reasons for publishing them, he writes, was his wish to facilitate the eventual writing of the history of Eurasianism, and in annotating the letters he has been mindful to point to matters needing further clarification on the basis of unpublished documents. But, of course, there were other good reasons too. Stated in general terms, the letters provide a valuable insight into émigré intellectual and political life of the period, and into the heart and mind of one of the emigration's most remarkable figures.

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Russian Language and People *New Edition* Terry Culhane and Roy Bivon *BBC Worldwide Ltd 1995 Coursebook £13.99 ISBN 0 563 40012 9 Two audio cassettes £13 ISBN 0 563 40013 7*

The relaunch of the BBC's popular self-instructional beginners' course is the single most exciting publishing event for teachers and learners of Russian so far this year. The original course has been a firm favourite with students studying on their own, with adult classes and, used selectively, as a resource for teaching basic level Russian in schools and colleges. Although teachers who have used the original 1980 course will find much that is familiar in the new edition in terms of the general approach and layout, the updating consists of far more than the deletion of references to a political state which no longer exists. The authors have included new realia and photographs, have fully updated the background information about 'Life in Russia', have provided more explicit 'Language Information' sections and have given greater attention to developing the skill of reading by providing more substantial Russian texts. The high quality expected of a BBC publication is maintained throughout, making this a course which is a highly attractive language learning resource and unlikely to have many rivals.

There are, as before, twenty topic-based units, the first five offering a carefully stepped introduction to the Cyrillic alphabet. The mixing of Cyrillic with Roman transliterations in some of the early exercises will irritate certain teachers, but this method of teaching the alphabet has clearly been carefully thought out. Handwritten Russian is introduced from Unit 11. the topics cover *greetings and introductions, finding the way, asking permission, town and shopping, names and nationalities, weather and television, food, times and seasons, the origins of Russia, travelling by train, going to Russia, more about shopping, holidays and celebrations, expressing feelings* and *visiting a Russian home*. Schoolteachers will note that the course visits most of the topics associated with the National Curriculum Areas of Experience, at least at an introductory level; pupils would of course need to have each topic supplemented by a wider range of vocabulary and structures than the course provides. *Russian Language and People* focuses mainly on developing basic level *understanding* rather than productive skills and teachers will find many of the **reading** and **listening** tasks suitable for KS3/Basic Level GCSE practice.

As with the original edition, the great advantage that *Russian Language and People* has over other 'teach yourself' courses is the attractiveness of its pages. Text and visuals are presented in a way that achieves maximum impact on the eye and makes the course look stimulating and enjoyable to use. Although monochrome, the layout shows two significant improvements on the first edition: the first is the division of each unit into clearly marked sections such as: *Life in Russia, Language Information, Looking at Words, listening, Playing with Words, Reading*, the second is that exercises, vocabulary lists and summaries of language points are clearly headed as such and the grammar tables at the back of the book are easier to find at a glance. Although it does not cover nearly as much ground linguistically as, for example, Daphne West's *Teach Yourself Russian* (Hodder and Stoughton), the new edition does teach more of the language than the original, with a clearer focus on the forms and structures of the language. The new edition does not shy away as much as its predecessor from presenting and explaining, albeit concisely, grammar points such as aspects, tenses, verbs of motion, and case forms. There are keys to all the exercises and transcripts of the tape recordings – a great help to the busy teacher. There are now *two* seventy-five minute cassettes. The recordings are by a fresh cast of native speakers and include new scripts as well as updated versions of some of th original ones. The voices are clear and the dialogues are spoken at a near-normal speed.

The new cultural content of the course is welcome, with information about Russian churches, Russian history, modern Russian television and advertising. A wide range of aspects of Russian life is covered in the units – teachers and learners alike will benefit from the updating of information about the education system, getting a visa, and using the metro, for example.

The 1995 edition of *Russian Language and People* at last provides us with an up-to-date beginners' course with excellent production values readily available from all high street bookshops. Its reissue is greatly welcome and it is to be hoped it will help inspire a renewed public interest in learning Russian and a fresh optimism among materials-starved teachers.

MARK FELSTEAD

The Pocket Oxford Russian Dictionary, Second Edition. *Oxford University Press, Oxford – New York, 1994. xii + 623 pp. £9.99. ISBN: 0 19 864500 7.*

This volume is described by its publishers with unexpected modesty as a pocket dictionary, but this reviewer possesses no garment with pockets large enough to contain it; it is, in fact, a perfectly respectable medium-size two-way dictionary, which claims to contain over 70,000 words and phrases and which provides reasonably adequate grammatical information for all the Russian entries and translations. Though students proceeding to Highers, A-levels and beyond will normally want something more substantial, those whose needs are more modest will find this an eminently useful tool.

As the dictionary is a second edition which has undergone an extensive revision and updating, it is worth concentrating in this review on the question of how well it reflects the 'new Russian' of the post-Soviet era. This is not a simple matter, since not only is the Russian language changing very rapidly, but the volatile political and economic situation does not always make it easy to predict which words will survive. Nevertheless, a fair answer is that it achieves overall a partial success. Among the new words included are *беспредел, бомж, ваучер, маркетинг, менеджер, СКВ* and *СНГ*, although the last is wrongly glossed as *Сообщество,* rather than *Содружество*; modern technology is represented by the provision of translations for 'RAM', 'CD-ROM' and 'compact disk player'. Missing, however, are *ближнее зарубежье, киллер, кримогенный,* and the abbreviation *РФ*, though the older *РСФСР* is included. Some anglicisms, such as *инвестиция* and *спикер* appear only in the English–Russian section, which is a sensible use of space, but the English-speaking user would have been helped (and perhaps even encouraged) by the similar inclusion of such common words as *имидж* and *офис*.

It is arguable that even more problems are posed for lexicographers by the stylistic liberation of post-Soviet Russian, and here too the dictionary does not achieve total success. One would not expect a volume of this size to descend into the murkier depths of Russian slang, but *голубой* (= 'gay') is included, and space should probably also have been found for the now ubiquitous *клёвый* and *тусовка*. At the other end of the scale it is surprising to find only the western *аббат* given for 'abbot' and *vice versa* (these entries, like one or two others, read a little as if they were 'done on auto-pilot'), and a case could be made for including words such as *всуе, лобызаться* and *приснопамятный,* all of which can now be found in ordinary newspapers. It must, however, be emphasised in conclusion that these are questions of fine judgement and nothing said here should be interpreted as detracting significantly from the overall value of the dictionary.

J. A. DUNN

Exploring Gogol, Robert A. Maguire. *Stanford University Press, Stanford, California. 1994. xxii + 351 pp. Notes. Bibliography. Index.*

Robert A. Maguire's *'Exploring Gogol'* is the third major study of the writer to come from Stanford University Press in the last two years, following Susanne Fusso's *'Designing Dead Souls: An Anatomy of Disorder in Gogol'* (1993) and Cathy Popkin's fascinating work *'The Pragmatics of Insignificance: Chekhov, Zoshchenkio, Gogol'* (1993). Maguire's work is to be applauded firstly for its sheer breadth of scope. It features a far more comprehensive and judicious choice of texts than that covered in *'Gogol from the Twentieth Century'*, a selection of essays published under the author's editorship in 1974. In the introduction to the present work, the author quite rightly eschews tales such as 'The Overcoat' and 'The Nose' which have been flogged in critical literature to within an inch of their lives and instead makes great claim to examine works which have previously been ignored. This is surely commendable and there are stimulating textual analyses of lesser-known works such as 'Viy', the fragment 'Rome', 'Old-World Landowners', 'The Two Ivans' and 'The Portrait'. However, in stressing that the work covers areas hitherto given scant critical attention, Maguire tends to play down the existence of other critical interpretations. One is reminded here of Donald Fanger's assertion in *'The Creation of Nikolai Gogol'* (1979) that 'in the more than a century and a quarter since *Dead Souls* was published and proclaimed a masterpiece, scarcely a single serious critical monograph has been devoted to it'. Likewise, when Maguire contends that *Dead Souls* deserves a weighty interpretive work devoted to it alone since none yet exists in English, he overlooks works by Woodward, by Proffer on the simile in *Dead Souls* and, of course, by Fusso mentioned above.

Nevertheless, all this is far outweighed by the work's advantages and insights. Maguire gives a comprehensive overview of Gogol's career by treating works of both fiction and non-fiction and discussing how one relates to the other. In the main, Maguire identifies three principal phases in Gogol's writings and these form the three sections of the book. The first, which Maguire terms 'Place', is from 1831–6 and covers Gogol's early works in which characters in the Gogolian world create bounded physical systems. Into this category fall 'A Terrible Vengeance', 'Old-World Landowners' and 'The Government Inspector' where much of the action centres on the threat, realised or not, of intrusion from nefarious outside influences or persons into a closed world. 'The Diary of a Madman' is also treated here since madness, as Maguire argues, consists for Gogol of being unaware of one's place in the world.

The second section of the book goes under the title of 'The Apprehending Eye' and covers the period 1836–42, during which Gogol visited Rome and came to be convinced of the superiority of the *visual* as opposed to the *verbal* world. Writing for Gogol had by this time become a process of creating verbal *pictures*. In this part Maguire gives a stimulating interpretation of 'Viy', showing that it can be seen as a battle between the *verbal* power of Khoma Brut's religious incantations and the *visual* power of the monster. Not surprisingly at this stage in Gogol's career, the power of the visual is triumphant.

The final section is simply called 'Word' and considers the last ten years of Gogol's life. It charts Gogol's increasing preoccupation with the word as a way of confronting the world, as a means of social and interpersonal communication and with his prolonged and ultimately tragic inability to convey his deepest feelings in an artistically convincing form. It is here that Maguire treats *'Dead Souls'* as well as *'Selected Passages from Correspondence with Friends'* and *'Meditations on the Divine Liturgy'*. It is by examining works such as the latter two that the author makes some challenging interpretations with regard to the last phase of Gogol's life. He explodes the long-standing myth that Gogol fell victim to some kind of spiritual or religious crisis. The crisis, Maguire suggests, was essentially artistic in its nature – an inability to reconcile the themes of his later non-fictional, spiritual and liturgical writings with the style of his fiction. It is because he deals with Gogol's non-fiction that Maguire is able to shed so much light on the author's career in this way.

Lastly, it is interesting to note that Popkin's work referred to above and Maguire's stand at antithetical points in their methodology and approach to Gogol. Popkin is scornful of those who, like Maguire, see much of the author's work as highly symbolic and metaphoric and attempt to squeeze 'meaningful' detail from the texts. She herself concentrates on Gogol's narrators and their strategies within each story for producing more and more irrelevant detail or 'discourse' at the expense of the 'story'. The two works taken collectively thus provide an ideal overview not only of Gogol's writings but also of Gogol criticism and approaches to his work and Maguire's *'Exploring Gogol'* will remain the most comprehensive and enlightening study of his life and work for many years to come.

SIMON SWANN

Notes for contributors

Contributions

The Editorial Board welcomes previously unpublished articles which will further the cause of the learning and teaching of Russian language and culture.

Contributions are expected to fall into one of these categories:

a) Articles of about 3000 words.

b) Brief (up to 1000 words) items of information, notes on innovative practice, discussion points (including those arising from previous articles).

c) Reviews usually of about 300 to 400 words (longer reviews or articles may be accepted). The guidelines below are intended to help contributors:

Presentation

Articles should be submitted either on computer disk (plus hard copy) or typewritten (daisywheel output preferred).

a) Computer disk: Copy is particularly welcome on floppy disk accompanied by printout. Send one file in the format of your word processor and another in ASCII form (plain text file).

English text can be accepted in any of the following disk formats:

Apple Macintosh.
Amstrad PCW 3" (not 3.5").
IBM compatible 5.25" or 3.5" (latter preferred).
Acorn A3000/Archimedes range in MS-DOS format only.
BBC 40 or 80 track.

Russian text (or Russian and English mixed) is readily acceptable on Amstrad PCW 3" or Apple Macintosh disk (in the latter case depending on the Cyrillic font used) LocoScript PC files may also be acceptable.

Other permutations and formats may be accepted by arrangement with the Editor. Disks will be returned to contributors when no longer required.

b) Typewritten: Type with double spacing. Typewriters or word processors should be set at 44 characters (the equivalent of the line length), as this will help the Editor plan the arrangement of the journal. Handwritten Russian words amid predominantly English text (typewritten or word processed) are also acceptable if written in a clear hand. Please send two copies of the article and keep one for yourself. One copy of the article should be a 'clean' original (i.e. with no corrections and not a photocopy) to enable the printer to scan it. If there are any changes or corrections these should be made on the second copy.

Give your article one short title (not a title and a subtitle), and divide it up with brief subheadings.

Give full references for all sources quoted. Journal policy is to put these at the end of the article and not at the bottom of the page.

Illustrations

Photographs are particularly welcome, as are charts, diagrams and tables where relevant. Please send these at the same time as your article.

Timing

In order to be considered for including in the following issue, articles should normally be sent in by 1st January and 1st July. Where topicality is of the essence, shorter deadlines are possible by negotiations with the Editor.

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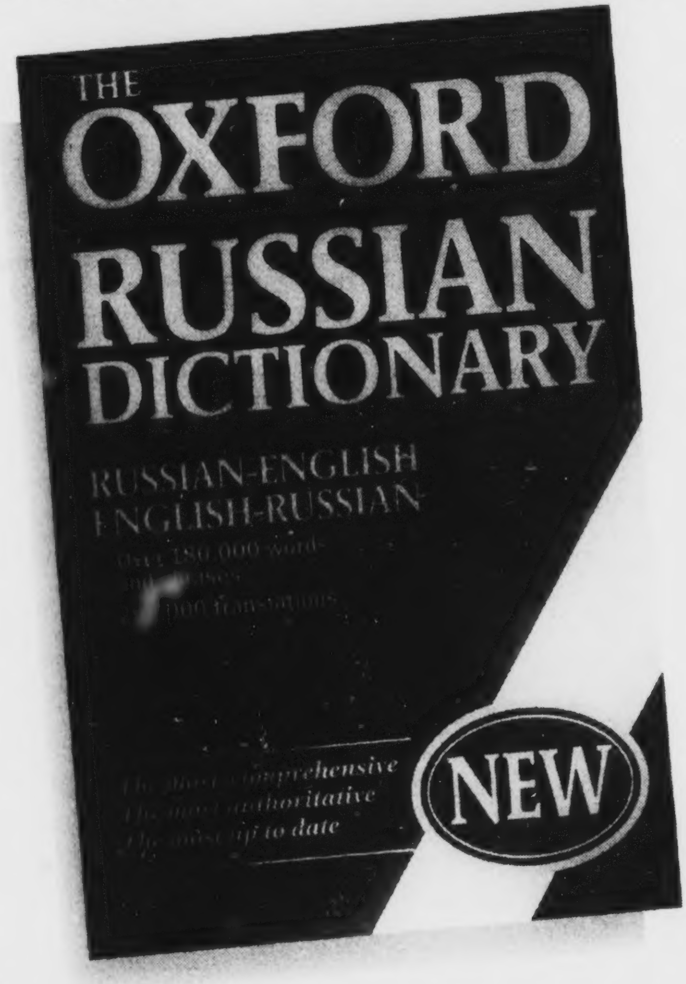
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РУСИСТИКА

December 1995 No. 12

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DECEMBER 1995 No 12

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РУСИСТИКА

The Russian Journal of the Association for Language Learning

TEACHING RUSSIAN TO ADULTS

NEW RUSSIAN WORDS

RUSSIAN AT 78 . . .

JUNE 1996
No 13

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Teaching Russian to adults: a range of approaches

Melanie Jameson

Due to the steady decline in Russian teaching posts in schools, more teachers of Russian are taking on evening classes in order to work with their chosen language. This article, requested following a talk given at the Brasshouse Russian Day in October 1993, outlines a range of possibilities drawn from my own experience over the last few years.

Many of these opportunities are dependent on local contacts with an institute of higher education to whom requests for Russian teaching will often be made and from where jobs are 'farmed out'. The first area for consideration is Russian teaching for specific purposes, calling for the design and delivery of a highly customised package usually requiring a fast 'lift-off' and native-speaker support if the client needs to acquire a specialised vocabulary. S/he may be taking an MBA course involving a marketing project in Russia or be part of a consultancy team. Because of the tight time-scale self-access facilities are essential, either at the institution involved or in the form of home-study audio tapes and video material.

An essential first step is a training needs analysis; various formats are available eliciting past language learning experience, the amount of time that can be spent in private study and a detailed breakdown of the skills required on the job. After an analysis of this information a realistic proposal can be costed and presented. Reproduced below are some considerations I included in a recent language programme:

– Specific terminology covering all aspects of the timber trade from forestry through industrial processes will be provided.

– It is understood that technical texts will be faxed back to the UK for translation.

– The vocabulary from each lesson will be recorded onto the student's audio cassette to facilitate revision and practice.

– Cultural awareness is to be built into the course.

Useful publications for the delivery of this type of course include, for language study, 'Teach yourself quick and easy Russian' (Hodder and Stoughton) with tape and, for the practical and cultural side, 'Russia, a travel survival kit' (Lonely Planet Publications).

A different approach is required when assisting British hosts in coping with a Russian delegation. Although an interpreter will be present for the formal interchanges, it is the informal occasions when the Russian guest and British host are reduced to making friendly gestures and smiling awkwardly at each other that call for assistance. The ideal product in this instance is a taped course with maximum support; this would include translation and transliteration, so that the necessary phrases can be easily acquired and practised in advance of the visit. Obvious topics include greetings, food and drink, social vocabulary (mainly polite enquiries and possible responses), phrases that are needed for discussing a schedule, toasts, entertaining at home and planning for leisure. These areas are more or less standard but the section on visits to the workplace has to be personalised each time. The Russians always appreciate the effort made by their hosts and may borrow the tapes to learn a little English.

Beware: though seemingly a simple task, the formulating, writing and taping of such a course is inevitably more time-consuming than first appears!

This is especially true of my next category – distance learning – which could involve contacting a college with a language centre/open learning facility and enquiring whether they offer Russian. It may be possible to produce materials by modelling your proposals on the house styles of existing French and German courses. If these courses are operating without tutor control, the content must be highly structured with adequate revision and activities designed to check that work has been learnt before moving on. Male and female Russian voices will be required on taped material.

Even within the evening class set-up there are different options available and decisions to make:

Should some attempt be made to give class instructions in the target language?

Will the course be simply recreational or will the class be working towards a certificate? In the latter case, I would recommend consideration of the excellent Graded Tests produced by the Languages Development Centre, St Martin's College, Lancaster, LA1 3JD; this scheme provides active and passive vocabulary, well thought out tests of oral, aural and reading ability, continuity between levels and a recently produced handbook.

Maybe a combined 'Russian Life and Language' course is most appropriate. In this case it is unlikely that the students will reach a recognised certifiable level in the language after one year's study. However the checklist of achievements approach is still valid, possibly supported by a document from the college. Matters under consideration will now concern methodology – weighing up the advantages of an informal oral/aural approach against grappling with declensions and conjugations. How should students record their work, in printed or handwritten Russian? And, regarding the background studies, will these be concerned with Russia or the former Soviet Union as a whole? The Cambridge Certificate in Russian and Russian Studies may be taken after one or two years of evening class and combines a very simple basic level of language with information and project work on Russia.

The final option for delivering a Russian course is Russian Studies without a language component; this type of course is appropriate for residential weekends or University Summer Programmes and assumes a reasonably educated audience without specialist knowledge who are seeking an informative, challenging experience. Sessions in such courses may well be long (3 hours morning or/and afternoon) calling for a variety of presentational methods. Vivid Russian/Soviet posters displaying the theme of the session, and changed daily, make a dynamic impact, videoed material of a historical or cultural nature can be interspersed with brief lectures (for which the students are provided with outlines) and followed by structured group discussions carefully balancing the personalities of the students. Material can be presented in a 'Fill in the Gaps' format encouraging students to work in pairs to pool their knowledge of recent events as they complete the sheet. Political cartoons and realia (such as reissues of coins and notes to demonstrate the effects of inflation) can be handed round and selected newspaper cuttings grouped into topic headings enabling the class to formulate and offer informed opinions.

In conclusion, finding work in Russian increasingly requires us, the teachers, to be proactive, contacting the institutions or industrial and commercial centres ourselves rather than waiting for interesting work to fall into our laps. This article is a testimony to the varied opportunities that still arise with luck and perseverance!

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From Soviet block to post-Soviet camp

J. A. Dunn

It is difficult to imagine Leonid Brezhnev turning in his grave, but if anything is likely to have induced this particular feat of posthumous gymnastics, it is the elections to Russia's Государственная дума which took place in December 1995. Not only were these elections contested by no fewer than 43 different political parties, electoral blocks and social-political movements,[1] but the head of the main Communist party, Gennadii Ziuganov, was introduced to the electorate of Russia as 'лидер Коммунистической партии Российской Федерации'; if this were not enough, the only party to be represented in its pre-election party political broadcasts by an official bearing Brezhnev's own title of Генеральный секретарь was Партия любителей пива. As these examples show, the apparently simple and seemingly unchanging nature of Soviet political language and reality has given way to structures that are far more complex and unstable, and while it is far beyond the scope of one article (and of the competence of the present writer) to make total sense of the changes that have taken place, it is hoped that an examination of some aspects of the language and imagery used in the 1995 elections will provide at least some useful indications.

The comments which follow are based on the observation of the party political broadcasts transmitted on the first channel of Russian television (ORT) in the month preceding the elections. Each party was allowed in this period a total of thirty minutes free air time (made up of four separate broadcasts) on each of the two main channels. The format of the broadcasts (usually monologue, interview, film-clip or a combination of two or more of these elements) was chosen by the parties themselves, who were also allowed to buy additional slots. The free broadcasts were transmitted in thirty-minute blocks, one in the morning and one in the early evening, and the order of transmission was determined by lot. The original schedule was somewhat disrupted by the fact that the forty-third party was not registered until after the campaign had begun.

It is appropriate to begin by looking at the names of the parties themselves. Since many of these are not widely known, a full list is attached below. The parties are listed in the order in which they appeared on the ballot paper (also determined by lot), since many of them made extensive use of their number during the course of the campaign. The names given below are not necessarily the same as those which appeared on the ballot paper, but represent the forms most widely used in the election broadcasts.

1. Женщины России
2. Держава
3. Дума-96
4. Преображение отечества
5. Блок «Тихонов-Туполев-Тихонов»
6. Российское общенародное движение (РОД)
7. Нур
8. Федерально-демократическое движение — за честную Россию
9. Блок восьми партий
10. Межнациональный союз
11. Стабильная Россия
12. Поколение рубежа
13. Моё отечество
14. За Родину!
15. Общее дело
16. Блок независимых
17. Наш дом — Россия
18. Блок «Памфилова-Гуров-Вл. Лысенко»
19. Яблоко
20. Вперёд Россия!

21. Блок 89
22. Экологическая партия России «Кедр»
23. Демократический выбор России — Объединённые демократы
24. Партия российского единства и согласия (ПРЕС)
25. Коммунистическая партия Российской Федерации
26. Блок Станислава Говорухина
27. Ассоциация адвокатов России
28. Национально-республиканская партия России
29. Социал-демократы
30. Власть народу!
31. Конгресс русских общин
32. Союз труда
33. Либерально-демократическая партия России (ЛДПР)
34. Блок Джуны
35. Партия самоуправления трудящихся
36. Коммунисты — Трудовая Россия — За Советский Союз
37. Партия любителей пива
38. Блок Ивана Рыбкина
39. Партия экономической свободы
40. Партия вкладчиков — Народный союз
41. Аграрная партия России
42. Христиане России
43. Союз работников жилищно-коммунального хозяйства

It will be seen from this list that any examination of the nomenclature of Russian political parties is complicated by the fact that some parties combined two or more names in their titles (Nos. 23, 40 and perhaps 8), while one party (No. 36) had a name made up of three elements. Furthermore, one party to all intents and purposes campaigned under no name at all, being known variously as Блок восьми партий or Блок № 9.

From the point of view of nomenclature the parties can be divided into several categories, although for the reason already stated several will fall into more than one category. The first of these is made up of the ten (if No. 9 is excluded) which use the word партия in their title: Nos. 22, 24, 25, 28, 33, 35, 37, 39, 40, 41. Most of these have names which express their basic orientation in a clear and straightforward fashion: there should be no doubt what, at least in general terms, Аграрная партия России, Партия экономической свободы or Партия самоуправления трудящихся stand for.

There are, however, some oddities: it is not immediately obvious from the name that the Национально-республиканская партия России is an extreme ethnic Russian nationalist party, while it is generally agreed that the Либерально-демократическая партия России, whatever its real policies may be, is not conspicuously liberal or democratic. Interestingly, the latter party is increasingly referred to, both by its leader and by his opponents by its initials, while the opponents often call it simply партия Жириновского. This may be just a time-saving device, but it may also reflect an awareness of the incongruity of the full name; it is also possible, now that демократы tends in Russian to refer to a particular political orientation (essentially liberal, pro-western), which Zhirinovskii spent much of his time attacking, that the full name of the party would actually be off-putting to the sort of voter that the ЛДПР would want to or is likely to attract.

The second category is made up of those parties which use in their titles a word such as союз, блок or движение, which, if not synonyms, fulfil in this context the same function as the word партия; there are eight of these: Nos. 6, 8, 10, 16, 21, 31, 32, 40. Into this category can also be placed two organisations which are not political parties in any recognisable sense, but trade associations: Ассоциация адвокатов России and Союз работников жилищно-коммунального хозяйства (representing those employed in the public housing sector). Two of the names are worthy of comment: Народный союз is a name so imprecise that it could probably be used to promote any policy short of the outright espousal of fratricidal civil war, hence presumably the explanatory Партия вкладчиков (the party represents the so-called 'deceived investors', those who lost money in the collapse of various dubious banks and financial institutions). Конгресс русских общин, which at a time when the distinction between русский and российский is one of the corner-stones of post-Soviet political correctness, was the only party to use the former as part of its title. This is a reflection of the organisation's origins as a body set up to defend the rights of Russian communities stranded outside Russia, but, intentionally or otherwise, it did allow for an ambiguity as to which type of nationalism the party supported.

A third category is made up of those parties which simply said who they were, describing their orientation without recourse to such words as партия, блок etc. There are five of these: Nos. 1, 23 (part 2), 29, 36 (part 1), 42.

The next category is made of those parties which used acronyms. Several parties used or were referred to by their initials to a greater or lesser extent: Nos. 17 (НДР), 23 (ДВР), 24 (ПРЕС), 25 (КПРФ), 31 (КРО), 33 (ЛДПР), 37 (ПЛП), 39 (ПЭС), 41 (АПР); this is hardly an unusual feature of modern Russian, and the above list is not guaranteed to be complete. In three instances, the acronym formed a real word: РОД, used somewhat tentatively by No. 6, perhaps because the word did not quite fit that party's multi-ethnic and multi-confessional nationalism, КЕДР and Яблоко. The last two are worthy of comment. In the 1993 elections the ecologists campaigned as Конструктивно-экологическое движение России (КЕДР), thereby providing what appears to be the first example in Russian of the procedure whereby some appropriate-sounding acronym is chosen first, with a more or less plausible full title selected to fit the initials. In the 1995 elections, however, the party had changed its name to Экологическая партия России «КЕДР», so that КЕДР was no longer treated as an acronym, the party having perhaps discovered in the intervening period either that Конструктивно-экологическое движение России did not really mean anything, or that it did not quite spell КЕДР.[2] Curiously, in the party's election broadcast of 14 December this word was interpreted as standing for Кому еще дорога Россия, thereby making it an example of the unusual phenomenon of an acronym with two completely different explanations.

The name Яблоко has a history which in some respects is similar to that of КЕДР. It was adopted in 1993 by the Явлинский-Болдырев-Лукин party as a quasi-acronym of the names of the three party leaders, though it was used only unofficially. By 1995 it had ceased to be an acronym, Boldyrev having gone elsewhere, and had become apparently the sole and official name of the party.

What has happened is that КЕДР and Яблоко have changed categories, moving from being acronyms to slogans. Apart from these examples, there are sixteen further parties which use slogans for names: Nos. 2, 3, 4, 7, 8 (part 2), 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 20, 23 (part 1), 30, 36 (parts 2 and 3), thus making it the most popular form of nomenclature. Some slogan names are as effective as more conventional types of nomenclature in indicating the general orientation of a particular party, and names such as Стабильная Россия, Трудовая Россия (presumably neither is modelled intentionally on Субтропическая Россия, a joke party which figured in a spoof party political broadcast in 1993),[3] and Власть народу! seem clear enough. Others, however, such as Яблоко, КЕДР, Нур (Arabic for light),[4] amount to nothing more than a vaguely positive image, and some, for example Дума-96, Поколение рубежа, are downright obscure.

Some slogans have a patriotic slant: Вперёд Россия!, Держава, За Родину!, Моё отечество are all the names of parties which profess nationalist policies of one sort or another. It is interesting to note three different words which can describe the nation in uplifting patriotic terms (держава, Родина, отечество); the one party to espouse a militaristic, explicitly Soviet nationalism was За Родину!. Of these words the one which is perhaps the least nationalistic is отечество, and the party Преображение отечества is, as is not immediately clear from the name, concerned more or less exclusively with regional policies.

Two slogans stress inclusiveness: Общее дело and the 'prime-ministerial' party's Наш дом — Россия, with its use of the strongly inclusive pronoun наш and the echoes of Gorbachev's общеевропейский дом. In other respects the name was rather less successful; Prime Minister Chernomyrdin's previous associations with gas industry leaving it open to the nickname Наш дом — Газпром.

Finally, for those parties unable to come up with any form of descriptive nomenclature whatsoever there remained the option of simply using the name(s) of the leader(s). This category was brought into use in 1993 by the Явлинский-Болдырев-Лукин party, and the pattern of using three names was copied by two parties: Памфилова-Гуров-Владимир Лысенко and Тихонов-Туполев-Тихонов. Three names have a certain rhythm, and indeed the former is in amphibrachic metre, while the latter combines dactylic metre with alliteration. An alternative to three names is simply to name the party after its leader, a form of nomenclature adopted by three parties: Nos. 26, 34 and 38. It might seem at first sight to imply a certain political friendlessness, but in one of the broadcasts for Ivan Rybkin's block it was claimed that the party is an alliance of over fifty other groups and parties. Rybkin, a former Speaker of the Duma and Stanislav Govorukhin, a film director with a penchant for using his party political broadcasts for showing extracts from his films, but an active member of the Duma, are well-known public figures and more or less conventional politicians; Dzhuna (*née* Evgeniia Iuvashevna Davitashvili), leader of an alliance of several small parties, is a practitioner of alternative medicine, founder of the International Academy of Alternative Sciences and inventor of the *биокорректор* Dzhuna-1.

In a newspaper article discussing the names of the parties that contested the 1993 elections[5] it was suggested that the names such as ЛДПР, which follow western patterns, are typical of parties formed in the perestroika period, when the orientation towards the west, at least among the political classes, was at its strongest. This is borne out in general terms, if not in all particulars, by the 1995 data. To take groups using the word партия, Национально-республиканская партия России, Партия самоуправления трудящихся, Партия любителей пива and Партия вкладчиков — Народный союз did not exist in 1993, while Экологическая партия России «КЕДР» did not use the term партия then (Партия экономической свободы existed, but did not gain enough signatures to contest the elections). If to these are added the various small parties that make up No. 9 and Блок Джуны, then it would seem clear that the word партия has not fallen totally out of favour, though the proportion of groups using this word is lower than in 1993, when it was five out of thirteen. Nevertheless, only two of the new formations using the word партия, ЭПР «КЕДР» and ПЛП, derive their names directly from foreign models, thought the latter is inspired not by western sources, but by the similarly-titled parties which contested elections in Czechoslovakia and Poland. There is, however, one linguistic curiosity: the two parties which were most vigorous in promoting an ethnic Russian nationalism (as opposed to a nationalism based on the state of Russia or even the Soviet Union), Либерально-демократическая партия России (an older name) and Национально-республиканская партия России (a new name), both had titles that were, with the exception of the word Россия, made up entirely of international loan-words.

A clear tendency to move away from western patterns of nomenclature can be discerned in the increased use of names based on slogans (only three out of thirteen parties had this type of name in 1993) or the surnames of party leaders, since these types are not widely found in countries of Central and Western Europe. In discussion following an oral presentation of this paper and in conversation with Russians it has been suggested that the use of slogan-based names is a return to the patterns of Soviet-type political rhetoric, and these patterns can indeed be seen in names such as За Родину! and Власть народу!. Nevertheless, the matter is not quite so simple: one prominent example of a slogan-based name to emerge recently in the west is Silvio Berlusconi's *Forza Italia*, and Boris Fedorov's Вперёд Россия!, which is modelled on western-type right-wing parties, would appear to derive its name from this particular source. Not so, however, according to Fedorov himself, who in one of his election broadcasts (29 November) linked the name not to Berlusconi, but to Gogol'.

The question of Soviet political rhetoric does not relate only to the names of the political parties, and it is interesting to examine the use made during the campaign of the language, symbols and images of the Soviet period. Many parties, it must be said, made no use of these whatsoever, which is, perhaps, in itself an interesting comment on how Russia has developed since August 1991. Those parties that made opposition to communism and the threat of a return to the Soviet life that they perceived in the likely success of the Communist Party a part of their programme, or those parties with a clear western orientation would hardly be expected to adorn their broadcasts with hammers and sickles, though Демократический выбор России and Федерально-демократическое движение both showed extracts from Soviet-era newsreels as a reminder to voters.

Rather more interest is provided by those parties that displayed a more sympathetic attitude to Soviet values. First among these is the КПРФ, though its distinctly ambivalent attitude towards the Soviet past is reflected in its symbol: this uses the hammer and sickle, embellished, however, with a book, presumably to attract members of the intelligentsia, while the slogan round the outside has not only труд — народовластие — социализм (in 1993 the party's slogan had справедливость instead of социализм), but also РОССИЯ, written in the pseudo-antique script that is fashionable at the present time and which unambiguously suggests pre-Soviet values.

For a clear endorsement of the Soviet Union it is necessary to turn to two parties: Коммунисты-Трудовая Россия-Советский Союз and За Родину!. The former uses as its emblem a hammer and sickle inside a five-pointed star, a device taken from the cap-badge of Soviet servicemen, and used the stirring tune of the former Soviet anthem as background music for a part of its broadcasts. The latter in some ways was even more outspoken: after the Commander of the Black Sea Fleet (since dismissed) defended the continuing use of Soviet emblems in front of a large flag of the Soviet navy with its prominent hammer and sickle and red star, a film was shown of various military and naval scenes, a clip which was presumably intended to be inspiring, but which was so overstated that many viewers must have found it difficult to take it seriously. The message of За Родину! is, however, perhaps not totally consistent: elsewhere in the same broadcasts it displayed the slogan ЧЄСТЬ И РОДИНА ПРЄВЪІШЄ ВСЄГО, using for the letter ы a form (where the first part consists of ъ) which has not been current in Russian since the fifteenth century.[6]

It is perhaps worth mentioning here that one other party used the hammer and sickle, albeit in a more dynamic form: Союз труда formed the emblem from its initials, using the sickle to symbolise a rocket going up into space. In spite of the emblem and the name, this party was not a Communist party, but a union of industrialists and workers, representing, for the most part, the heavy industry sector.

There is one further occurrence of Soviet imagery that is worthy of mention. ORT had expressed the hope at the beginning of the campaign that parties would agree to organise their broadcasts in the form of debates,[7] but in the event only two politicians, Irina Khakamada of Общее дело and Aleksandr Rutskoi of Держава, agreed to this procedure. Their debate, broadcast on 20 November, was chaired by Aleksandr Liubimov and took place in the studio setting normally used for Liubimov's regular debating programme *Один на один.* For this programme the studio is festooned with various flags, emblems and slogans, many, though not all of which date from the Soviet era.[8] The programme normally (though not on this occasion) features a number of jokey devices, such as a life-size doll bearing the slogan 'Во всем виноват Президент', which participants are invited to punch, and in this context the use of Soviet iconography can only be interpreted as yet another attempt at humour, rather than as a serious political statement either for or against the Soviet system.

A similar phenomenon can be found with Soviet political language. The use of Soviet-type slogans for the names of parties, as noted above, is something of an exception, since in general this type of language seems to have disappeared more or less completely and, indeed, more or less overnight after the collapse of the August 1991 coup and is mostly avoided even by those who have not renounced Soviet values. The present writer undertook for a different exercise a careful monitoring of a half-hour broadcast by the КПРФ in the 1993 campaign and found only one, rather doubtful example of a Soviet political expression, noting also the general absence of such language from the pages of such newspapers as *Pravda* and *Sovetskaia Rossija*.[9] The broadcasts shown as part of 1995 campaign do not present a different picture.

The main repository for Soviet-type language was two parties that campaigned on a position which was anti-politician, if not anti-politics. Блок независимых showed in some of its broadcasts a clip mocking various parties (individually or generically); the hall where the 'political meetings' are supposedly taking place is decorated with various banners, one of which bears the slogan 'Советское значит шампанское'. This is based on the phrase Советское значит отличное, though the joke is apolitical, since it is a mere play on words that makes no comment on the Soviet system. Interestingly, however, the other mock slogans used were at the same time political comments on the particular point of view that was being satirised.

The other party to play this game was the Партия любителей пива, which, in addition to having its Генеральный секретарь, as mentioned at the beginning of this article, also in one of its broadcasts displayed a series of more or less jokey slogans described as taken из тезисов ПЛП к выборам, using a term much loved by the CPSU. These usages formed part of a jokey campaign, but they do not in themselves have any political content, either of a pro-Soviet or an anti-Soviet nature. It is precisely this knowing, jokey and apolitical use of Soviet language (as with Блок независимых and ПЛП) or imagery (as in the studio setting for the Khakamada-Rutskoi debate) that merits the classification of post-Soviet camp.

Although this is only a 'snapshot' of a political and linguistic scene which is likely to undergo continuing change (it is not clear whether one or 120 parties will contest the next elections to the Duma), there are two conclusions to be drawn from this material. The first is that for all the comments and complaints that are made about the 'westernisation' and even the 'anglicisation' of Russian, including the language of politics, when it comes to the nomenclature of political parties Russia is developing on its own individual lines, with names following peculiarly Russian models playing an increasing rôle. Even where a specific foreign influence seems to be discernible in the name of a particular party, as in the cases of Вперёд Россия! (albeit not admitted by the party's leader) and ПЛП, the influences are Italian and Central European respectively. There is, however, no necessary link between type of name and political orientation: ethnic Russian nationalist parties may have names following western models and made up of internationalisms (ЛДПР, НРПР), while parties with a western orientation may have names belonging to Russian patterns (Демократический выбор России, Вперёд России!).

When it comes to Soviet political language and imagery, here too there is a certain disjunction of language and ideology. If in the first period after the collapse of the Soviet system the ironic use of Sovietisms had a deliberately mocking effect (i.e. intentionally anti-Soviet), and if Soviet imagery and, less often, Soviet language can still be used seriously by certain extreme groupings, for the most part the language and imagery of the Soviet period has become merely one resource among many. It no longer carries any clear political message, but is available to those of any or no political persuasion to be used, alongside, for example, youth slang or even Church Slavonic for what is essentially no more than stylistic effect.

Notes

1 As will be seen, only a minority of the organisations contesting the elections used the word партия; the most common alternatives, used in conjunction with other types of nomenclature, were избирательный блок and общественно политическое движение. In order, however, to avoid undue complication, the word party will be used hereafter in the English text as a generic term to refer to all the different organisations, regardless of their precise Russian titles.

2 The name was mocked by the journalist Sergei Mostovshchikov in the article 'TV: DPR, KPR, LDPR, PD "ZhèRè", OPD "Dè i Mè" i t.d. i t.p.', *Izvestiia*, 2 December 1993.

3 *Press-klub*, Ostankino-TV, 7 December 1993.

4 Нур was an Islamic party; it was the only party with a non-Russian name and the only party to use languages other than Russian in its national campaign, in that each broadcast began in Arabic and one broadcast (23 November) was conducted partly in Bashkir and Kazakh.

5 Vladimir Ivanitskii, 'Chto v imeni tebe moem', *Nezavisimaia gazeta*, 14 December 1993.

6 E. F. Karskii, *Slavianskaia kirillovskaia paleografiia*, Leningrad, 1928 (reprint: Moscow, 1979), p. 204.

7 *Vremia*, ORT, 15 November 1995.

8 It is against this background that there occurred the most surreal moment of the campaign, as a gentleman in Tsarist army uniform solemnly asked Khakamada which masonic lodge she belonged to. At the conclusion of the campaign (15 December) an unscheduled debate between Egor Gaidar and a Communist was also chaired by Liubimov, but the setting described above was not used.

9 J. A. Dunn, 'The Transformation of Russian from a Language of the Western type to a language of the Soviet type' (forthcoming).

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Развитие языковых творческих способностей учащихся при изучении окказионализмов

Irina Nikolskaya

Окказионализм как особая разновидность лексики представляет собой такое слово, изучение которого позволяет активизировать мышление учащихся и открывает большие возможности для развития языковых творческих способностей учащихся. Для успешного использования окказиональной лексики в учебном процессе при обучении русскому языку как иностранному целесообразно рассмотреть такие особенности этих слов, учет которых может оказаться полезным для разработки методических приемов развития языковых творческих способностей учащихся.

Под лексическими окказионализмами в лингвистике принято понимать «слово или оборот, употребленные говорящим или пишущим один раз, для данного случая».[1,95] В качестве примера можно привести слова, созданные В. В. Маяковским в стихотворении «Дачный случай»: «зеленеет **березная рядь**», «**офренчились** формы костюма», «**облесочкана** каждая пядь» и др.[2,142] Рассматривая приведенное лингвистическое определение окказиональной лексики, мы видим, что оно отнесено к плану продуцирования. Психолингвистическое же описание окказионализмов требует, чтобы в их определении был учтен не только план продукции, но и рецепции.

С точки зрения психолингвистики под **окказиональным** словом или окказиональным созначением многозначного слова (лексикосемантическим вариантом) следует понимать такое слово (созначение) которое оценивается читающим (слушающим) как воспринимаемое впервые и по своим семантическим характеристикам настолько связанное с предьявленным текстом, что вне его в речевой практике использовано быть не может. В качестве таковых в первую очередь выступают характеристики экспрессивно-эмоциональные.

Ограничения, обусловливающие узкое (единичное) употребление окказиональной лексики, связаны не только с ее принадлежностью к определенным стилям речи, но и с ее особой экспрессивной нагруженностью. Так, подмеченное К. И. Чуковским в детской речи окказиональное новообразование «отмухиваться»[3,40] по своему семантическому обьему не равно словосочетанию «отмахиваться от мух». Кроме значения, заключенного в этом словосочетании, новообразование «отмухиваться» несет еще **дополнительную экспрессивно-эмоциональную информацию** о своеобразии детской речи, вызывает не только предметнообобщающий образ, но и придает восприятию дополнительную «тембровую» окраску.

Не следует думать, что повышение эмоциональности восприятия окказиональной лексики обьясняется только особой структурой новообразований («огромнить» — оглушить громом голоса — В. Маяковский, «блистенький» — блестящий + чистенький — К. Чуковский) или их внутренней формой. Необходимо учитывать, что дополнительный эмоциональный эффект вызывается именно фактором **необычности**, ощущением принадлежности окказионализма именно к данному контексту.

В связи с этим необходимо, хотя бы кратко, рассмотреть некоторые психологические аспекты процесса восприятия окказионализмов применительно к смысловому восприятию лексики.

Как известно, восприятие предполагает «сопоставление, сличение, сверку образа, возникающего в индивидуальном сознании»,[4,243] с образом воспринимаемого предмета, в данном случае — окказионального слова. Поскольку образ такого слова не мог быть зафиксирован в сознании воспринимающего в предшествующем языковом опыте, восприятие слова, оцениваемого как необычное, вызывает отчетливую ориентировочную реакцию и связанное с этим возбуждение подкорковых областей головного мозга. Это в свою очередь вызывает активизацию соответствующих областей коры больших полушарий. У реципиента возникает повышенное эмоциональное состояние.

Так, еще до того, как реципиент проникнет в семантику окказионального слова, оно, уже в силу своей новизны и необычности, вызывает повышенную эмоциональность восприятия текста. У воспринимающего возникает установка на «поиск» дополнительного, особого оттенка значения этого слова, как окказионализма, возникает направленная фиксация внимания на нахождение основы для соотмесения окказионализма с контекстом. Все это, вместе взятое, и обеспечивает особо благоприятные психо-физиологические условия восприятия окказиональной лексики, стимулирующие активность читающего (слушающего) в отношении предьявляемого слова.

Однако, поскольку окказионализм как целостный предмет при непосредственном восприятии не может быть опознан, активность воспринимающего должна быть направлена на отыскании в предьявленном предмете (или его окружении) знакомых элементов. Так, воспринимающий, наряду с переработкой контекста и лексического состава слова, выделив в окказионализме «облесочкать» в качестве знакомой словообразовательную модель «об- + основа гл. + -ать» может совершить акт рецептивного синтезирования (об- + лес- + очк- + -ать) и перекодировать это слово в «засадить лесами, озеленить» и т.п. Соотнесение с микроконтекстом «опять / облесочкана / каждая пядь, / опушками / обопушкана» приводит к адекватному раскрытию значения окказионального слова и пониманию его смысла.

Необходимо отметить, что в процессе проникновения в смысл окказионализма при переходе в раскрытии значения от одного шага к другому рефлекторное кольцо[5] остается разомкнутым. В каждом шаге замыкается промежуточная, позвенная афферентация.[6] Это обеспечивает постоянное подкрепление ориентировочных действий и поддержание повышенного эмоционального состояния реципиента в процессе всего времени семантизации окказионализмов. Замыкание конечного звена обратной афферентации, сигнализирующего о достижении желаемого результата — семантизации окказионального слова — вызывает положительно окрашенную эмоцию достижения цели.

Сопровождающий семантизацию окказионализмов комплекс эмоций составляет одну из важных психолингвистических характеристик их восприятия. В комплекс таких эмоций входят так называемые «языковые», на которые следует обратить особое внимание, поскольку они субьективно переживаются как удовлетворенность результатом с самого речевого акта.

Как известно, замыкание конечного звена обратной афферентации всегда связано с положительными эмоциями. Так, например, подпрыгнув и сорвав с дерева яблоко, человек испытывает эмоцию удовлетворенности не только потому, что стал обладателем желанного плода, но и потому, что само действие (подпрыгивание, хватание яблока, приземление и т.п.) во всех своих звеньях совпало с его запланированным образом, с программой его развертывания.[7] В ещё большей степени эмоции удовлетворения адекватным и результативным совершением действия характерны для деятельности интеллектуальной, к которой относят и деятельность речевую.[8]

Внешнее проявление актуализации «языковых эмоций» при работе с окказионализмами мы наблюдали на занятиях русским языком со студентами из Великобритании и США. Их «языковые эмоции» проявлялись в улыбках, восклицаниях и наглядно свидетельствовали о решении некоторой проблемной задачи, сопровождающемся эмоцией удовлетворенности. Положительная эмоция, возникнув как следствие замыкания конечного звена обратной афферентации, сигнализирует не только о получении результата как такового, но и о преодолении затруднения, вызванного возникновением проблемной ситуации. Самостоятельная семантизация таких незнакомых проблемных слов как «москводушие» (В. Г. Белинский), «кюхельбекерно» (А. С. Пушкин) и тому подобное сопровождается обычно возникновением чувства озарения, инсайта, вызывает яркое внешнее проявление эмоций. «Зрелище», в котором из бессмысленного рождается смысл, само по себе вызывает удовлетворение».[9,27]

Описанное свойство переработки окказионализмов делает их важным средством развития творческих языковых способностей учащихся, развивает их речевое мышление применительно к базе изучаемого языка, способствует формированию чувства языка, стимулирует формирование зрелого чтеца. Направленное формирование всех этих качеств может быть достигнуто системой специальных упражнений, предполагающих отбор и градуированное введение в учебные тексты окказиональной лексики.

Допустимость включения в учебный текст того или иного окказионализма определяется в первую очередь степенью доступности его для самостоятельной семантизации читающим (слушающим) данного уровня владения языком. Поскольку окказиональное слово предьявляется, как правило, в контексте (если текст состоит даже только из одного слова, в речи оно включается в контекст ситуации), то всегда те или иные его компоненты, либо компоненты его окружения выступают для воспринимающего в качестве знакомых. В качестве нового выступает, как правило, само окказиональное образование. Наибольшая степень проблемности в этом случае заключена в семантической стороне (значении) слова, которое воспринимающий должен установить самостоятельно. Грамматический уровень фразы, обусловленный замкнутостью грамматической системы языка, всегда наиболее стереотипен[10,11] и наиболее эксплицитно манифестирован. При восприятии текста он скорее всего выступает как вплетенный в лексическую канву смыслового восприятия.[12] При этом, несмотря на комплексный в принципе характер переработки информации текста,[13] в качестве ведущего выступает, по-видимому, аспект синтаксический. Более высокий ранг синтаксических признаков подтверждается тем, что аномальные морфологические признаки интерпретируются именно как таковые в свете признаков синтаксических, строевых, дистрибутивных и так далее. Например, в предложении «У него нет никакого **суло**», последнее слово (квази-слово) интерпретируется как стоящее в родительном падеже, хотя его морфологическая форма выступает здесь как аномальная. Соотношение грамматической информации с данными лексического контекста, как правило, делает значение незнакомого слова очевидным.

Так, в предложении «Девушка была непреклонна и отвечала громким **цуцичи** на обьяснение в любви,[14,25] значение незнакомого слова (даже с аномальными морфологическими признаками) достаточно достоверно устанавливается как «отказ(ом)», что подтверждается его смысловой связью со словом «непреклонный».

Если процесс понимания незнакомой лексики совершается только в опоре на грамматические признаки и контекст (при невозможности опереться на словообразовательную или семантическую форму незнакомого слова), по основной психолингвистической характеристике этого процесса его принято рассматривать как случай логической **выводимости**.[15,54] Такая выводимость обеспечивает обычно закономерное, прослеживаемое во всех звеньях однозначнов решение. Так, например, каким бы квази-лексическим словом не заменялся пропуск в предложении «Он подошел к горному ключу и напился студеной ...-ы», оно будет с очень высокой степенью вероятности семантизироваться как существительное «воды». Характер логической выводимости носит и определение значения незнакомого слова в опоре на дефиницию и неявные определения.

Во всех указанных случаях использование окказионализмов тексте точки зрения возможности их самостоятельной семантизации следует считать вполне допустимым. Однако надо иметь в виду, что опора на один лишь логический контекст, в котором неизвестное слово может быть уподоблено произвольному набору букв или знаков (символу, прочерку и тому подобное), по воздействию на воспринимающего неименее эффективно, поскольку в таком контексте семантизируемое слово лишается экспрессивно-эмоциональной окраски. Действительно, если в предложении «Навострите ваши **цуцичи** и слушайте»[14,25] выделенное слово заменить произвольным набором букв («Навострите ваши **карфичи...**») или прочерком («Навострите ваши _____ и слушайте»), то квази-слова будут во всех случаях семантизироваться как «уши», но нести какой-либо дополнительный экспрессивно-емоциональный оттенок не будут. Поэтому в контекстах, отличающихся погической выводимостью, окказионализмы используются относительно редко.

От логической следует отличать собственно **языковую выводимость**, при которой значение окказионализма может быть самостоятельно раскрыто в опоре на его языковую форму. Наиболее распространены случаи, когда значение окказионализма становится ясным в опоре на значение морфем и словообразовательную модель. Так, значение окказиональных слов «**оскучнять**» — делать скучным, «**трескословие**» — трескотня + пустословие, «**строчкогон**» — писака[16] легко и достоверно выводимы из соотнесения морфем и словообразующих моделей этих слов. При этом эмоционально-оценочная сторона таких слов оказывается включенной в восприятие и без учета широкого контекста. Такие окказионализмы можно отнести к **внеконтекстным**. Действенность окказионализмов этого вида несомненна. Значение описанных окказионализмов в опоре на составляющие их морфемы раскрывается однозначно.

В отличие от названных выше окказионализмов значение такого производного слова, как «бесконфликтчик» не может быть семантизировано однозначно при восприятии вне контекста. «Бесконфликтчиком» может быть назван и человек уживчивый, покладистый, и подверженный конформизму, и стремящийся все уладить без споров. Сама словообразовательная форма и значение морфем не обеспечивают однозначного понимания слова. Вместе с тем, они позволяют пробудить в сознании реципиента некоторое семантическое поле, ограничивающее и направляющее дальнейший семантический поиск («бесконфликтчик» — человек, наделенный качествами не порождать конфликта или уходить от него). Такое слово и вне контекста воспринимается как окказионализм, вызывая ориентировочную реакцию, хотя в этом случае оно не несет выраженного «эмоционального» накала. Пересечение такого поля с контекстом[9] обеспечивает однозначный результат: в статье о драматургии «бесконфликтчик» — автор, занимающийся лакировкой действительности. Именно в результате пересечения с контекстом этот окказионализм приобретает определеннуп экспрессивно-эмоциональную характеристику (в нашем случае — порождает отрицательные эмоции). Эти окказионализмы можно назвать **контекстными**.

При включении их в текст целесообразно проводить контрольное тестирование на выводимость. Так как полученные в процессе интроспекции данные проведенных автором мыслительных экспериментов[17] являются субъективными, для того, чтобы судить о доступности окказионализма для понимания, было проведено тестирование именно тех групп обучаемих, на восприятие которых текст рассчитан.

Система упражнений, предусматривающая умение понимать окказионализмы, может быть кратко представлена такой последовательностью:

— упражнения на обнаружение окказионализмов,

— алгоритмизированное соотнесение со словообразовательными моделями,

— эвристические упражнения.

Реализация предлагаемой системы может быть представлена следующим образом.

При развитии умения понимать окказионализмы на занятиях по русскому языку с иностранными студентами работа преподавателя построена таким образом, чтобы с самого начала обучения студенты научились **выделять в тексте непонятное**. В необходимости специального обучения вычленению незнакомого материала убеждают экспериментальные данные. Группе иностранных студентов в количестве 11 человек было предложено подчеркнуть в отрывке из стихотворения В. Маяковского «Дачный случай» непонятные слова и словосочетания. Было сделано предположение, что все окказионализмы будут ими подчеркнуты. Оказалось, что студенты отметили как непонятные только 47% окказионализмов.

Можно ли считать, что во всех остальных случаях окказиональная лексика была понята? Чтобы дать четкий ответ на этот вопрос, мы подросили этих же студентов семантизировать любым способом (толкованием, графическим изображением, мимикой и жестами) неподчеркнутые окказионализмы «облесочкана», «обопушкана», «обчулочены» и другие из этого же стихотворения. Оказалось, что студенты не смогли выполнить задание правильно в 80% случаев. Иными словами, хотя больше половины студентов не считали окказионализмы словами, затрудняющими понимание, правильно объяснить их они не смогли.

Проведенное наблюдение показывает, что понимание окказиональной лексики студентами-иностранцами часто носит приблизительный характер, а иногда является кажущимся. При отсутствии специального обучения иностранные студенты не всегда оказываются в состоянии адекватно понять окказиональные словосочетания, построенные по известным им словообразовательным либо словосочетательным моделям.

После того, как студенты были обучены умению отличать окказиональные слова как непонятные от понятных слов контекста, мы перешли к упражнениям второго типа, направленным на решение алгоритмизированной задачи.[18] Усвоение алгоритма овладения окказиональным словом строилось в опоре на формальные признаки — словообразовательные и словосочетательные модели. Например, окказионализм В. Маяковского «прозаседавшиеся» обьяснялся в опоре на словообразовательную модель

про- + основа глагола + -вш- + -ие- + -ся
(про-/за-/сед-/а-/вш-/ие-/ся).

По аналогичной схеме можно проанализировать известные учащимся слова проработавшие, приоткрывшиеся и другие.

На слудующем этапе обучения мы перешли к определению ориентиров, возможных опор в поисках значения окказиональных слов. Определение ориентиров представляет собой эвристический поиск, так как обучаемым заранее неизвестно, какой именно элемент текста может оказаться наиболее информативным.[18]

Если преподаватель демонстрирует достаточный набор оснований для семантизации данного окказионализма, это помогает студентам в опоре на соотнесение данного слова с известными однокоренными словами, словообразовательными моделями и контекстом создать обобщенный семантический образ новообразования. Так, например, такие строчки из стихотворения В. Маяковского, как: «Пригорок Пушкино горбил / Акуловой горою /, а низ горы — / деревней был, / кривился крыш горою», можно семантизировать графическим способои, продемонстрировав на доске схематические рисунки. Окказиональное словосочетание «скатертный снег» можно семантизировать с помощью толкования, дополнив его жестом, показывающим ровную, гладкую поверхность.[19]

Большой интерес у иностранных студентов вызывает анализ окказионализмов из детской речи («на-/-макарон-/-ил-/-ся», «при-/кнопк-/-ать» и др.), а также разбор их собственных окказионализмов, например, «доброуважительный» —

добрый + относящийся с уважением.

Возможность организации эффективного обучения эвристическим способам овладения окказиональной лексикой доказывают полученные в ходе обучения результаты. Так, в группах испаноязычных студентов в результате проведенного экспериментального обучения количество правильно семантизированных окказионализмов возросло более чем в два раза (с 21,4% до 51,7%).

Проведенное наблюдение показывает, что на продвинутом этапе обучения примененке описанных приемов работы с окказиональной лексикой является эффективным. Использование таких приемов может расширить возможности обучаемых в овладении сложным иноязычным материалом.[19] Правильное соотнесение алгоритмических и эвристических приемов решения задач в процессе обучения русскому языку как иностранному сможет способствовать развитию умения студентов творчески решать лингвистические задачи, что, в свою очередь, сможет оказать вдияние на развитие их творческих способностей в делом.

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Вместо предисловия...

Один из моих бывших студентов как то спросил меня:

> *— Чему Вы обучаете: переводу или русскому языку? Можете ли Вы научить меня переводить на русский язык?*

На это я ответил так:

> *— Конечно, я могу учить Вас переводить на русский язык, но кроме того, я использую перевод как метод при обучении русскому языку как иностранному на занятиях по грамматике и разговору.*

Второе название:

ПЕРЕВОД: ЦЕЛЬ или СРЕДСТВО?

На этот вопрос я бы ответил так:

— Это и ***ЦЕЛЬ*** (если обучать ***КАК*** переводить), и ***СРЕДСТВО*** (если обучать не самому переводу, а, например, грамматике, разговорной практике и т.д.). В зависимости от того, какие цели ставятся, естественно, меняется и методика использования ПЕРЕВОДА на занятиях.

В данной статье я постараюсь изложить некоторые идеи и соображения по поводу моей методики обучения переводу на русский язык, явившейся результатом работы переводчиком (как устным, так и письменным) и моей собственной подготовки к этой работе.

В 1992-94 годах в Санкт-Петербургском государственном университете (Россия) мною был опробован экспериментальный курс *«Введение в устный перевод»*, разработанный для англоговорящих студентов (т.е. для таких студентов, чьим первым или вторым языком является английский), изучавших там практический русский язык. Результатом такой работы явилась книга ***«Грамматика перевода»***, написанная совместно с к.ф.н. Еленой Ван (СПбГУ). Название пособия само по себе отражает специфику направленности курса, в котором преодоление трудностей русской грамматики при обучении переводу является одной из главных задач и целей. В книге представлены тексты, специальным образом подобранные слова и словосочетания к текстам, включающие следующие элементы:

— ***семантические ряды*** (в том числе и ***синонимические ряды***), такие как *друг, приятель, знакомый, сторонник, коллега, напарник*;

— ***антонимы*** (и в тех случаях, когда это представляется логичным и обоснованным — антонимы представлены в виде аналогичных цепочек: *враг, неприятель, соперник, посторонний, оппонент, противник, оппозиционер*);

— ***«ложных друзей переводчика»***, таких как, например,

друг — враг

приятель — «неприятель» (в данном примере слово *«неприятель»* хоть и входит в семантическое гнездо *«враг»*, но оно не является антонимом к слову *«приятель»*).

Типичными примерами т.н. «ложных друзей», использованных в книге, являются:

кондуктор — дирижёр
компетенция — соревнование
инструкция — обучение, и т.д.

Кроме того, в раздел **СЛОВА И СЛОВОСОЧЕТАНИЯ** включены и трудные случаи лексической грамматики, например,

кланяться — поклониться — поклоняться, где третий компонент по своему лексическому значению не является видовой парой к глаголу *«поклониться»*, хотя формально их и можно было бы принять за видовую пару.

Большое значение придаётся также работе с оттенками значений, особенно в тех случаях, когда имеется своего рода омонимия форм, например:

утверждать (в значении «*заявлять*»)
утверждать — утвердить (в значении «*одобрять — одобрить*»)

УВЕРЕННОСТЬ В СВОИХ СИЛАХ при устном переводе

Одной из главных целей предлагаемой методики обучения устному переводу является существенное повышение уверенности в своих силах в тех ситуациях, когда перед студентами (стажёрами, аспирантами) ставятся новые задачи, никогда ранее ими не выполнявшиеся на таком уровне. (Достаточно трудно представить себе студентов старших курсов или даже аспирантов, у которых был бы за плечами значительный опыт работы в области синхронного перевода с их родного языка на русский.)

Первый шаг, который должны сделать обучаемые, — это работа со словарём в самом широком смысле: заучивание лексических значений слов и выражений на двух (нескольких) языках, включая и определённую стилистическую дифференциацию словника.

Второй шаг, предлагаемый обучаемым, это устное восприятие текстов-моделей (образцов) на русском языке, включающих не только основную лексику, но и определённые грамматические обороты и конструкции, используемые, как правило, в такого рода контекстах в устной и письменной речи.

С каждым текстом-моделью начинается и устный тренинг: слушать, читать, повторять с разной скоростью воспроизведения, учиться расставлять логические паузы и делить текст на логически законченные блоки.

На первом же занятии начинается такая важная работа, которую мы называем «построение вертикальных и горизонтальных парадигматических рядов». Ниже предлагается краткое изложение того, что мы понимаем под этими рядами.

ВЕРТИКАЛЬНЫЕ И ГОРИЗОНТАЛЬНЫЕ ПАРАДИГМАТИЧЕСКИЕ РЯДЫ

Под *горизонтальными парадигматическими рядами* мы понимаем изменение какой-либо парадигмы по типу синонимических цепочек или наполнение той или иной конструкции аналогичными или однотипными компонентами. Например:

Вчера в аэропорт Шереметьево-2 ***прибыл/прилетел*** президент
Венгерской/Австрийской Республики/ *Республики Куба/* ***Франции****/США*
На аэродроме/ ***в аэропорту*** его встречали *президент/* ***посол****/министр/* ***вице-премьер****...*
Ожидается *резкий спад/* ***резкое падение*** интереса к *немецкой/* ***финской*** марке ***на валютных рынках****/биржах* ***Италии****/Франции...*

Под *вертикальными рядами* мы понимаем изменения каких-либо парадигм по временам, залогам, а также построение антонимических цепочек:

Вчера президент Италии отправился в поездку по СНГ...
Завтра ... ... отправится
Утром ... ... прибыл (откуда? куда?)
Вечером ... ... прилетел (откуда? куда?)
вылетел (куда? откуда?)

Кроме того, словарная работа включает в себя и знакомство с гнездовым словообразованием, в который включаются и синонимические (антонимические) цепочки (причём в один ряд могут попадать как однокоренные слова, так и слова и словосочетания, образованные по той же модели или при помощи тех же морфологических средств, например, префиксов):

неоднократно — однократно — многократно — несколько раз — кратный двум (трём) — чётный — нечётный — в шахматном порядке

земляк — соотечественник — гражданин — сограждане — сокурсник — соученик — сосед по... — собутыльник — собеседник

На наш взгляд, знакомство с такими рядами и цепочками не только обогащает лексический запас обучаемых, но и делает более уверенным владение морфологической системой русского языка — языка как синтетического, так и аналитического по своей структуре.

ИНТЕНСИВНЫЙ КУРС «ПРАКТИКА УСТНОГО ПЕРЕВОДА» (ВВЕДЕНИЕ В СИНХРОННЫЙ ПЕРЕВОД)

Предлагаемая продолжительность курса: **4 недели × 22 часа = 88 часов** (длительность и интенсивность курса может быть изменена в соответствии с целью обучения и в зависимости от уровня обучаемых)

АСПЕКТЫ:

— фонетика, техника речи и орфография:	4 × 2 =	8 часов
— лекции по стилистике современного русского языка	4 × 2 =	8 часов
— лекции по истории и культуре: «Вклад России в мировую культуру»	2 × 2 =	4 часа
— лекции «Реалии сегодняшней России»	2 × 2 =	4 часа

ПРАКТИЧЕСКИЕ ЗАНЯТИЯ ПО ПЕРЕВОДУ:

— двусторонний перевод	4 × 6 =	24 часа
— тренинг	4 × 10 =	40 часов
Итого:	**4 × 22 =**	**88 часов**

ПЛАН ЗАНЯТИЙ:

1 неделя: общественно-политическая лексика.
2 неделя: общественно-политическая лексика.
3 неделя: социально-экономическая лексика.
4 неделя: лексика по темам: *«Культура»*, *«Наука»*, *«Экология»*.

ЦЕЛЬ КУРСА:

интенсивный тренинг слушателей в устном переводе с русского языка на родной и с родного языка на русский; знакомство слушателей с историей и политическими реалиями сегодняшней России.

ЗАДАЧИ КУРСА:

1.1. Развитие памяти и внимания переводчика.
2.1. Приобретение переводческих навыков по переключению с одного языка на другой.
2.2. Автоматизация речи при переводе.
2.3. Быстрое и правильное нахождение эквивалентов при переводе.
2.4. Построение синонимических и антонимических рядов и цепочек.
3.1. Работа с так называемыми *«ложными друзьями»* переводчика.
4.1. Знакомство с историей и культурой России.

Для данного курса были разработаны специальные (в основном невербальные) тесты, разработанные с учётом особенностей работы устным/синхронным переводчиком.

КРАТКОЕ СОДЕРЖАНИЕ КУРСА ПО АСПЕКТАМ

I. *ФОНЕТИКА. ТЕХНИКА РЕЧИ И ОРФОГРАФИЯ*

На практических занятиях по фонетике (технике речи и орфографии) производится работа по отработке и автоматизации наиболее сложных сочетаний звуков русского языка, интонации; анализируются трудные случаи правописания в русском языке, включая передачу на русском языке иноязычных имён и названий.

II. *ЛЕКЦИИ ПО СТИЛИСТИКЕ СОВРЕМЕННОГО РУССКОГО ЯЗЫКА*

На лекциях анализируются функциональные стили и их особенности. Особое внимание уделяется устному научному стилю.

III. *ЛЕКЦИИ ПО ИСТОРИИ И КУЛЬТУРЕ*

Основной темой лекций по истории и культуре является *«Вклад России в мировую культуру»*, кроме того слушателям предлагается познакомиться с культурологической концепцией *«Восток-Запад»* и *«Место России в современном мире»*, разработанной философами СПбГУ.

IV. *ЛЕКЦИИ «РЕАЛИИ СЕГОДНЯШНЕЙ РОССИИ»*

На лекциях, посвящённых реалиям сегодняшней России, слушателям предлагается знакомство с современной политической и общественной жизнью страны, с основными политическими партиями и их программами и лидерами. При подготовке лекций используются также результаты опросов общественного мнения.

ПРАКТИЧЕСКИЕ ЗАНЯТИЯ

I. ДВУСТОРОННИЙ ПЕРЕВОД

- отработка точных эквивалентов по темам: «*Политика*», «*Экономика*», «*Культура*», «*Наука*», «*Экология*»;
- отработка навыков быстрого переключения с одного языка на другой;
- перевод с русского языка на родной;
- лексическая работа с «ложными друзьями» переводчика.

II. ТРЕНИНГ/ДЕЛОВЫЕ ИГРЫ

- перевод с родного языка на русский;
- упражнения на развитие языковой догадки в русском языке;
- упражнения на опережение и прогноз в русском языке;
- перевод аудиотекстов: с радио, ТВ;
- работа в так называемых «*усложнённых*» условиях.

Несколько слов необходимо сказать о специфике тренинга и о тех специальных упражнениях, которые применяются на таких практических занятиях.

Чувство языка, на который необходимо переводить, должно быть развито у переводчика как можно больше. Что касается русского языка, то в рамках настоящего курса такая работа ведётся по следующим направлениям: развитие языковой догадки и прогноза с тем, чтобы в реальных условиях устного перевода была возможность иметь определённый «*запас времени*». Владение устойчивыми конструкциями, штампами, идиоматическими выражениями, знание глагольного управления и традиционного порядка слов (а именно этим и занимаются слушатели и стажёры на такого рода занятиях) даёт возможность осуществлять своего рода «*прогнозирование*» (*дальнее и ближнее*) при переводе на русский язык. Например, если новый контекст начинается со слов «*Вчера вечером президент Италии...*» далее могут следовать следующие логические блоки-продолжения: ... *подписал ряд документов/имел встречу с.../прибыл* (*прилетел*) *в.../выступил по национальному телевидению* и т.д. Причём общая информированность о событиях очень помогает оперативно выбрать самый близкий из отрабатывавшихся ранее на занятиях вариантов.

Особое место в тренинге занимает работа в «*усложнённых*» условиях, то есть тогда, когда искусственно создаются разного рода моделируемые помехи для перевода и во время перевода. Опыт работы в таких исловиях (пусть даже учебный) вырабатывает у стажёров и слушателей необходимый опыт и чувство достаточной уверенности в собственных силах и возможностях, так необходимые для переводчика.

Деловые игры проводятся после того, как отработана основная лексика, проведен тренинг и двусторонний перевод с русского языка и на русский язык. Естественно, что деловые игры завершают каждый тематический блок и курс в целом.

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Новые слова и значения в современном русском языке

Galina Kurokhtina
Pushkin Institute, Moscow

(Key address, ALL Conference 1996)

Современный период развития русского языка по интенсивности происходящих в нем процессов очень похож на период, совпавший с революционными переменами в российском обществе в начале XX века.

Революционность теперешней ситуации не вызывает ни у кого сомнений. В нашем обществе происходят мощные сдвиги, глубокие перемены. Волна революционных изменений российского общества неизбежно несёт с собой изменения и в языковой сфере.

Как известно, в начале века русский язык пережил своеобразный взрыв, когда вместе с новыми понятиями возникали новые слова, многие слова уходили в прошлое, образуя значительный пласт историзмов и архаизмов, возникали целые классы новообразований типа буквенных и звуковых аббревиатур, сложносокращённых слов. В настоящий момент у современных лингвистов появилась уникальная возможность наблюдать подобный языковой взрыв. Правда, условия протекания наблюдаемых процессов несколько иные, чем в начале века, к тому же языковая система за прошедшее с тех пор время во многом изменилась. К примеру, класс аббревиатур, воспринимавшийся в первые десятилетия XX века как нечто абсолютно новое и даже инородное для системы русского языка, в настоящее время является неотьемлемой её частью. Эта лексическая подгруппа постоянно пополняется новыми единицами, но этот процесс уже не столь интенсивен, как раньше. С изменениями в общественной жизни неизбежно появляются новые сокращения. Вот некоторые из них:

АО — акционерное общество;
СП — совместное предприятие;
ТОО — товарищество с ограниченной ответственностью;
ООО — общество с ограниченной ответственностью;
АОЗТ — акционерное общество закрытого типа;
ЛДПР — Либерально-демократическая партия России;
ФСБ — Федеральная служба безопасности;
КРО — Конгресс русских общин;
КПРФ — Коммунистическая партия Российской федерации;
РИА — Российское информационное агентство;
РАН — Российская академия наук

и многие другуе.

Подобных новых образований достаточно много, но следует отметить, что класс аббревиатур в настоящее время изменяется лишь в количественном отношении, качественно он уже сформировался и существует по своим определённым законам.

Итак, в общественной жизни России произошли значительные изменения. Пожалуй, главным из них оказалось открытие всех границ, налаживание более тесных контактов с другими странами. Бурный поток информации и продукции со всех концов света захлестнул российское общество. Особенно сильное воздействие испытывает Россия со стороны Запада. О «вестернизации» российской жизни сейчас очень много говорят и пишут. Появилось большое количество языковедческих работ о проникновении огромного количества заимствований в русский язык.

В настоящей работе предпринята попытка анализа современной языковой ситуации в России с целью выявления основных наметившихся в языке тенденций. Работа основана главным образом на материале российских газет и других средств массовой информации. Большой обьём новых слов был почерпнут из рекламных обьявлений, так как именно реклама быстрее всего реагирует на появление новой продукции на рынке. Новые товары в сферу российской торговли приходят, как правило, с уже готовыми названиями, взятыми из языка-импортёра. Таким языком чаще всего оказывается английский.

Надо сказать о том, что принятие языком каких-либо элементов другой языковой системы — это довольно длительный процесс, и поэтому в настоящий момент трудно судить о том, какие заимствования задержатся в русской языковой системе, станут функционировть как её полноправные члены. Необходимо, чтобы прошло некоторое время, чтобы тот или иной заимствованный элемент доказал свою жизнеспособность. В настоящее время, которое характеризуется нестабильностью как в общественной жизни, так и в языковой сфере, существует большое количество вариантов для выражения некоторых новых понятий, явлений, вещей. Очень часто сосуществуют «прямые» заимствования, когда слово берётся практически без изменений (не считая фонетических) из языка-источника, и «переводы» этих заимствований на родной язык:

ноутбук — электронная записная книжка;
си-ди — лазерный диск, компакт-диск;
си-ди плейер — проигрыватель лазерных дисков;
принтер — печатное устройство;
микроволновая печь — СВЧ-печь — печь СВЧ;
копир — копировальный аппарат.

Подобную вариантивность можно отметить и в орфографическом оформлении некоторых заимствованных слов:

*дистриб**ью**т**о**р — дистриб**ью**т**е**р — дистриб**у**т**о**рский;*
*риэлт**е**р — риэлт**о**р;*
факс-модем — факсмодем;
*о**ф**шорный — о**фф**шорный* и под.

Это указывает на то, что новые понятия не обрели пока определённой лексической формы. Потребуется некоторое время, чтобы какой-то один вариант был закреплён за данным значением. В настоящее время этой закреплённости нет, и иногда можно наблюдать целые цепочки вариантов, обозначающих одно и то же понятие:

мультимедиа — компьютер — компьютер мультимедиа — компьютер Multimedia — мультимедийный компьютер.

Интересно проследить за употреблением существительного «мультимедиа» и прилагательного «мультимедийный», которые употребляются порой в непосредственном соседстве в весьма ограниченных контекстах. Приведём только одну выдержку из газетной статьи «Мультимедийные энциклопедии» («Известия», 13 марта, 1996, стр. 12)

«В прошлых выпусках мы познакомили читателя с некоторыми аспектами оснащения компьютера *средствами мультимедиа* (1) и весьма полезными для работы программами. Сегодня расскажем о двух *мультимедийных* (2) тематических энциклопедиях, которые пользуются особенной популярностью у пользователей домашних *мультимедиа-систем* (3). Обычно разработчики *мультимедийных* (4) приложений активно используют все возможности, которые предоставляет им такое средство, как *мультимедиа* (5).»

Из приведённых примеров видно, что английское существительное «Multimedia» имеет несколько разных воплощений в русском языке. Оно может функционировать и использоваться как обычное прилагательное, имеющее один корень с английским словом (2, 4); может употребляться как несклоняемое существительное (1, 5), а также как существителное с атрибутивным значением, стоящее в препозиции к определяемому слову (о подобном употреблении существительных см. ниже). Образование прилагателных на основе заимствованных существительных явление довольно распространенное. В настоящее время мы имеем возможность наблюдать процесс пополнения класса прилагательных новыми единицами. Например:

антидемпинг — антидемпинговый;
аудитор — аудиторский;
ваучер — ваучерный;
дистрибутор — дистрибуторский;

инвестиция — инвестиционный;
лобби — лоббистский;
пейджинг — пейджинговый;
сервис — сервисный и т.п.

Образование новых прилагательных, видимо, говорит о том, что производящие основы существительных уже достатчно освоены языком и могут успешно использоваться в словообразовании.

Как уже было отмечено выше, основным языком-источником для новых заимствований в русском языке является, несомненно, английский. Сейчас знание английского языка бывает весьма полезным в жизни простых россиян. На каждом шагу встречаются вывески, написанные латинским шрифтом или транслитерированные кириллические названия:

«Элегия минимаркет»; Супермаркет «Лондон бридж»
Фирма «Роял трейдинг»;
«Европа-инвест»; «Маркет Сервис»;
Турагентство «Даймонд»; агентство «Вояджер»;
Фирма «Аквалэнд»; фирма «Спрэд»

и т.д. и т.п.

Знание английского языка или, по крайней мере, латинского алфавита стало жизненой необходимостью, так как нас окружают названия фирм-производителей, названиа компаний, названия различных видов продукции, которые пишутся латинскими буквами:

«Toshiba», «Panasonic», «Sony», «Sharp»;
«Milky Way», «Mars», «Cadbury», «Fruit and nut», «Snickers»;
«Head and Shoulders», «Wash and go»;
«Tampax», «Aquafresh»,
«Energizer», «Duracell»

и многие другие.

Этот список можно было бы продолжать до бесконечности, стоит только заглянуть в какую-нибудь из рекламных газет или посидеть вечер у телевизора (ведь все российские телекомпании существуют теперь за счёт рекламы). Естественно, эти и подобные названия произносятся в соответстви с правилами русской фонетической системы, поэтому и звучат они не совсем так, как в английском варианте:

«Аквафрэш», «Милки Вэй», «Вискас» («Ваша киска купила бы «Вискас»), «Твикс», «Дурасел», «Вош энд гоу», «Фрут энд нат» («Изюм, орехи, шоколад — ваш любимый «Фрут энд нат») и т.д.

Этимология этих названий для многих россиян остаётся непонятной, хотя они видят и слышат их каждый день. Однако надо отметить тот факт, что молодое поколение российских граждан в большинстве своём знакомо в той или иной степени с английским языком. На его основе создаётся своеобразный молодёжный жаргон, который может составить тему отдельного исследования.

Ошибочно было бы полагать, что все иностранные слова, обозначающие новые понятия, называющие новые вещи, принимаются русским языком без изменений. Многочисленные словосочетания и лексемы приходят из языка-источника в виде переводов. Например, английское сочетание *«paper shredder»* переводутся на русский как *«уничтожитель документов»* или *«машинка для уничтожения бумаг»*. Приведём несколько других примеров:

special offer — специальное предложение;
e-mail — электронная почта;
answer-phone — телефон с автоответчиком;
package holiday — тур;
cellular phone — сотовый телефон;
discount — скидка (но: *discount card — дисконтная карточка*).

Видимо, при выборе той или иной языковой единицы играют роль самые различные факторы, которые иногда трудно определить точно (например, фонетическая благозвучность, отсутствие нежелательных аналогий, грамматическая приспособляемость к системе принимающего языка и под.), но именно совокупность таких факторов влияет на принятие этой системой новых лексем.

Итак, на российский рынок приходят новые товары, а в социальной жизни появляются новые явления. Перестройка общества привела к тому, что некоторые слова перешли в разряд историзмов:

октябрёнок, пионер, комсомол, комсомолец;
Советы, Верховный Совет, горсовет;

райисполком, горком, райком, комсорг, парторг;

КПСС, СССР, РСФСР, УССР, ВЛКСМ, КГБ и другие подобные

С другой стороны, в результате перестройки некоторые бывшие историзмы опять вошли в активное употребление, например:

Государственная Дума, губернатор, госпродин, департамент;

Конечно, таких примеров не очень много, гораздо больше случаев, когда на смену старым, «коммунистическим», названиям приходят новые, «западные» слова:

мэр, мэрия; префект, префектура; муниципалитет, муниципальный, вице-премьер, премьер-министр, спикер, вице-спикер, менеджер и т.д.

Новые понятия и явления появились и в области политической жизни страны. В речевой обиход вошли такие заимствования, как *импичмент, саммит, электорат, консенсус, рейтинг, популизм* и др.

Многочисленные примеры подтверждают мысль о том, что иностранные слова, выражающие новые понятия или называя по-новому старые, мощным потоком вливаются в словарный запас расского языка. Обращает на себя внимание тот факт, что заимствования имеют свои продуктивные и непродуктивные модели. Так, весьма продуктивной моделью являются заимствования, образованные от английской формы герундия (на -ing). Такие слова можно встретить в самых разных сферах употребления:

бодибилдинг, армреслинг, кикбоксинг, шейпинг;

мониторинг, тюнинг, фитинг, маркетинг; холдинг, лизинг, клиринг, консалтинг, рейтинг, брифинг и нек.др.

Давно стала привычной модель образования новых слов от английских существительных множественного числа, типа: jeans — джинсы, boots — бутсы. В настоящее время появилось несколько других слов, образованных по этой же модели, например: *памперсы, слаксы*. Активно использует подобные слова молодёжь в своём жаргоне: *шузы, баксы, «Ганзы»* (от «Guns'n'Roses») и под.

Большое количество заимствованных лексем имеют в своём составе суффиксы со значением «производителя действия» -*ер* и -*ор*. Особенно много слов с этими суффиксами можно встретить в сфере компьютерной и офисной техники, а также в названиях профессий и должностей:

адаптер, детектор, драйвер, файлер, тонер, селектор, сервер, сканер, плоттер, принтер, процессор, монитор, пейджер, кондиционер и т.п.

дизайнер, дилер, спикер, менеджер, риэлтер, аудитор, продюсер и подобные

Хотелось бы остановиться еще на одном интересном моменте, который уже выходит за пределы собственно лексического уровня на уровень словосочетания. Влияние английской языковой системы проявляется и здесь. Мы имеем в виду сочетания типа *шоу-бизнес*, когда существительное с атрибутивным значением ставится перед определяемым словом. В русском языке возможно использование существительных в качестве определений (согласованные и несогласлванные приложения), однако употребляются они несколько иначе, чем в английском. Русские приложения, как правило, находятся в постпозиции по отношению к определяемому слову (*городкрепость, застежка-молния, озеро Байкал* и др.). В препозиции обычно употреблаются прилагательные, согласующиеся с существительным в роде, числе и падеже (***торговый*** *бизнес*, ***мультимедийный*** *компьютер*). Словосочетания типа *шоу-бизнес* заимствуются из английского языка без изменений, так как дословный перевод потребовал бы кардинального изменения структуры сочетания, что, вероятно, привело бы к искажениям смысла. Подобные словосочетания получили достаточно широкое распространение в последнее время в самых различных сферах:

бизнес-центр, сервис-центр, шоп-тур, экзотик-тур, трэвел-агентство, хай-фай звук, хай-фай техника, си-ди плэйер, СВЧ-печь, диск-жокей, ток-шоу, капитал-шоу, факс-модемы, ритуал-сервис, Президент-отель, Металл-холдинг, Элегия-маркет, ньюсмейкер, диск-канал и т.д. и т.п.

Каждый день эта группа слов пополняется всё новыми и новыми единицами. Кажется весьма вероятным, что данная модель будет и впредь активно использоваться в русском языке, чтобы впоследствии стать неотъемлемой его частью. Можно также предположить, что почву для появления в русском языке такого большого числа подобных образований подготовили частичносокращенные слова типа *партшкола, госаппарат, соцреализм* и под. В русских частичносокращённых словах усечённые препозитивные основы (*парт-, гос-, соц-*) носители языка воспринимают как морфемы с атрибутивным значением и поэтому, по аналогии, понимают *пионерлагерь* как *пионерский лагерь, кожизделия* как *кожевенные изделия*. В русском языке насчитывается несколько сот подобных препозитивных усечённых основ, они прочно вошли в языковую систему, могут использоваться при образовании новых лексических единиц. К таким основам, например, относятся: *авиа-, авто-, агробио-, глав-, гор-, дет-, лит-, пед-, пром-, строй-, спорт-, тех-, хим-, хоз-* и др. (см. об этом: Д. И. Алексеев. Сокращённые слова в русском языке. – Изд-во Саратовского университета, 1979, стр.222-27) Некоторые исследователи говорили о возможности рассмотрения частичносокращенных слов как словосочетаний с аналитическими прилагательными. Так, М. В. Панов считает, что несмотря на слитное написание слов типа *профбилет, партсобрание*, они являются сочетаниями двух слов, первое из которых определяется им как аналитическое прилагательное. (М. В. Панов. Об аналитических прилагательных. – В кн.: Фонетика.Фонология.Грамматика. К 70-летию А. А. Реформатского. Москва, 1971, стр. 245–6) Наличие в русской лексической системе значительного количества частичносокращённых слов, несомненно, делает более безболезненным принятие из английского языка словосочетаний типа *диск-жокей*, где существительное *диск*, не согласующееся с определяемым существительным ни в роде, ни в числе, ни в падеже, воспринимается русскими как своеобразная «усечённая» основа. Трудно сказать, указывают ли эти факты на усиление в русском языке давно отмеченной тенденции к аналитизму, однако можно предположить, что накапливание в нём словосочетаний типа перечисленных выше (*диск-жокей* и под.), а также других «аналитических» элементов (см. об этом: J. A. Dunn. Is There a Tendency Towards Analyticity in Russian? – The Slavonic and East European Review, Vol. 66, Number 2, Sofia, April 1988, pp. 169–83) может привести к определённым качественным изменениям в русской грамматической системе.

В заключение хочется сказать несколько слов о попытках контроля со стороны властей над потоком заимствованных слов, появившихся в последнее время. Известно, например, что указ мэра города Москвы предписывает всем владельцам магазинов, имеющих иностранные названия, дублировать эти названия по-русски. В печати и на телевидении часто приходится встречаться с резко критическим отношением к заимствованиям. Как пишет журналист А. Монахов в своей статье «Можно ли перевести на русской язык «лизинг» и «консалтинг»» («Комсомольская правда», 18 августа, 1995): «Вечная борьба с проникновением иностранных слов в русский язык всегда обостряется в переходные моменты». Но далее мы читаем: «Бороться с этим законодательно – занятие бесполезное». Действительно, языковая система — это живая, подвижная структура, существующая по своим внутренним законам и не подчиняющаяся каким-либо регламентациям. Только время покажет, какие из заимствованных слов будут жить в русской языковой системе, а какие из них будут вытеснены другими, более жизнеспособными единицами.

The impact of Gorbachev's new thinking on the Russian language, 1985–1995

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A mere decade has passed since Gorbachev came to power in the USSR and commenced the radical restructuring of Soviet society. The repercussions of his programme changed irreversibly the old world order. In linguistic terms the impact of his reforms were such that the words denoting the two key aspects of his programme: *perestroika* and *glasnost* entered the English language, supplementing the relatively meagre stock from that source. The name Gorbachev gave to his fresh approach to international and domestic problems was 'new thinking'.[1] This paper seeks to analyse its impact on popular (political, economic and social) discourse over the [illegible] ten years.

Of course Gorbachev's stated aim of rejuvenating and renewing the political, economic and social structures of the USSR ended in a diametrically opposite outcome: the collapse and demise of the Soviet Union. In seeking solutions in the past, he returned to Lenin's socialist principles embodied in the New Economic Policy of the 1920's, the last period before Soviet society fell into the stern stifling grip of Stalinism. However, he must have been aware by 1985 that even Soviet economists were beginning to assert that the socialist system of the USSR was lagging behind the rest of the developed world in technological and economic development. 'New thinking' from the outset, therefore, encouraged the debate on future development to leap well beyond the hitherto tightly-prescribed boundaries of Soviet socialist rhetoric.

The radical nature of changes aimed at ending the superpower nuclear confrontation and Cold War soon found reflection in the Russian language. Initially, this brought a halt to the wholesale denigration of certain aspects of Western society and to a muting of the trumpeted 'inherent advantages' of the Soviet system. Subsequently, as Soviet values were subjected to ever more criticism and aspects of Western life became more desirable, a shift was made from the belligerent and monolithic 'defence' of all things Soviet and many concepts acquired new shades of meaning. Finally, as economic, political and social debates broke free from the restraints of communist ideology, concepts imported from the West were reflected in an unprecedented influx of neologisms.

Thus it was that the original 'new thinking', imposed from above and aiming for incremental change within socialist parameters, was replaced by a newer thinking, emanating from all levels of Soviet society and seeking increasingly to go beyond those parameters. Gorbachev's failure to control this process led ultimately to the collapse of the Soviet bloc, the demise of the Communist Party and to a rising wave of nationalism within the constituent parts of the USSR. The example of Tienanmen Square in China might suggest that, had Gorbachev acted resolutely to nip in the bud this 'independent' new thinking, the collapse of the USSR might have been delayed, if not averted completely.

In order to trace the evolution of new thinking and its impact on popular political discourse, the following sources have been utilised:

(i) material gleaned from Soviet and post-Soviet press, which comprised the most representative register of the era of perestroika;[2]

(ii) foreign terms included in the Soviet encyclopaedic dictionaries of 1981 and 1991 and in a recently published (1993) dictionary of foreign words;[3]

(iii) sets of interviews with Soviet officials published in the pre-perestroika (1983) and post-perestroika (1993) periods.[4]

The Evolution of 'New Thinking'

In order to trace the origins of 'new thinking', it is not necessary to go back any further than the end of 1984, when Gorbachev made his historic visit to Britain. The political, economic and social cliches generated by the state ideology had remained virtually unaltered during the rule of Brezhnev (1964-82) and his successors. At the same time, however, the scientific and technological revolution, the internationalisation of trade and the spread of political detente had fostered a sense of interdependency unheard of in the Khrushchev, let alone, Stalin, era.

Prior to Gorbachev's accession to power this had found reflection in the Russian language with the assimilation of such neologisms as *бизнес, маркетинг, ноу-хау* etc. When Margaret Thatcher identified Gorbachev as 'a man we can do business with', she implied that the Soviet leader both understood and approved of the concept.

None the less, it should be remembered that Gorbachev remained a product of the Communist Party apparatus. Upon coming to power in March 1985, his first speeches did not stray far from established ideas and old dogmas. If the words and the syntax were the same, the delivery and style certainly were not. The new General Secretary's vibrant and 'youthful' tone, combined with levels of charisma and energy not seen in a Soviet leader since Khrushchev, rendered his utterances less alien to his Western audience than those of his geriatric predecessors. This, in turn, made the belligerent, militant and uncompromising hostility of content all the more anachronistic. Thus, although Gorbachev's keynote speech to the 27th CPSU Congress in February 1986 did not differ substantially from that of Brezhnev to the 26th Congress in 1981, kremlinologists were quick to spot a discernible softening of anti-Western rhetoric, most notably when addressed to the USA. This stemmed from the Soviet leader's appeal for 'new political thinking' in his vision of a nuclear-free world by the year 2000, first advanced in January 1986.[5] Gorbachev's speech to the Party Congress had also introduced the concepts of glasnost and perestroika, with their intrinsic commitment to reform. Along with 'new thinking', both were given new urgency by the catastrophe at Chernobyl in April 1986.

Paradoxically, however, Gorbachev's continued reliance on tried and tested ideological cliches, although reassuring those within the Party who felt that he was moving too far, too fast, ensured that he would have little success in winning over quickly a sceptical Western political elite. One has only to glance at some of his most favoured cliches to understand why this was labelled in the West as 'Soviet-speak':

антигуманная сущность современного капитализма
всепобеждающая сила марксизма-ленинизма
грабительская и бесчеловечная политика империализма
клевета на советскую действительность
ленинский миролюбивый внешнеполитический курс КПСС
укрепление позиций мирового социализма
etc.

Undoubtedly, Gorbachev's visits to Great Britain (1984), France (1985) and his first summit meeting with President Reagan (1985), combined with the increasingly apparent threat posed to the Soviet economy by Reagan's proposed 'Star Wars' programme, convinced Gorbachev that a 'new political thinking' was attainable, desirable and necessary. A breakthrough of sorts was achieved in October 1986 at the Reykjavik summit. Although deemed at the time a failure, in retrospect the meeting in Iceland marked the removal of Soviet human rights violations as the issue over which the United States could refuse to negotiate seriously on nuclear arms reductions with its superpower rival.

Thus, from the outset, the marked softening in rhetoric towards the West was intrinsically linked to a growing tolerance of dissidence and an acceptance of some degree of plurality in domestic Soviet politics. That there were strict limits to this, particularly in the view of Party 'conservatives', was illustrated by the campaign throughout 1987 against Boris Yeltsin.

By the time of the 19th Party Conference in June 1988, the ideological struggle within the CPSU was coming to a head, with 'reformers' seeking to break the grip of communist ideology on the economy and 'conservatives' wary of any deviations from the socialist norm. This struggle was reflected in the terminology both sides employed. In the event, Gorbachev opted for radical political, rather than economic, reform by embarking on a course of democratisation that sought to transform the USSR into a law-governed state (*правовое государство*), thus implying that Communist Party rule had been above the law. The birth of political pluralism soon found reflection in the Russian language and ended, it could be argued, the CPSU's monopoly on political discourse.

This process, begun by the elections of 1989 and 1990, led to an extensive reassessment of existing political, economic and social terminology and an unprecedented influx of neologisms. By 1990, too, there had been completed an effective purging of Russian political discourse of the ideological cliches of the Cold War. The reform of the administrative-command economy in the following year and the subsequent collapse of the Communist system led to a vast amount of Soviet terminology becoming redundant in a very short period of time. These four distinct, yet linked, processes form the basis of this analysis of new thinking's impact.

A typology of vocabulary affected by 'New Thinking'

1. **Redundant**: words and phrases that typified Soviet and communist structures which have either become redundant or anachronistic (e.g. *всесоюзный, колхозник, КГБ, Комсомол, Политбюро, райком, совхоз, Совэкспортфильм, соцсоревнование* etc.) An interesting manifestation of this process may be found in the penchant for reverting to the original appellations of those streets, squares and cities named after communist heroes (e.g. Gorky Street, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk). The political nature of such decisions may be deduced from the fact that Kalinin reverted to its original name of Tver', but Kaliningrad has not been renamed Konigsberg! It is instructive, also, to examine the fate of the two words contained in the very name in Russian of the Soviet Union – *Советский Союз.* Although the adjective *советский* has become redundant, the noun совет remains in the general meaning of 'council' (e.g. *Совет безопасности*). Similarly, both the noun союз and the adjective *союзный* remain only in such terms as *Европейский Союз* and *союзный державы,* whereas the adjective *всесоюзный* has become quite redundant. It will be noted that this category consists in the main of adjectives and nouns (or acronyms made up this combination). Examples of verbs (e.g. *коллективизировать*) or adverbs (e.g. *по коммунистически* are rare.

2. **'Soviet-speak'**: this is distinct from the words listed in the first category in that, whereas both stem from the existence of the Soviet system, this is the product of Marxist-Leninist and Stalinist ideological perceptions most notably associated with the Cold War. It tends to consist of juxtapositions of words that are redundant only as phrases, the individual words themselves having survived into the post-communist lexicon. Typical examples are *агрессивные круги империализма, антигуманная сущность современного капитализма, империалистические проповедники холодной войны* (see also examples on p. 3). Although this category has been replaced almost in its entirety, it is important to make two qualifications: (i) the entire population of voting age in the former USSR remains to a large extent the product of the Soviet system and, inevitably, retains elements of the Soviet world view articulated in 'Soviet-speak'. This is evident in the speeches of politicians as diverse as Yeltsin and Zhirinovsky and would appear to cover the entire political spectrum; (ii) a small, but influential pro-

portion of the former Soviet population regrets genuinely the collapse of the USSR and seeks its resurrection in some form, while at the same time rejecting and resenting the influence of Western concepts. Language is just one of the major weapons utilised by protagonists in this particular struggle.

Perhaps the most accessible example with which to portray in English the gradual demise of 'Soviet-speak' as a result of 'new thinking' is provided by the slogans advanced annually by the Politburo for the May Day parade. Those published during Gorbachev's first full month in power (April 1985) differ little from those of the Brezhnev period, included among the sixty listed are such gems as 'Fraternal greetings to the fighters for freedom, democracy and socialism who are languishing in fascist dungeons' and 'Hail to the indissoluble internationalist unity and fraternal friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union – the life-giving source of the strength of our society'.[6] By 1991, on the fifth anniversary of the Chernobyl disaster, the last set of slogans was issued, numbering just fourteen and containing such moderate appeals as 'Fraternal greetings to Communists abroad and to all who speak for democracy, peace and socialism!' and 'Compatriots! Let us join together in the name of civil peace and national concord.'[7]

3. **Transitional**: words and phrases formerly used in the Soviet period, the meaning of which has changed significantly in the Russian language, most usually from a negative to a positive connotation (e.g. *демократия, коммерсант, миллионер, политический плюрализм, рыночная экономика, свободное предпринимательство*) – but sometimes attributing to Soviet society negative concepts formerly associated exclusively with capitalist systems (e.g. *безработица, дефицит госбюджема, социальная незащищенность*). Occasionally, new ways of looking at Soviet reality were included (e.g. *командно-административная система, застойность, тоталитаризм*).

In political terms this process reflected the transition from a single-party regime to one with a degree of political pluralism, in economic terms it reflected the transition from an administrative-command to a mixed or market economy, and in social terms it mirrored the emergence out of an authoritarian system of a state adhering to the primacy of law. Taken together, this category reflects in Russian popular discourse the impact of glasnost on Soviet society in general and its mass media in particular.

4. **Neologisms**: reflecting the introduction of new Western concepts (e.g. *боди-билдинг, ваучер, дилер, менеджмент, офф-шорный, рейтинг, стриптиз, скрининг, флирт, экоцид*). It should be borne in mind that the overwhelming majority of these words entered colloquial popular discourse before they were accepted as part of the lexicon of the media or officialdom. The following lists provide examples of neologisms which had entered the Russian language prior to 'new thinking', during the Gorbachev era and, finally, following the collapse of the USSR.

List 1 (from Soviet encyclopaedic dictionary of 1981)

гангстер	*gangster*
детант	*detente*
дискотека	*discotheque*
маркетинг	*marketing*
ноу-хау	*know-how*
плюрализм	*pluralism*
рэкетир	*racketeer*
секс	*sex*
супермаркет	*supermarket*
тоталитаризм	*totalitarianism*

Source: Советский энциклопедический словарь, Moscow, 1981.

List 2 (from Soviet encyclopaedic dictionary of 1991)

виндсерфинг	*windsurfing*
имидж	*image*
кока-кола	*Coca-Cola*
компакт-диск	*compact-disc*
компьютеризация	*computerisation*
рейтинг	*rating(s)*
рок-опера	*rock-opera*
сепаратизм	*separatism*
терроризм	*terrorism*
экстрасенс	*(spiritual) medium*

Source: Большой энциклопедический словарь, Moscow, 1991.

***List 3* (from 1993 dictionary of foreign words)**

бодибилдинг	*bodybuilding*
ваучер	*voucher*
диск-жокей	*disc-jockey*
дилер	*dealer*
европеизм	*Europeanism*
инновация	*innovation*
либерализация	*liberalisation*
менеджеризм	*managerism*
менеджмент	*management*
митинг	*meeting*
наркомафия	*Narcomafia*
нейтрализм	*neutralism*
нудист	*nudist*
офф-шор	*off-shore*
пауерлифтинг	*powerlifting*
рентинг	*renting*
рокер	*rocker*
сексапильный	*sexy*
скрининг	*screening*
стоппер	*stopper (football)*
стриптиз	*striptease*
тинэйджер	*teenager*
триллер	*thriller*
флирт	*flirt*
хеппи-энд	*happy ending*
хит-парад	*hit parade*
шейпинг	*body shaping*
экоцид	*ecocide*

Source: Современный словарь иностранных слов, Moscow, 1993.

In summarising this typology one might conclude that categories one and two relate primarily to the de-Sovietisation, while category four reflects the Westernisation of the Russian language. Category three might be seen to embody elements of both trends. It is not always immediately clear to which category certain words and phrases belong. For example, one might anticipate that almost the entire 'revolutionary lexicon', from *анархизм* to *этнические конфликты* might belong to either category one or two. In fact, due to the lack of democratic traditions and the intolerance of dissenting ideas in pre-Soviet Russian society, most of this lexican was borrowed from Western languages. As a consequence such terms as *капитализм, революция, социализм* etc., in spite of the specific meanings accorded to them during the Soviet period, belong strictly to the wider international discourse and, as such, have survived the collapse of the USSR. Such terminology, therefore, belongs to category three in our scheme.

In order to illustrate the way in which Russian words have moved from one category to another in the last decade, we shall examine next the fate of the word most closely associated with Gorbachev's 'new thinking' – perestroika.[8]

Перестройка – dictionary definitions

(a) 1991

(1) Внесение коренных изменений в порядок, систему ч-л; коренное изменение направления к-л деятельности, взглядов и т.п.

(2) Революционные преобразования, осуществляемые в СССР с середины 1980-х годов; преодоление изживших себя форм общественной организации и методов работы. Важнейшее направление **ПЕРЕСТРОЙКИ**: демократизация всех сторон жизни советского общества, в том числе расширение гласности, и радикальная экономическая реформа; во внешней политике – утверждение всеобьемлющей системы международной безопасности, безьядерного ненасильственного мира.

Source: Большой энциклопедический словарь, Moscow, 1991.

(b) 1992

В СССР в 1985-91 гг.: процесс коренного изменения экономики и общественного сознания, направленны на развитие демократии и гласности, на окончание холодной войны.

Source: С. И. Ожегов, Н. Ю. Шведов, *Толковый словарь русского языка*, Moscow, 1992.

The rise and fall of 'Perestroika' – an example of transition to redundancy.

The standard Russian word for 'reconstruction', perestroika was used widely in various contexts prior to Gorbachev's appropriation of the term. Not listed in the encylcopaedic dictionary of 1981, it is given both its general (common noun) and specific (proper noun) meanings in the 1991 edition (see p. 10). In the latter definition one can see the rationale for de-ideologisation, international cooperation and the tolerance domestically of a plurality of ideas.

Evidence of grass-roots support for perestroika is provided by the fact that, from 1988 until 1990, popular fronts in the Union republics (e.g. 'Sajudis' in Lithuania and 'Rukh' in Ukraine) often were named movements for perestroika. The fact that such movements were never endorsed by Gorbachev and that by 1990 they had removed any such references of support and moved into outright opposition to his policies, testifies to the strikingly varying perceptions of the concept. To the extent that 'perestroika' became inextricably linked with Gorbachev's programme, those that opposed the pace and scope of the reforms were labelled *антиперестроечные*, particularly after the thrust of 'perestroika' had been aimed at the political sphere in mid-1988. Not surprisingly the leaders of the abortive coup in August 1991 justified their actions by implying that perestroika 'had come to a dead end'.[9]

This latter assessment clearly was shared by pro-Yeltsin reformers for, despite the radical nature of the 'shock therapy' applied to the Russian economy in 1992, perestroika was declared to be over and the term *постперестроечный* became current. Indeed, so discredited has 'perestroika' become in popular political, economic and social discourse, that even in the event of an attempted political comeback by Gorbachev, the word is unlikely to be resurrected.

As the definition contained in the standard Russian dictionary published after the collapse of the USSR reveals (see p. 10), the specific meaning of the word appears to be destined for redundancy along with the rest of the 'communist' lexicon. In English, although the word briefly transcended its original meaning sufficiently for one to read of 'the need for a thoroughgoing perestroika in Whitehall', it seems more likely to become as anachronistic as sputnik, lunakhod and glasnost than it is to join the elite band of words of Russian origin in 'everyday' use in the English language (e.g. borzoi, pogrom, samovar, steppe, taiga, troika, tundra, vodka).

The shifting parameters of discourse: before, after and during perestroika

When comparing a pre-perestroika text with its post-perestroika equivalent, one is struck by changes not so much in the words themselves, but in the parameters within which the discourse is conducted. Compare, for example, the following excerpts from interviews given by representatives of the mass media prior to and after the Gorbachev era:

Example 1

Согласен с вами. Мы считаем недопустимым вторжение в интимуную жизнь людей, как это практикуется на Западе. Я, как и мои советские коллеги, не могу понять устремление Западной журналистики к сенсационности. То, что мы, журналисты, сообщаем нашим читателям должно быть направлено на благо человека, служить гуманистическим идеалам. Что касается советской журналистики — она вполне ориентируется на эти цели.

Source: George Scanlan, 'Advanced Russian Interpreting Texts', Second Edition, Collets, 1985.

Example 2

Отношение к Горбачеву в стране неоднозначно. Судя по опросам, большая часть населения в принципе к нему уже равнодушна. Есть люди, которые всегда будут его ненавидеть за то, что он сломал хребет коммунистической тоталитарной системы. Другие — и я в том числе — до сих пор относятся к Михаилу Сергеевичу с уважением. Но честно говоря, я ожидал увидеть его в новом образе. Он же выступил традиционно и по стилю, и по

тональности, и по сквозившему через всё это отношению к самому себе. По-моему, советники Горбачева, отвечающие за его имидж, продолжают давать ему плохие советы. Я знаю некоторых из этих людей. И уверен, они никогда не помогут ему повысить рейтинг. В принципе же во всём мире средства массовой информации охотно используют в качестве экспертов и комментаторов отставных государственных деятелей.
Source: Московские новости, 12 July, 1992.

The first example reveals the collectivist, sanctimonious, prescriptive and tendentious aspects of official Soviet discourse in the pre-Gorbachev period, seemingly adrift from the real world. The latter, by contrast, conveys the individualistic, ingenuous, ascritpive and ideologically neutral tone of informed post-communist discourse, which is specifically Russian more in content than in style. Little from Example Two would have found a place in Example One and vice-versa. The first example seeks to assert the preeminence of Soviet journalism over its Western counterpart, whereas the second appears to emphasise the universality of the mass media in the modern world. The latter interviewee, one can only assume, would dismiss categorically the final assertion in Example One, while the final sentence of Example Two, as applied to the USSR, in all probability would be perceived by his forerunner as factually wrong and inconceivable.

It is debatable as to whether the concept of Brezhnev or Chernenko having a problem with image or ratings would be more of a shock to the one than the idea of state-controlled media in the USSR acting for the benefit of mankind would be to the other.

A third example, taken from an interview with a Soviet foreign affairs representative in the early period of perestroika, should illustrate the transitional stage of the transformation of Example One into Example Two:

Example 3

Позвольте прежде всего напомнить вам, что Советский Союз — частью принадлежит Европе. Вся наша цивилизация сформировалась не только под влиянием Европы, но и в сотрудничестве с ней. На апрельском (1985 г.) пленуме ЦК КПСС был сделан вывод, что СССР необходимо резко активизировать отношения с Европой. Вскоре после этого М. С. Горбачев в интервью французскому телевидению выдвинул идею «общего европейского дома». Это указывает на то, что у СССР исключительно мирные намерения в отношении Европы. «Общий дом» это продолжение и развитие всеевропейского процесса, начатого в Хельсинки.
Source: Московские новости, 16 July, 1989.

The tone is still collectivist but it is relatively frank, with only that touch of sanctimony that is such a feature of much diplomatic discourse. Although in the main ascriptive there is an undertone of prescription (again, not uncommon diplomatic circles). Finally, although ideologically partisan, the tone is conciliatory rather than confrontational. In both content and style the text is unmistakably Soviet, while displaying evident signs of 'new thinking'. While both the earlier and later interviewee probably could agree with aspects of this text, the former almost certainly would consider it dangerously liberal, while the latter in all likelihood would dismiss it as tiresomely half hearted. The parameters are bending in Example Three, but have not yet burst!

Conclusion

The impact of 'new thinking' undoubtedly has brought about more changes in the Russian language than at any other period since the Bolshevik seizure of power in 1917. Indeed in many spheres (cultural, intellectual and spiritual), changes implemented by Lenin and Stalin merely have been reversed. One may predict with some confidence that the processes outlined above will dominate changes in the Russian language for as long as the current transitional phase continues. By the same token, the more Russia is exposed to and integrated into the outside world, the greater will be the impetus for change, whatever the direction.

However, one should not underestimate the capacity of the Russian language for adaptation, continuity and endurance. Despite the scope of the changes in the last decade, the vast bulk of the Russian vocabulary remains unaltered. A Soviet citizen who left the country in 1985 would have little difficulty in understanding or making herself understood in 1995. It is true that many words and phrases have changed, but the key change has been in the parameters of discourse, brought about in turn by a growing tolerance of the concept of a plurality of ideas. For, despite the persistence of dissident literature and prison-camp jargon, the stranglehold of the unitary system monopolised by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was such that the state could determine the very parameters of thought and discourse, at least through the medium of print and broadcasting. Arguably, there is evidence enough that by relaxing and eventually surrendering its monopoly control over the Russian language in official discourse, the Soviet system lost its ability to control society at all.

In 1985, at the beginning of the period under review, there was the official word, a single point of view articulated by the CPSU leadership. This allowed every Soviet citizen to be aware of and to regurgitate in public a single Soviet standpoint on any issue. A decade on, the words, voices and viewpoints are multifarious. Russian society may be confused, the majority of her citizens undoubtedly are poorer in material terms. Potentially, however, the Russians intellectually are much better off. Certainly, the Russian language has become incomparably richer.

Notes

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1. Among the many books in English on this topic we would recommend in particular Andrei Melville and Gail Lapidus, *The Glasnost Papers: Voices on Reform from Moscow*, Westview Press, Boulder, 1990 and Tsuyoshi Hasegawa and Alex Pravda, *Perestroika: Soviet Domestic and Foreign Policies*, Royal Institute of International Affairs, Sage, London, 1990.
2. The analysis of pre-perestroika language covered the following publications: *Известия* 1979–85, *Неделя* 1978–86, *Экономическая газета* 1980–86, *Московские новости* 1980–85.
   For the purpose of analysing the transitional period, the following publications were used: *Московские новости* 1986–, *Независимая газета* 1992–94, *Известия* 1986–94.
3. *Советский энциклопедический словарь*, Москва, 1981. *Большой энциклопедический словарь*, Москва, 1991. *Современный словарь иностранных слов*, Москва, 1993.
4. George Scanlan, *Advanced Russian Interpreting Texts*, Second Edition, Collets, 1985; Svetlana Carsten and John Russell, *Glasnost: an advanced Russian interpreting course*, Bradford, 1993.
5. *Правда*, 16 January 1986.
6. English translation in *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, vol. XXXVII (1985), No. 15, pp. 11–12.
7. English translation in *ibid*, vol. XLIII (1991), No. 17, pp. 24–25.
8. The full title of Gorbachev's best-selling book was 'Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World'. Harper & Row, New York, 1987.
9. *Известия*, 20 August 1991.

Доска

VII Международная Олимпиада Школьников по Русскому Языку и Литературе

What it was really like (the non-TASS version)

Panic was the motive behind a lot of my preparation, which started in earnest about a week before the national finals of the Russian language Olympiad, before then, it was a nagging thought that got brushed aside in favour of some other more pressing thing. However, with a little panic, a Russian dictionary and lots of tea and coffee I prepared various outlines for conversations and learnt my Mandelshtam poem on Stalin. For this, I had to try to get used to the rhythm of Russian poetry, which was not easy, but somehow I managed.

I allayed my last minute fears on the train from Shrewsbury to Wolverhampton with a copy of *Moskovskie Novosti* given to me by my Russian teacher. We managed to get to the right place at the right time – and there began the waiting for the dreaded words 'Could we have Adam Fergus, please?'. After about 50 minutes' wait (less than I had expected) I was called and led down to prepare the text for reading. I returned, feeling relieved as much as anything else, even though a couple of verses of the Mandelshtam poem had got lost somewhere along the way. After lunch and more Russian revision, Tom Dickins appeared with the all-important list of names of those chosen to go through to the second round, as well as the good news that we would be allowed another try at our poems. I emerged from my second grilling, thankful that I had managed to remember the poem and that just mentioning the names 'Zhirinovski' and 'Vladislav Listev' seemed to show sufficient knowledge of contemporary Russian society. Relief then gave way to more panic as my teacher and I ran back to the station . . . Later that evening Tom Dickins wrote to inform me that I had been selected to take part in the international finals of the Russian language Olympiad in Moscow from 27th June to 3rd July.

7.50 a.m., 27th June. I stumble out of the train and into the chaotic passageways of Heathrow Terminal 1. The appeal of the Piccadilly Line wears pretty thin after the best part of an hour; that of Heathrow Terminal 1 wears thin after the best part of five minutes. Somehow we all managed to meet up and go to the British Airways Group Check-In where we handed over our luggage and were given our visas and tickets; by some quirk of fate (or Russian typist) my name had been transcribed to Адам Фергюс – fine, but why the *ю*? However, I had got off lightly; Shân had become Шэн. There then followed more corridors, immigration, security, waiting and a fairly uneventful flight to Moscow.

In complete contrast to the whiteness and diffused lighting of Heathrow, Moscow Sheremyetyevo comes as a surprise. The walls and floor are covered in dark brown marble and the ceiling is covered in what appear to be bronze-coloured baking tins. Lights are scarce and only the notices saying Не курить/No Smoking (ignored by many) seem to reflect any light at all. I had time to take all this in as we were waiting in orderly queues to go through passport control because here the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics lives on. The officials' green uniforms and their epaulettes, the counters specially designed so one cannot see what is being stamped, filed, taken away or recorded and the heights painted on the inside of the glass booth are all proof of that. On the other side of passport control, things have lapsed. Having declared every penny, cent or pfennig we had on us as well as any Soviet relics or bones, the customs officials simply waved us through to the meeting area where we met our guide, Yana, who promptly ran off in search of our bus.

Presently the bus (rather improbably called Ikarus) arrived and we set off on the Koltsevaya Avtodoroga, with its Western advertisement hoardings and droves of Volga, Moskvich and Zhiguli cars (front wings, hubcaps, etc. seem to be optional extras on Volgas, and not very popular ones at that.) A little over an hour later we arrived outside the Pushkin Institute and waited in the sunshine while administration dealt with the necessary documentation. Some while later Tom Dickins reappeared with the propuska (which we had to show on entry) and various other papers, so we went in, past an apparatchik glued to a telephone, a large statue of Pushkin, various notices and the thoroughly unwelcoming Места для курения on the staircase, to our rooms on the 3-й этаж – *2nd* floor in English, which consisted of two bedrooms and a bathroom. Despite the rubber stamped sheets and radios that only received one channel, they were reasonably well equipped and comfortable. Shortly, Yana came into our room, gave us some soap and lavatory paper (two luxuries I wasn't expecting) and said something to us rather hurriedly (finishing every sentence, or so it seemed, with either Хорошо? or Договорились?). I then realised that I would have to do a bit of work on my Russian over the coming week, but together we worked out that she had told us where to meet before going down to supper, which was in half an hour. Sadly, it didn't turn out to be a great experience . . . On the programme for that evening were 'favourite games of Russian children' – which, in practice, seemed to confuse everybody.

9.00 a.m., 28th June. The British and Austrian groups were slowly being baked in a sunlit room in some distant part of the Pushkin Institute, writing one of eight essays in an exercise book. For an ex-Soviet system, things seemed to be remarkably lax: dictionaries were allowed (although *we* had not brought any) and we could go whenever we had finished, which meant that we were all recovering in our rooms by 11 o'clock.

A sightseeing bus tour had been arranged for the afternoon, so after lunch a gaggle of Ikarus buses arrived. We set off for our first port of call, the (disgusting wedding-cake) University, which is in the Sparrow Hills and has a parapet in front of it, which has an excellent view of Moscow – not to mention the large numbers of souvenir stalls where US dollars seem to be the main currency rather than roubles. After a brief break there, we set off for the 'Central Museum of the Great Patriotic War'. Inside, there are vast expanses of marble, huge plaques with the official announcement of the attack on the Soviet Union in 1941 and the declaration of Marshal Zhukov's capture of Berlin and remarkably life-like panoramas of battle scenes. The Zal Slavy, with its huge bronze statue and thousands of names on marble tablets shows how much the Great Patriotic War (Second World War to you and me) still means to Russia; indeed, the obelisk outside and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in the Kremlin both had several freshly-laid bouquets laid on them. Then it was back to the bus again, but not before certain members of our group got thoroughly confused over the cost of a bottle of Coke; at the time, there were about 7,000 roubles to the pound, so it was very easy to get confused over numbers of noughts. (12,000 roubles? 120,000 roubles? What difference did it make anyway?) We set off and drove through central Moscow, including Ulitsa Tverskaya, Kalinin Prospekt and the Arbat. All the while we were given a running commentary, not only of the buildings but also a potted history of Moscow and other details such as an explanation of акать and окать. Our last stop was Red Square, where we could stretch our legs and admire the St Basil's Cathedral and the Spasskaya Bashnya and the Kremlin's for-bidding outer walls. That evening we managed to escape (relatively speaking) from Soviet-style clutches and explore the Arbat with the Austrian group. We squeezed ourselves into a bus to Yugo-Zapadnaya Metro station, where I sampled the Moscow Metro for the first time. Its efficiency puts London to shame and almost rivals Paris – at least where frequency is concerned, although the trains are a little primitive. The car lights, fed directly from the live rail, dim as the train starts and go out whenever the train passes over gaps in the live rail. The springs in the seats make up for the lack of suspension on the bogies and the spirited driving over certain stretches. There are, sadly, quite a few beggars and buskers on the stations, and their need is clearly genuine. However, about three-quarters of an hour later we got off at Biblioteka imemi Lenina and were walking through Arbatskaya station (finished, of course, in marble and with chandeliers hanging from its ornate ceiling) towards the Arbat, where we passed fire-eaters, dancing bears, men lying down on broken glass with another man standing on their chest. A visit to the MacDonald's on the Arbat was welcome as we hadn't been the only ones to find the Pushkin Institute food less than ideal. Our stomachs satisfied, we returned to the Institute; I felt as if I had eaten the packaging and not the food, but that was nothing to do with Russia – just MacDonald's . . .

30th June – the страноведение exams: I realised I would have to get the right questions, or I would be totally lost. Fortunately, the system selection of themes in the exams turned out to be quite relaxed. I managed to get a sheet on Russian literature and so I prepared answers to all the questions on it as best as I could; there were some I couldn't answer, but the examiners didn't seem to be interested in the questions at all in the exam: fate was kind to me. I paused at the bookstalls on the main staircase in the Institute to find not, as I was hoping, a reasonably simple book of short stories among various novels and picture-books, but plenty of books on art, translation of Dürrenmatt, Sartre, etc., and books on the history of philosophy, not to mention numerous Russian novels and anthologies of poems. I had forgotten that culture is not the elitist thing it is in the West. I went away more in admiration than disappointment at not having been able to find anything that I could manage.

The afternoon trip had been entrusted to Yana, so we travelled on the Metro to Ulitsa 1905-ogo goda station and set off for a Graveyard of State Heroes. During the afternoon we discovered that Yana knew only two names in our group, so whenever she shouted desperately 'Дэээниел!' or 'Шааан!', she wanted our whole group to cove over to her. The general consensus in the group (the group leaders Tom and Ruth included) was that it was not the best visit of the trip. Most of us had been trying to get in touch with friends or contacts in Moscow, but to no avail: the Institute telephones resolutely refused to work, and getting tokens for the few working public telephones there were was not easy. We returned to the Institute to discover that the American group was keen to meet us. Like us, they had probably suffered from Russian guides who were completely unintelligible apart from the inevitable Хорошо or Да, очень. We therefore went to their room after supper and were glad to find somebody who spoke the same language, until somebody in our group mentioned the word 'biscuit', and a long discussion on biscuits, scones, crackers, cookies and dinner rolls followed, among jokes at most people's expense, especially the Swedish group. We turned in at about five in the morning. I recommend Moscow sunrises at about half past three on a clear summer's morning.

1st July. Yana had grave difficulty in getting us up. None of us was particularly enthusiastic about getting up and meeting in the hall in an hour's time for breakfast, so we rolled over and went back to sleep, noisy dustcarts and wheelie-bins notwithstanding. Dan Nash made sure that he, Selva and Barry got some peace by locking the door to their room. Neither Dan Hedley nor I was awake enough to do likewise. When Yana returned, she unleashed an attack fiercer than those of the Mongol hordes on the locked door imploring

Дээзниел to get up, pausing only briefly to scream at Dan Hedley and me. She then disappeared, much to our relief. My heart sank when I heard her yell 'Шaaaн!' further down the corridor; Shân had asked me the previous evening to tell Yana not to bother waking Priya and her up as they didn't want breakfast. I was half-asleep, and in any case I wouldn't have been able to get a word in edgeways, but these excuses didn't cut very much ice. Somehow we managed to recover from this terrible attack in time for our last exam, which was general conversation. We went through the labyrinthine corridors to a room much like any of the several hundred others in the Institute and chose our sheets with conversation themes on: thankfully, choosing them was not so difficult this time! I emerged intact, having got around a few awkward moments in the conversation.

Fortified (or not, as the case may be) by another Pushkin Institute lunch, we had a free afternoon, as Yana had been dispensed with(!). Shân and Priya went with the Americans to see central Moscow and the rest of us went into the Kremlin with Ruth. Ignoring the 1960s additions and a Stalinist extension of the Kremlin palace which was a rather poor imitation of the original, the buildings were beautiful, and the cathedrals (or rather their gold domes in the sunshine) on Cathedral Square were dazzling. Outside the Kremlin proper, there is the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier with its eternal flame and inevitable freshly laid bunches of flowers. Seeing two people who were sitting on a nearby tablet with the inscription '1941 ПАВШИМ ЗА РОДИНУ 1945' being swiftly told to move by a policemen was another sign of the importance of the Great Patriotic War to the Russians. On leaving the Kremlin, we bumped into Gerhard, who had become separated from the rest of the Austrian group. He joined our rather chaotic tour of Ulitsa Tverskaia, the monument to Pushkin and the cultural experience of the Centralniy Telegraph. When we got back to the Institute, we got a nasty shock: we realised that we had to do something for the sketches at the closing ceremony the following day. There wasn't one Beatles song that we could all remember and we decided that our impersonations of the recorded announcements in Metro trains, although very accurate, weren't quite the sort of thing we were after. We eventually chose Heads, Shoulders, Knees and Toes, Auld Lang Syne and five British symbols which we decided to illustrate through mime and song. Priya had also agreed to do some impressive Indian dancing, so the outlook was decidedly better.

2nd July. A more peaceful morning, as we had left a large notice on our door politely telling Yana that we didn't want breakfast. At about 10 o'clock we went to the main hall in the Institute where the Official Closing Ceremony was due to take place for rehearsals, which seemed to go reasonably smoothly. The official closing ceremony began at 4 o'clock with a series of speeches from assorted dignitaries, and then the prize-giving got under way. Everyone received a prize: first there were the gramoty, then bronze medals, silver medals, gold medals and six super-prizes. There were also prizes for good essays or good performance in the oral exams. What was more worrying, however, is that the army of TV cameras that had arrived at the beginning of the ceremony did not disappear. We were going to be singing Heads, Shoulders, Knees and Toes in front of TV audiences from St Petersburg to Voronezh to Vladivostok. Our turn to go on stage duly came, and we began with our national symbol game, where Yours Truly gave the audience a clue to something typically British which we would then mime. However, they mostly guessed the symbol from the clue alone, so I had to be revoltingly insincere and say 'Очень хорошо!' or 'Молодец!' *after* we had finished miming! Luckily, everything else went well and Priya's dancing earned the attention of several photographers and a loud applause from the audience. The show went on with various national dances, endless songs from the German team (a source of great amusement to the Austrians who were sitting in the row in front of us) and more long speeches from the Vietnamese team. The 'Russian Tea' that was going to be organised in the canteen (according to the programme) did not happen; by the end of the week the programme had fallen apart. The Russians do not share the North European love of timekeeping, and probably for the better; I, for one, appreciated not having to look at my watch continually during the week. Our last night consisted of more talking to the Americans and Austrians, much exchange of addresses and a little packing in between.

3rd July. The last day brought more floods of instructions from Yana – but at least we could understand more of what she said than a week ago. We left our bags in our rooms and paid a last visit to Kalinin Prospekt for some souvenir shopping. The mind boggles when one considers that the Awkward system of payment in Foyles is almost universal in Russia . . . Time was short, so we had to head back to the hostel for lunch and to take our luggage down to the hallway, where I saw the apparatchik not on the telephone for only the second time that week. The Soviet Union really must be dead . . . I took my luggage downstairs by the lift but managed to go via the 13th, 9th, 4th and 7th floors. After lunch we went to the airport in the inevitable Ikarus bus. The Italians sang all the way; we just sat in our seats, overcome by the heat. An hour and a half later we reached the baking-tin adorned Shermyetyevo airport, which is more or less Western in style: the shops and so on are much like Western ones and even the long range flights within Russia are indicated in the Roman alphabet. I had managed to change some Western currency into roubles with great difficulty, as I had most pounds in travellers' cheques and a handful of pounds and dollars in cash. Most bureaux de change are interested only in dollars and Deutsche Mark, not pounds and certainly not travellers' cheques. I therefore got a very nasty shock when I heard rumours that one couldn't change money at the airport, but thankfully these turned out not to be true; I managed to change it into Deutsche Mark. After another bout of customs declaration, we checked in and waited. Presently we went through passport control and a few anxious moments when it appeared we had lost Ruth and Tom on the way to the departure lounge. We taxied out past the long row of Tupolevs, Antonovs and Ilyushins and took off. Over the next four hours the world's favourite airline managed to sap us of virtually all our energy so that by the time we reached the luggage reclaim hall at Heathrow Terminal 1 we could only read the *Evening Standard* or stand around rather aimlessly, waiting for our luggage to come through. Perhaps it would have been better if we had flown Aeroflot; at least the fear of being plunged from about 35,000 feet into central Europe would have kept us awake. As we waited for our luggage, I realised that Dan Hedley had been absolutely right when he predicted that the week would be a surreal one. The phones didn't work, changing money was next to impossible, the food wasn't great – but so what? I didn't care: it had been a surreal week – not that I minded that; I like surrealism – but above all a great one.

ADAM FERGUS (aged 17)

Kruzhki reports

From *Liverpool* our Convenor reports another good year for the kruzhok, and although some of the Russian members have moved away, others have arrived, amongst them Sergei and Lada Ivannikov, a young couple living temporarily in Liverpool. Their talk, given in May 1995, was entitled: 'V chom raznitsa mezhdu "russkim" i "sovetskim"?' The speakers commented on the painful effects on individuals of the break-up of the USSR, which they compared to a divorce in a family. In June a musical evening was held, called 'Pustynny ostrov' ('Desert island discs'), when a number of members brought along a favourite piece of Russian music on cassette, and briefly introduced it. The selection included ballet, opera and a great variety of songs. The year ended with a social evening including a buffet supper. To start the new academic year Marianne Greenan gave a talk entitled 'Roots à la Russe', in which she recounted the fascinating story of her search for her Russian roots. A combination of perseverance and chance led to the establishment of many links, including some she had not dreamed of. November's meeting consisted of a talk by Mary Andrews on 'Moskva togda i teper', in which she reflected on her latest stay in Moscow last summer, and noted the changes, most of them depressing, which had taken place in the years since her previous visit. Freedom of speech and the dogged determination of people were the compensations. In January a 'Burns Night' was held, celebrating the close links between Burns and Russia, combined with the 200th anniversary of the poet's death. Haggis and 'neeps' were served, followed by the traditional address to the haggis in Scots and Russian.

In *Thames Valley* the academic year started with a social evening of Russian songs and dances, followed in October by an evening watching a Russian video on Tchaikovsky, with discussion in Russian. The January meeting consisted of Russian translations of children's stories, read by Sophia Potyomkin, while February brought a Russian food-tasting evening and a family celebration of the traditional Russian *Maslenitsa*. In March Patsy Cross spoke on her recent visit to Russian provincial towns; she went with a delegation of eight Guiders from England to help the Russians set up Brownie and Guide units, raising her own funds for the trip. *Thames Valley* continue to hold Russian conversation evenings at frequent intervals, and these are always popular with the members.

It was good to hear again from *Leicester*, where the kruzhok, although small, is very active. It has a regular attendance of four non-Russians and two young women from Moscow whose husbands work at the University. Another young couple attend occasionally, of whom the wife, Albina Kumirova, is a talented artist who lived for 20 years on the island of Sakhalin, which was struck by a severe earthquake in May of last year, and again quite recently. When Albina initiated some fund-raising efforts the kruzhok took part in these. With the money collected and a considerable amount of warm clothing Albina travelled to Russia and distributed them among a number of orphans and injured children, of whom most have since been adopted by relatives or friends. These families have since been moved to other parts of Sakhalin or to the mainland. At a recent meeting the kruzhok read their humbling letters of thanks and heart-rending descriptions of the devastation, loss of relatives and friends, and the present hardships. Yet all wrote of the way the children are adjusting to their new families, schools and friends. Life is slowly regaining some measure of normality. A recent event of the kruzhok was a Russian evening of talks, slides, music, craftwork displays and Russian food. This was organised by Irina Schlumakova from the Society for Inter-Cultural Understanding and the Kruzhok was invited to take part. The kruzhok meets weekly at a local college, and part of the evening is taken up with reading or translating; a challenging task recently was translating back into Russian part of Pasternak's autobiography. Other kruzhki take note!

Northern Ireland held their autumn meeting in November, when Chris Skillen (Department of Politics, QUB) and Marcus Wheeler (ex-Slavonic Studies, QUB) introduced a discussion on the theme 'Russia: after Yeltsin – what/who next?' (did they predict the results of the June Presidential elections?!). In spite of the difficult circumstances at the University, where there are now no lecturers, our Convenor is nobly striving to keep the kruzhok going.

In *Exeter* Russian Week took place as usual in March. Speakers included Michael Basker, from Bristol University, on 'Russian Views of Britain in the Silver Age', Dr. Irina Sedakova from the Russian Academy of Sciences on 'Folklore in Post-Soviet Russia: A Renaissance?' Professor Rosalind J. Marsh, Professor of Russian Studies at the School of Modern Languages and International Studies at the University of Bath, on 'The Current State of Russian Literature', and Stephen Mulvey on 'An Insight into the Russian Elections'. Mr Mulvey is regional Reporter to the former Soviet Union and South East Asia and Senior Scriptwriter for the Russian Service of the BBC. Evening functions were a Russian dinner, followed by a performance by the Russian Choir, and on the final evening Gogol's *The Government Inspector* given by students of Exeter University

Russian Department. Another noteworthy event was a Vodka tasting presented by Peter Scorer of Exeter University, by courtesy of Smirnoff Vodka Ltd.

Here in *London* we were pleased to welcome Bob Dommett, Chairman of the Sutton Russian Circle, to our September meeting. He spoke about the 48 known Fabergé eggs, accompanying his talk with superb slides. Bob has long had an enthusiastic interest in the Fabergé eggs, and has seen many of them on show in New Orleans, at the Forbes Collection in New York, in the Kremlin and at Buckingham Palace. During November, on the recommendation of our Northern Ireland convenor, we were privileged to hear Kathy Berton speak on 'Moscow Architecture'. This talk was previously mentioned in the June 1995 *Rusistika*. We all thought we knew Moscow pretty well, but she certainly had some surprises for us! For the spring meeting I myself gave a slide talk on my trip last summer down the river Yenisei in Siberia. (I seem to make a habit of this, so watch out for the Ob and the Amur!) I found many similarities with the Lena, where I was in 1993, but also many differences, due mainly to the higher level of industrialisation – and therefore, often, pollution – on the Yenisei and the closer proximity to the West.

The convenors have worked very hard to keep the kruzhki active, and to send in these detailed and interesting reports. If there are any other Russian groups who are active but unsung, please let me know. A happy summer to everyone!

JOAN SMITH

Strategies for lifelong learning of Russian: some European responses

At a meeting of Russian teachers from all over Europe (and beyond), held in Helsinki in April 1995, some of the major problems presently facing teachers of Russian at all levels were highlighted and a number of constructive solutions were proposed by delegates. A full list of 'problems and solutions' was later prepared and distributed by the Finnish host institution and is published in part below:

Положение русского языка в странах Европы

I ПРОБЛЕМЫ

— экономика России
— нет личности человека
— получение информации о России
— русский алфавит
— учебные тексты
— Полезно ли изучать русский язык?
— мотивация учащихся
— экономический кризис (предоставляемые средства для организации обучения русскому языку недостаточны)
— МАРПЯЛ плохо работает
— «сложность» русского языка
— мало восможностей для стажировок в России
— курсы русского языка в России плохие
— нет эффективных методов для пропаганды русского языка
— русский язык кажется учащимся «чужим»
— издательства игноригуют русский язык
— газеты и журналы из России не доходят и дорого стоят за рубежом
— язык и государственная политика

II СПОСОБЫ РАЗРЕШЕНИЯ ПРОБЛЕМ, ВЫДВИНУТЫЕ НА ПЕРВОМ ЭТАПЕ ДИСКУССИИ

— работа с информацией о России с использованием национальной прессы
— создать «банк» новых книг и учебных материалов в рамках МАПРЯЛ — составлять ежегодно список этих материалов
— информация о России: регулярный обмен опытом и знаниями в школах и региональных группах ассоциаций преподавателей русского языка
— организовать встречи учеников, изучающих русский язык в разных странах
— подобрать учебные тексты из произведений русской литературы, которые ученик воспринимает как русский мир
— создать дайджест прессы как периодическое издание МАПРЯЛ

  - содержание объективно, но с позитивной доминантой
  - авторы: ИРЯП
  - рецензенты: представители нескольких стран
  - использовать как тексты учебные, так и материал для агитации
- создать фонд текстов из русских журналов/газет
- переосмысление философского базиса языка; исходя из методологии искать новых практических решений
- дистанционное повышение квалификации русистов
- увеличение арсенала курсов (их разнообразия) ради точности выбора
- недовольство курсами в России
- информация о рекомендуемых курсах в «Вестнике МАПРЯЛ«
- предусмотреть для рассмотрения на ближайшем форуме вопрос о тех аспектах государственной языковой политики, которые касаются иностранных языков
- российская сторона должна оказать более эффективную помощью (интересные мероприятия для детей, родителей)
- система ежегодных льгот, предоставляемых МАПРЯЛ ее подразделениям
- повысить эффективность МАПРЯЛ
- организовать для повышения мотивации в сотрудничестве с городскими властями выставки, мероприятия, куда приглашают писателей и т.д.
- углублять сотрудничество с Российским культурным центром в данной стране
- адаптировать/переделать хороший учебный материал по другим языкам (английскому)

III СПОСОБЫ РАЗРЕШЕНИЯ ПРОБЛЕМ, ВЫДВИНУТЫЕ НА ВТОРОМ (ОКОНЧАТЕЛЬНОМ) ЭТАПЕ ДИСКУССИИ

- организация встреч продолжительностью 3 4 дня (викторин, экскурсий, соревнований, вечеринок, компьютерных игр и т.д.) для учащихся из разных стран
- важно, чтобы среди организаторов в.у. мероприятий были молодежь и носители языка
- главное в программе в.у. встреч общение на русском языке
- показ национальных традиций участников
- Как собирать деньги для организации в.у. встреч?
- контакты по электронной почте
- видеоконфереции
- обмен видеокассет
- создать специальную группу, состоящую из авторитетных этнолингвистов, литературоведов, философов и др., для отбора и оценки текстов с русским языком, представленности в них «русского мира»
- результаты работы в.у. группы размножить в виде рекомендаций для различных восрастных и национальных групп (контингентов) обучаемых

As a direct result of this meeting in Helsinki, I asked representatives of Associations of Russian Teachers from the following countries to send me information about the status of Russian teaching in their respective countries. These countries were:

Austria, France, Finland, Belarus', Hungary, Georgia, Moldova, Spain, Italy, Lithuania, Estonia, Netherlands, Switzerland, Belgium, Bulgaria, Sweden, Ireland, Poland, Romania, Norway, Albania, Germany and the Czech Republic.

Detailed (and often very constructive) responses were received from:

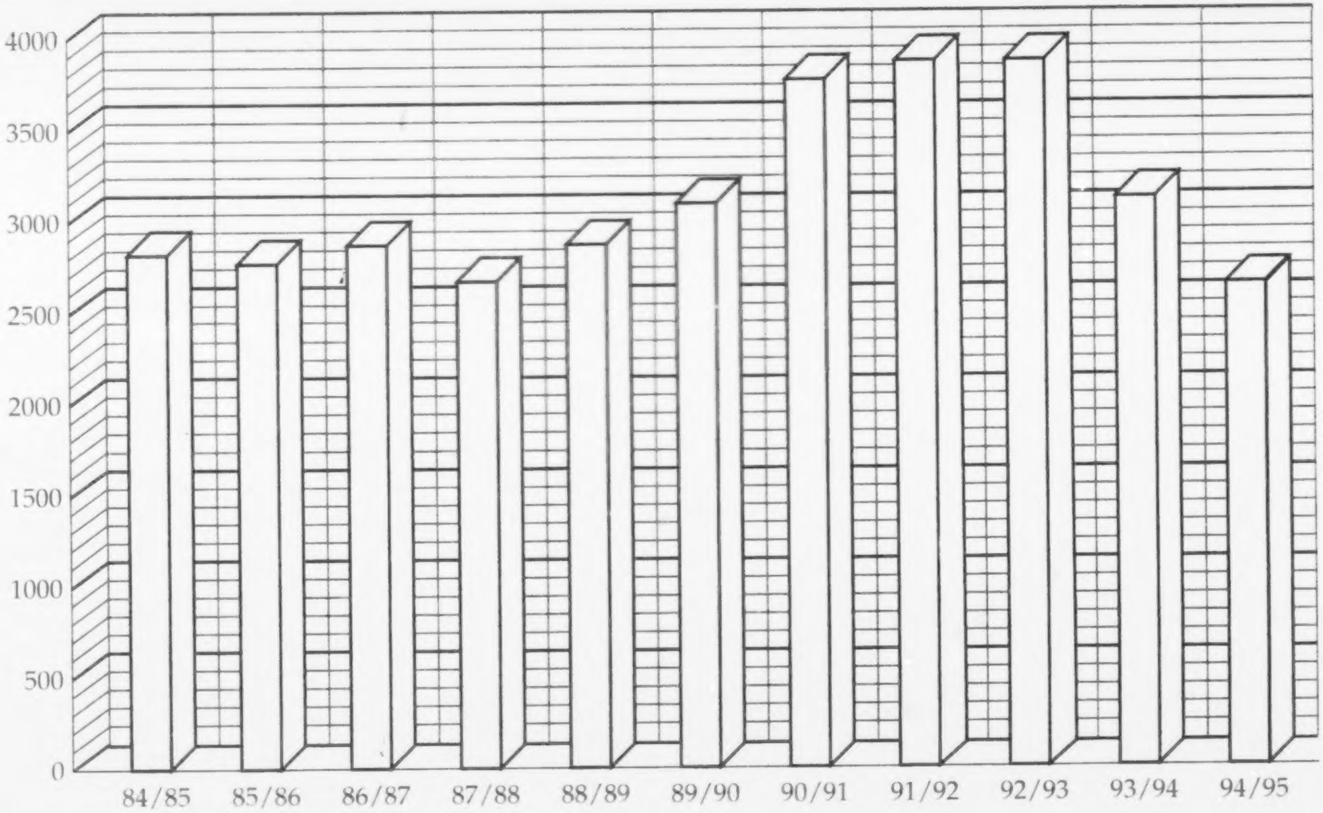
Albania, Austria, Hungary, Germany, Finland, Sweden, Spain, Moldova, Belarus', Poland and Lithuania.

(Short extracts from the replies sent by Austria and Lithuania are printed below.)

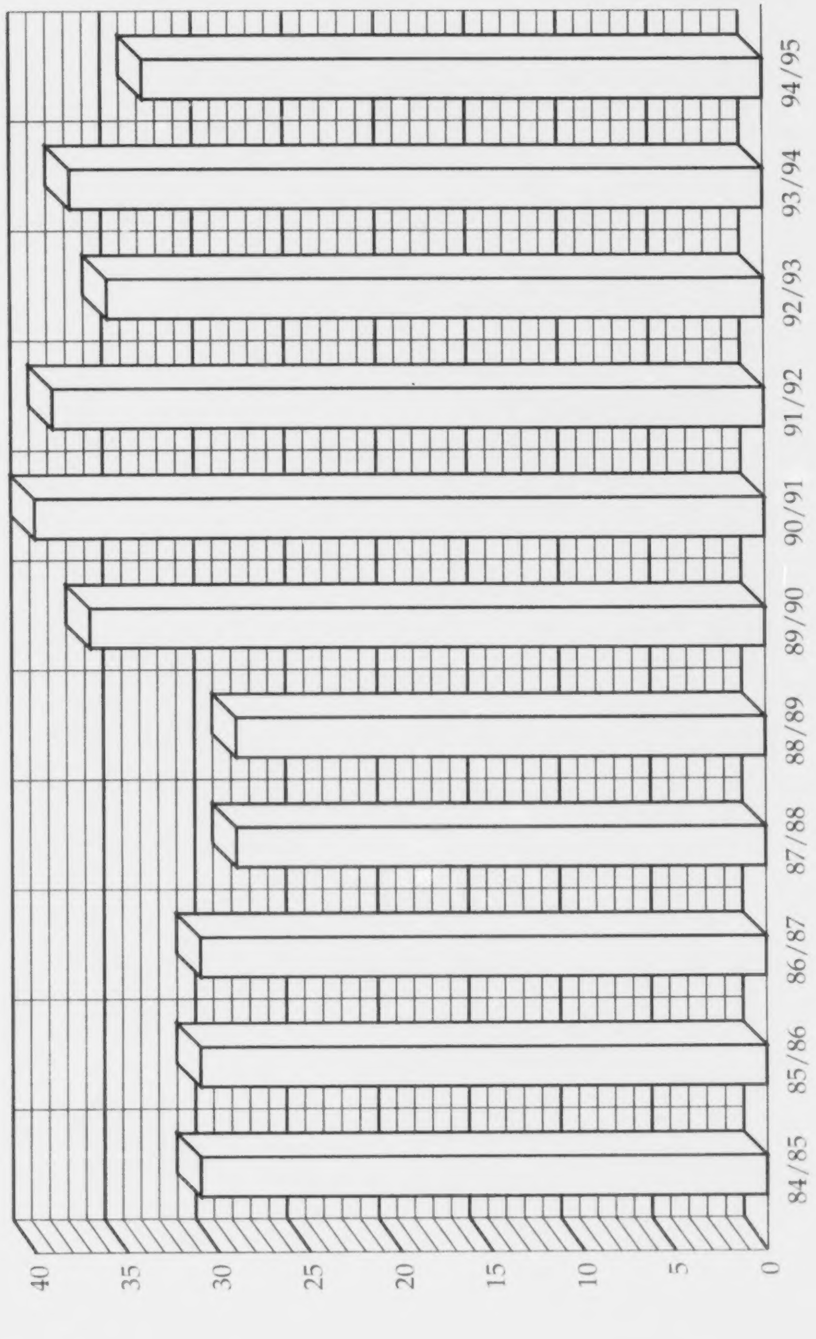
Many of those who responded to me expressed a desire to share fuller experiences and strategies in the field of Russian language teaching with the British counterparts. Consequently, a short selection of their articles will appear in the December 1996 and the June 1997 editions of *Rusistika*. It is hoped that British readers will respond to these and establish contacts which will doubtless be both enriching and mutually beneficial.

Положение русского языка в австрийских школах

Общее число учащихся, изучающих русский язык в Австрии с 1984 года

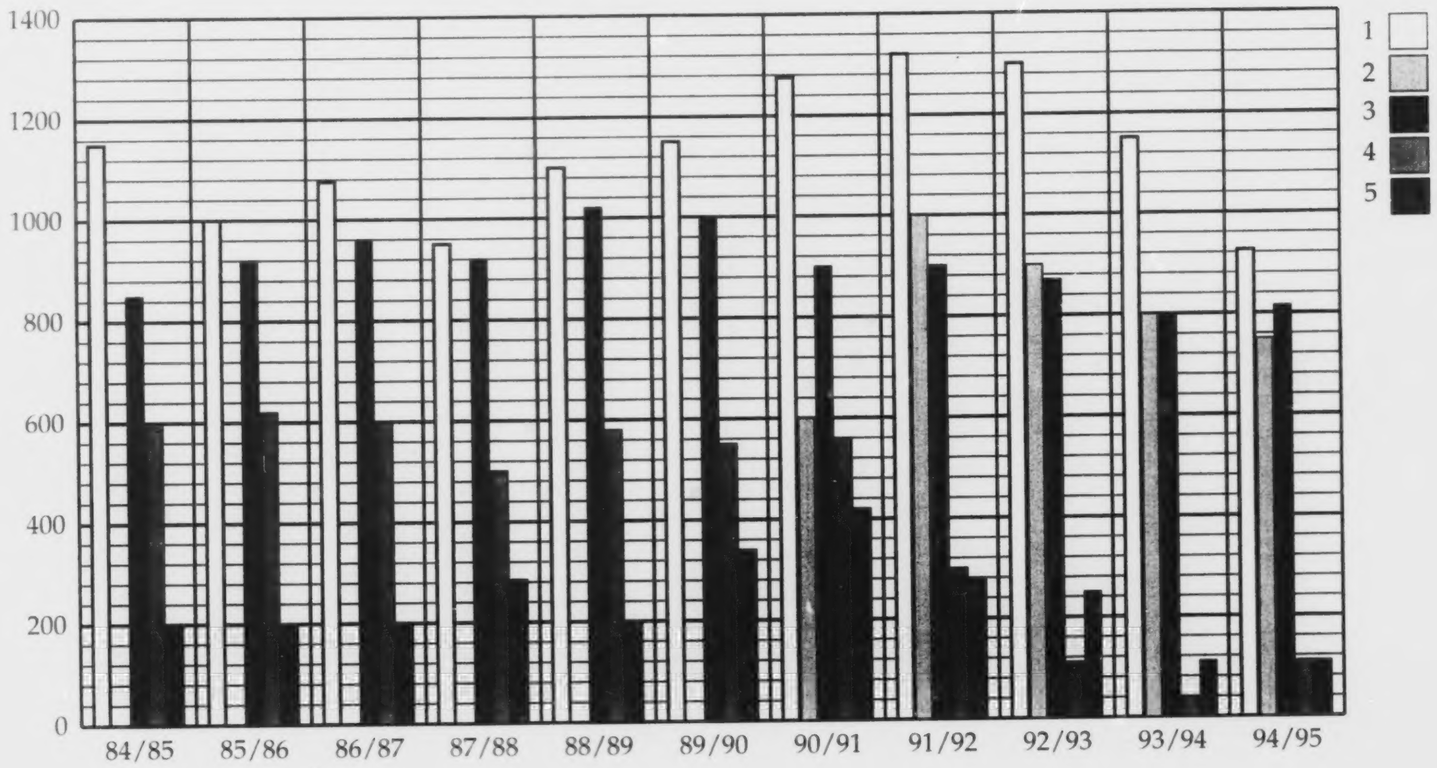


Общее число школ в Австрии с преподаванием русского языка в качестве обязательного предмета (второй иностранный язык)



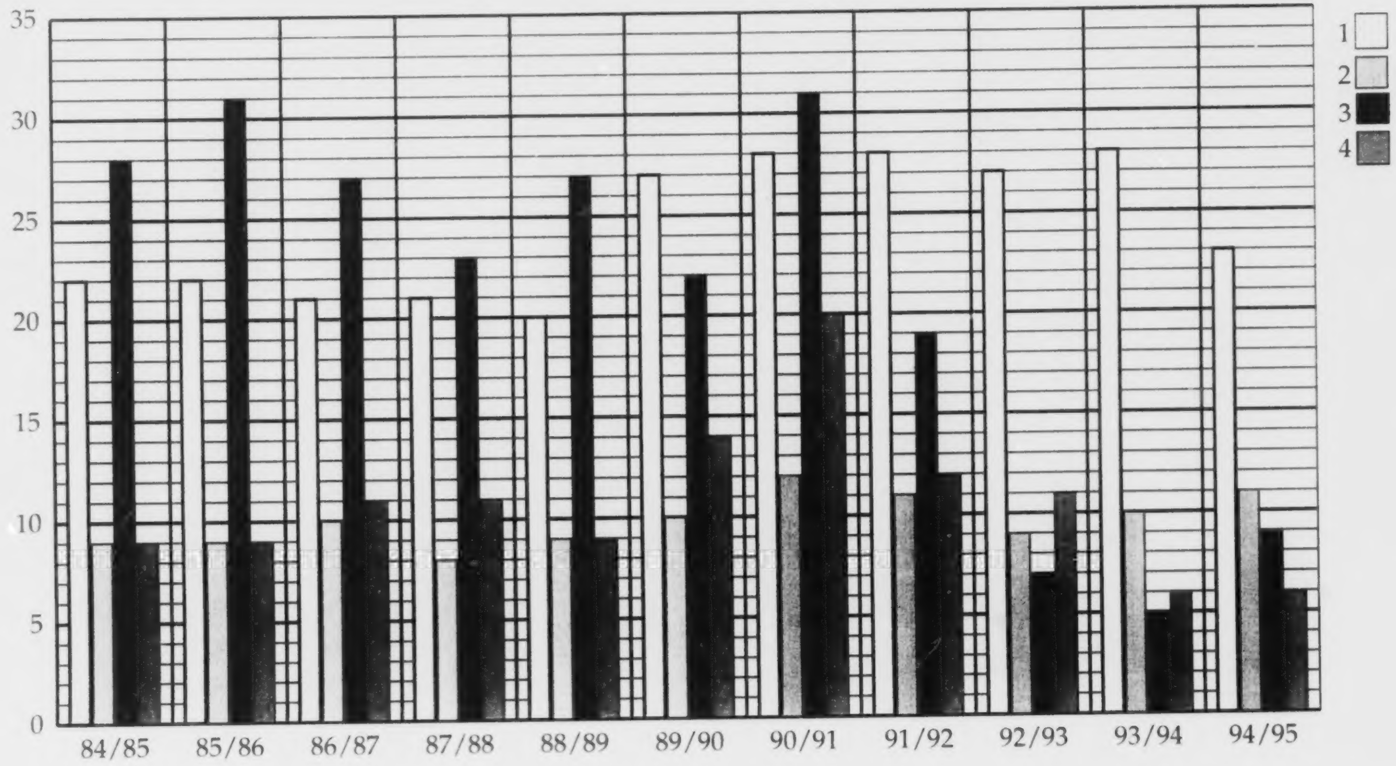
Число учащихся, изучающих русский язык в Австрии (отдельно по школам)

1 — Число учащихся в гимназиях (русский язык как второй обязательный иностранный язык)
2 — Число учащихся в гимназиях (русский язык как факультативный обязательный предмет)
3 — Число учащихся в торговых училищах (русский язык как второй обязательный иностранный язык)
4 — Число учащихся в гимназиях (русский язык как факультативный предмет)
5 — Число учащихся в торговых училищах (русский язык как факультативный предмет)



Школы, в которых преподается русский язык

1 — гимназии с русским языком как обязательный предмет (второй иностранный язык)
2 — торговые училища с русским языком как обязательный предмет (второй иностранный язык)
3 — гимназии с русским языком как факультативный предмет
4 — торговые училища с русским языком как факультативный предмет



Некоторые сведения об изучении русского языка в школах Литвы

В 1993/94 учебном году русский язык как иностранный изучали 198.960 учащихся /сравн. в том же году:

англ. яз.	185.034 уч.
немецкий яз.	87.259 уч.
французский яз.	24.230 уч.

В 1994/95 уч. году
русский 181.433 уч.

Еще не разработан на государственном уровне нормативный документ о предпочтительном выборе какого-либо из 4-х иностранных языков — английского, русского, немецкого, французского в качестве первого иностранного языка, однако налицо тенденция увеличивающегося числа учеников, изучающих английский и немецкий языки с первого класса, русский — с седьмого класса.

В 1994/95 г. Русский как первый иностранный изучают в 414 школах (из 1359) — 56.912 уч.
как второй или третий иностр. — в 852 школах (из 1147 школ) —124.521 уч.
(Всего второй иностр. яз. изучают 176.608 уч.)

В 1994/95 г. русский язык в Литве преподают 2822 учителя, из них:
2141 в литовск. школах,
470 в русских школах
30 в польских школах
181 в смешанн. школах

В 1993/94 уч. г. русский язык изучали в
1149 школах, из них в
182 городских и
957 районных школах Литвы.

MARGARET TEJERIZO

(A fuller version of the above was presented as part of a workshop at the recent ALL Conference in Exeter.)

Learning Russian in later life . . . some reflections

The June 1993 issue of the Russian Journal *Rusistika* carried an article 'Reflections of a Mature Student or Learning in Later Life' which aired some of the problems I thought I might face when deciding to study Russian. I feel an update would not go amiss.

I completed the course, and graduated with an ordinary MA in 1994, knocking two years off my original timetable, though to be honest, my target to be achieved by my 80th birthday was an honours degree. Since I graduated I have continued my studies, and am in my final year of a two year course aiming for 'Proficiency in Russian'. If doing an ordinary MA degree is like a middle distance run, then doing the Proficiency in Russian course is like a Marathon!

The higher skills required served to highlight the disadvantages of my not having spent some part of the course in Russia, and this in turn led to a sense of 'loneliness' in not being able to share in the experiences of the other students – for there is a lot of value in learning from each other and working together. However, as I indicated in my previous article, mixing with other students kept me sane and their attitude and enthusiasm not only impressed me, but also encouraged me.

My studies at University confirmed to me the opportunities that exist for mature students, especially those in mid-career, they have to realise that their quality of life and prospects can be enhanced by better communication that languages are able to bring. In a world where little is certain, people should be looking for innovative and solid teaching to equip them with high level skills to deal with increasing uncertainty, universities have the skills and the necessary expertise, not only in the field of communications, but also in the interrelated areas of human resource development, consultancy and research, for mature students to acquire the necessary high level skills to pursue diverse careers in senior management, consultancy, or dare I say it, academia.

It is not necessarily important for anybody in society that they do well, but it is important for them that they do well. Self interest is the key. At the Association's conference at Exeter University in April, there was a call for a more coherent national policy for all age groups. The Association is worried that languages were downgraded beyond the age of 14 in the review of the national curriculum when the CBI and the Department of Trade and Industry are emphasising their importance in economic terms. British education, particularly at University level, still finds itself locked in the dilemma of the new realism: equip the young for employment, and the search for truth can go hang itself! But in truth it does not matter what you teach, what matters is how you go about it. Business should always be studied with regard to possible alternatives. That is how to produce a graduate who is both informed and critical – the type of person industry cries out for. Mature students are unlikely to want to do just the minimum required to pass their exams, they simply want to know how to do the 'job': they feel a need to be in control at-all times. It's a long slog and you have to keep up in a marathon . . .

MAJOR R. CAMPBELL

(Major Campbell gave a short workshop presentation at the recent ALL Conference at Exeter.)

MA degree for man of 78

A 78-YEAR-OLD grandfather was among the graduates capped at the weekend by Glasgow University. Robert Campbell, from Kilsyth, received his MA in Russian and English literature, and members of his family were there to pose with him for the photographer.

Mr Campbell, born in London, started using Russian when he worked with the Americans on the Control Commission in post-war Germany. He returned to Britain, was a director in the construction industry and married a Glaswegian. When he retired, he enrolled in classes at the university. He is continuing his studies at the university, working towards a certificate of proficiency in Russian.

Editorial

The past few months have been very interesting and full for Russianists all over Britain. Additionally, new publications have appeared on the scene which promise to be of great use to Russian teachers at all levels.

In late March, for example, the ALL Annual Conference took place at Exeter University. Galina Kurokhtina, Senior Lecturer at the Pushkin Institute, Moscow, was the main speaker in the Russian section of this Conference and the full text of her fascinating lecture is published in this edition. In early May, the University of Sunderland offered a 'Russian Film Weekend' which was led by Frank Beardow, Reader in Social and International Studies at Sunderland University. Readers will doubtless recall Frank Beardow's series of excellent articles on Russian and Soviet cinema for *Rusistika*. The St Petersburg 'Maly' Theatre made a welcome return visit to Britain in May/June, appearing at venues in Brighton, Newcastle, Nottingham, Glasgow and London. The latest in the series of the ALL 'Russian Days' was held in London in early June and speakers included Professor Terry Wade.

Professor Wade's latest book, *RUSSIAN ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY* (Duckworth Publications), was published earlier this year and it will be reviewed in December's *Rusistika*. This new dictionary 'describes the etymology of 1,500 central words in the Russian language' and will doubtless be of great use to Russianists everywhere. It is the first book in English of its kind. New CILT books have also been published in recent months, including *TEACHING GRAMMAR: PERSPECTIVES IN HIGHER EDUCATION, TEACHING TRANSLATION IN UNIVERSITIES: PRESENT AND FUTURE PERSPECTIVES and WORKING WITH LANGUAGES*. These, and other new CILT publications, will be reviewed in December. Readers wishing a full list of the very useful CILT publications for language teachers should contact CILT directly on 0171 379 5101. In early spring, John Langran, co-author of *RUSLAN 1*, the popular communicative Russian course, led a teachers' day in London and details of the long-awaited *RUSLAN 2* were announced. Teachers wishing any further information should contact John Langran at RUSLAN, 19 Highfield Road, Moseley, Birmingham, B13 9HL.

On behalf of the Russian Committee, I would like to thank all those who have been involved in the organisation and running of the selection of events mentioned above. (In the December edition of the journal we will be presenting a short section on the Committee, about its members and its activities.)

As always, letters, articles and/or notes on teaching strategies and other items of Russian interest are welcomed. Because of the two 'special' issues of the journal (June 1995 and December 1995) some authors are still waiting to see their contributions in print; these articles/reviews will finally be published in December 1996.

MARGARET TEJERIZO

Reviews

A message from the new Reviews Editor

The advent of a new Reviews Editor does not automatically mean a change in the number or style of reviews appearing, but it could. For any change to occur the crucial, if rather obvious, need is for there to be a range of people with a range of interests and experience in the field of Russian teaching, who are willing to write reviews for *Rusistika*. My first, probably very predictable, call is for people who would like to be added to the list of reviewers to contact me at the address given below. I would be especially pleased to hear from practising Russian teachers in the secondary and tertiary sectors.

In addition, I would like to propose the expansion of the reviews section to include two new aspects – depending on the appeal of the ideas and writers wishing to contribute. The first suggestion is that teachers who are using IT in Russian teaching, either with dedicated software for Russian or by adapting other programmes in some way, write briefly about what they use and how they use it. This would provide an ongoing review/discussion section. Similarly, the second suggestion is that we focus on materials for Russian teaching which might have been in existence for a while, but which teachers feel are still very valuable. This section would be open to any contributor, unsolicited, to write briefly on the themes of: 'Why I find . . . especially successful with my (age/ability/stage) learners', or: 'I have supplemented . . . by developing . . . '

In the present time, when Russian in schools, colleges and higher education is seriously threatened, the opportunities for new materials which parallel those developed for other languages is very limited. It seems useful therefore for teachers to be reminded of the materials which are available, and to find out about new ways of using them.

If you wish to contribute in any way, please write to:

Philip Hood, School of Education,
University of Nottingham, University Park,
Nottingham NG7 2RD

If you have access to e-mail, the address is: philip.hood@nottingham.ac.uk.

Reviews

Modern Russian. An Advanced Grammar Course, by Derek Offord. *Bristol Classical Press, 1993, xi + 461 pp., £14.95. ISBN 1-85399-361-1*

The publication of this book is a long-awaited and highly welcome event for teachers and students of Russian in British universities and other institutions of higher education. Although there do exist some home-produced Russian grammar books for the beginners' and post-beginners' level, teaching grammar for advanced students, however, has been constantly associated with an acute lack of appropriate teaching materials, particularly, of a practical nature. After 'The Comprehensive Russian Grammar' by Professor T. Wade, this is the second successful attempt to fill the gap.

Modern Russian Grammar has a dual aim: written basically as a reference book, it is supplemented with exercises which conclude each chapter. The book covers 64 lessons, dealing with areas of Russian Grammar, which are particularly troublesome for English native speakers. The topics include: declensions of nouns, conjugation of verbs, use of cases, the forms and use of adjectives, pronouns, numerals. A great deal of attention is given to the grammar of the verb.

The grammar material, presented in the book, covers advanced and very advanced levels, and only selected chapters are suitable for post-beginners. The basic meanings of the Grammar concept in question are presented in very short paragraphs at the beginning of each lesson, and are not dwelt on.

The explanations in Derek Offord's book are set out in language that is clear and accessible to the students. Therefore, it can be used both in class, with the tutor's comments, as well as self-study material. Use of it can be made not only in classes on Grammar, but also in Translation classes (for example, Leson 61: Translation of the very 'to be'). The reference part of the book can also be successfully drawn on for professional purposes by translators, interpreters and teachers.

The concise explanations of grammar material are backed by copious illustrative examples. The majority of examples are taken from media sources, representing the language at a most up to date stage, and in various styles.

Some examples extend to a metasentence level, which is very important when some grammar features, strongly dependent on context, are demonstrated (as, for example, the demonstration of the perfective denoting actions in a narrative sequence, pp. 321–22).

'An Advanced Grammar Course' is ambitious and innovative – the author is not afraid to step into the ambiguous areas of Russian language, to demonstrate the cases where straightforward and rigid rules are not accessible, for example, in Lesson 20, §4 (Choice of case for the direct object of a negated verb).

Although vocabulary building is not announced as being amongst the main aims of the book, the author still succeeds in expanding this particular area. The well selected illustrations to grammar rules grant the opportunity of acquisition of a broader passive vocabulary; the exercises, particularly those on translation, offer a good chance of both: revision of known, and memorising of some new items of active vocabulary. An English–Russian vocabulary of words in their meanings within the context of the exercises, is placed at the end of the book, as well as an Index of Russian words and morphemes, both supplements are a clever methodological back-up for the vocabulary-building activity.

Nevertheless, on some occasions there are a number of inconsistencies, particularly when the chapters whose chapters correspons to the structural units of Russian are occasionally interspersed with chapters named after English grammar concepts. For example, confusion may be caused when the students come across the explanation of the Russian Conditional mood which is located in two different chapters: 'Conditional Sentences' and 'Subjunctive Mood'. The aim of the students would normally be either to find out what corresponds in Russian to be English Conditional and Subjunctive or to work out what is in fact the 'Russian Subjunctive'. In both chapters it is not totally clear which language is a starting point for the explanations. If the agreement among British scholars (T. Wade, E. Cruise) is that there is no Subjunctive Mood in Russian, but only Conditional – the position which would be argued by the compilers of the Russian Academic Grammar – and if the book follows the logic and the terminology, derived from the Russian language structure, it should be acknowledged that what is given under 'Hypothetical Conditional Sentences' and 'The Subjunctive Mood' is in fact the same grammatical reality.

A weakness of the book is that although the exercises provide a positive aspect they do not unfortunately reflect modern approaches to language teaching. The exercises are not versatile enough, they are monotonous and lack a communicative dimension. Often all that is required is to give particular forms of some listed individual words, or simply to translate from or into Russian. For example, p. 11: 'Give the instrumental singular of . . .'; p. 35: 'Write out the present tense of the following 1a verbs'; p. 75: 'Translate into Russian'.

The layout of the exercises is too dense. If the body of an exercise consisted of separate sentences, it would be much better for the students' perception if each sentence started with a new line.

The book contains a very small number of grammar inaccuracies, for example, on p. 87 accus. pl. of 'тетя' should be 'теть' and not 'тетей'; on p. 108, in an exercise to practise the genitive case, students are asked to translate the collocate 'the University of Oxford', while the Russian genitive equivalent 'университет Оксфорда', though grammatically correct, is not used in Russian, being dominated by the attributive form: 'Оксфордский университет'.

However, despite some reservations, 'An Advanced Grammar Course' is scholarly profound and – to stress once more – a very timely book. It is a sound contribution to teaching and learning Russian at University-level in English-speaking countries. It definitely will be used by many students both now and in the future, with many editions to follow.

LARA RYAZANOVA
University of Edinburgh

Miniflashcards Russian Language Games, *various packs available, information from PO Box 1526, London W7 1ND, Tel: 0181 567 1076 Fax: 0181 566 3930*

The materials consist of sets of mini-flashcards (designed for small group work) and various board games for use in Russian, Spanish or Welsh. The cards are colourful and attractive and the vocabulary is printed clearly on the reverse of each card. Although the pictures are at times a little puzzling or ambiguous, this seemed to enhance the fun for students in working out what each drawing represented. The packs of mini-flashcards are categorised into familiar topics such as: *Food and Drink, Holidays, Travel, Weather and Seasons, Town.* The vocabulary chosen is both extensive and challenging. The cards can be used in a variety of ways with a variety of classroom groupings. The tasks range from turning over cards in order to guess vocabulary to attempting to construct sentences which incorporate the vocabulary on the cards.

The dice provided in the packs can be used to test vocabulary skills in other ways. There are several questioning dice (i.e. почему, что, кто, где) which can be put together with the flashcards and which then require pupils to think up questions using a word chosen from the pack.

The dice themselves can be combined and used as a means for number practice at various levels. They can also be used effectively in conjunction with the *Food and Drink* topic pack for practising the genitive case in ordering quantities. Within the teacher resource pack are booklets containing extensive lists of suggestions for use with these materials as well as a range of photocopiable sheets for producing class sets of flashcards or for using simply as worksheets for oral work. The availability of such photocopiable materials extends the use of these resources even further. Students may enjoy creating some of the materials themselves by labelling the mini-pictures accurately or by using them as a model to extend the vocabulary.

The board games vary in complexity but provide a novel way of reinforcing or learning vocabulary. The *A-maze-ing Board Game* is perhaps the most straightforward and involves moving across a maze with dice and counters, using the mini flashcards as question cards. The Chance cards add another dimension to the game and require pupils to carry out various tasks in the target language. The game offers plenty of scope for extending current language into new material. These materials proved to be very successful when they were trialled with a mixed ability Year II GCSE Russian group over several lessons and using a variety of grouping strategies to give the students themselves maximum exposure to the methods provided by the pack. The students were happy to evaluate the materials while using them and also noted the vocabulary they had learned in the process. The feedback was very positive. Comments included: 'very good and useful ', 'different', ' makes a change', 'you learn many new words.' These comments reflected my impression of their obvious enthusiasm when engaged in the tasks. There is scope for using the mini-flashcards with younger age-groups although where vocabulary is restricted there may be some difficulties. However, the photocopiable worksheets can allow for flexibility and adaptation in the creation of materials appropriate to a particular topic area and level.

In summary these materials are a valuable additional resource to a text-book diet.

ANDREA BIRKWOOD
Elizabethan High School, Retford

Tolstoy's Childhood, by Gareth Williams. *[Series: Critical Studies in Russian Literature], Bristol Classical Press (Gerald Duckworth), London, 1995. vi + 110 pp, ISBN 1 85399 383 2*

Russian literature studies have changed since I was a lad. So much the better, some will retort. Then there was little choice of critical material: *one* book on Saltykov-Shchedrin or even Lermontov made a good library. In Russian the student had to put up with the socio-political obsessions of the Tsarist period or indeed those of the Marxist-Leninists.

Now things are different: bibliographies are available that most undergraduates will consider immense. They can now choose between structuralists, post-structuralists, deconstructionists, feminists, neoformalists, 'new' critics, and others who cannot be assigned to an 'ism', some of whom are a good deal more interested in saying very intellectualsounding things than in illuminating the works they are discussing.

All this is important because literature cries out to be discussed, and criticism is concerned with how we deal with literature intellectually. This little book on Tolstoy's *Childhood* by Gareth Williams will be of great help in showing students that there are many, many different ways of 'processing' literary works. It indicates many possibilities for an intelligent reading of the text.

It is, however, no set of revision notes to help the lazy or the stupid through an exam for which they have badly prepared themselves, but a very demanding read. A thorough chronological account is given of the critical reception of *Childhood*. Certain apparently straightforward, but actually rather difficult, issues are discussed, such as the extent if any to which the tale is autobiographical or to which it was intended (or understood) as a typical portrayal of a child of Nikolenka's class. There is a commentary to the first five chapters. Some of the following discussion becomes a trifle wearisome: 'Smith (1958) thinks . . . while Jones (1961) counters that . . . ; however Robinson (1988) takes another view . . . ; and Brown (1994), with whom I agree, demonstrates that . . . ' but the message is important: there are many ways of looking at the work, many eminent people disagree with each other, some are inconsistent or even make errors of fact, and – most importantly – dealing with both text and critics is a rigorous, demanding and ultimately fascinating business which cannot be skimped.

It is perhaps disappointing that Williams makes relatively few connections with other fictional, autobiographical or pseudo-autobiographical works which portray childhood. There is no doubt, however, that many teachers and students studying or teaching *Detstvo* at all levels will want to have this book on their shelf, and it will be in great demand in the library. All but the brightest sixth-formers will find it makes no concessions to their lack of experience, and teachers will need to guide them through it. It is none the less an important short study and a useful addition to the series planned by Bristol Classical Press.

JAMES MUCKLE
University of Nottingham

Nikolai Leskov, Schism in High Society, Lord Radstock and his Followers, trans. and ed. James Muckle, *Bramcote Press, Nottingham, 1995, 117 pp. + bibliography + index.*

It is now a quarter of a century since the publication of James Muckle's monograph on *Nikolai Leskov and the 'Spirit of Protestantism'* (Birmingham Slavonic Monographs, Birmingham, 1971). At that time it may have been difficult to imagine that the clash of cultures implicit in that title would ever again become a live issue in Russia. But for anyone wishing to understand the roots of the Russian evangelical movement, Leskov's text is required reading. By publishing this translation, Dr Muckle has not only brought to light a work by Leskov that is little known even in Russia, he has also made it accessible to the English reader and equipped it with scholarly references, explanatory footnotes, a brief introduction and a longer critical afterword which attempts to assess the importance of Radstock on the Russian religious scene in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and, no less important, the reliability and underlying motives of Leskov's account.

As Dr Muckle reminds us, Leskov was disenchanted with the Orthodox Church of his time and seeking spiritual enlightenment in other quarters. Yet he remained Russian Orthodox at heart and his wish was to bring the Orthodox Church back to life rather than to undermine or oppose it. He was personally acquainted with a number of the Russian ladies who were attracted by Lord Radstock's missionary activities in St Petersburg and Moscow in the 1870s. Best of all he knew Iuliia Denisovna Zasetskaiia who, he believed, had actually invited Radstock to St Petersburg in the first place. She provided him in written form with much of the most reliable information for his account. He had to tread a careful path and he ended up, one suspects, by pleasing no-one. Although his account of Zasetskaiia is wholly positive, and he concludes by saying that, provided the authorities do not overreact, Radstock and his followers can do no harm to the Orthodox Church and may even be of benefit to it, she was deeply upset by his treatment of Radstock, whom Leskov represents as uninspired, confused, and something of a comic figure in spite of his good heart. Like Dostoevsky, Leskov was amazed that such a poor preacher could convert his listeners to such a pure, active, dedicated Christian life.

If Leskov's book were an MPhil thesis it would be failed or referred for resubmission. It is full of factual inaccuracies; its argument is at times confused, and replete, it would seem, with *non sequiturs*, which cannot be disguised in the translation. In this respect it reflects the confusion, uncertainties and conflict of loyalties in Leskov's own mind. But it also provides us with some striking descriptions of Radstockist meetings and even two specimen sermons, transcribed, it is claimed, verbatim. As a contemporary eye-witness response to a form of Christianity which baffled (as it continues to baffle) most Russians brought up in the Orthodox faith, it is superb. Dr Muckle acts the part of external examiner as well as of editor and translator and recognises the documentary value of Leskov's text, for all its faults. As a matter of fact it is also instructive as an example of the way Leskov customarily transforms the materials of real life in his written work, including his fiction. Dr Muckle has given us further examples in his recent translations of Leskov's *Vale of Tears* and *'On Quakeresses'*, which will also interest readers of this book.

MALCOLM V. JONES
University of Nottingham

Glas: New Russian Writing, nos 1–7 (1991–4), *Russlit Publishers, Moscow. 1. Revolution, 2. Soviet grotesque, 3. Women's view, 4. Love and fear, 5. Bulgakov and Mandelstam, 6. Jews and strangers, 7. Booker winners and others.*

The inspiration and realisation of *Glas*, the (self-styled) digest of the newest and most interesting in contemporary Russian writing, are those of Natasha Perova, a Moscow translator who has dedicated enormous amounts of time and energy to providing a shop-window for Russian literature in the Anglophone world. Its primary objective is the accurate and stylish publication of this literature in English, in the hope of acquainting non-Russian speakers with otherwise inaccessible works of merit. Ideally, too, Western publishers might be sufficiently impressed to consider bringing out some of these authors under their own imprint. Only two numbers are therefore available in Russian, mostly on grounds of expense, but also because the majority of contributions can be found in the *tolstye zhurnaly*. *Glas* provides an enjoyable mix: complete short stories, excerpts from full-length novels, anecdotes, lyric (Sedakova) or more socially committed (Prigov) poetry, and invaluable critical reviews of the present state of Russian writing from distinguished judges such as Alla Latynina and Vyacheslav Ivanov.

The editors have given each number a theme related to its subject-matter; in many cases the writing is so disparate in nature that the connection is fairly loose – love, in the *Love and fear* volume, can be an old woman's attachment to her string bag; only the titles of nos 3, 5 and 7 give a fair idea of what to expect. Although new writing predominates, certain works from earlier authors – Mariengof, Kharms, Mandelstam, Bulgakov – are included, either because they were suppressed at the time of writing or because they are only now being published, as with Evgeny Mandelstam's memoir of his more famous brother. The tone in much of the more modern literature is in fact set by Mariengof's brilliant piece in the first issue, *Cynics*, a depiction of hedonism and an unpleasantly sadistic revolutionary fervour with an eye to the main chance, which is contrasted with terrible suffering of the starving, fighting provinces and the fossilisation and encroaching bureaucratisation of the Revolution. The pose struck by subsequent writers in these collections is predominantly that of the blasé, pessimistic, unshockable cynic. In the late eighties freedom from censorship and from the enforced silence on taboo subjects led to a concentration, no doubt psychologically necessary, on violence, sex in all forms, unrelieved misery, death, often in weird guises – in general the seamy, ugly side of life: excellent material for attempts at surrealism, and an interesting but not necessarily great literature. The Sorokins and Yarkeviches of the first two numbers, however exuberant and dynamic, seem merely brash, naïve and meretricious in comparison with the writers featured in later numbers who have opted for greater restraint and dignity, such as Gorenstein, Makanin, Miller or Lipkin. With the Booker Prize number, there comes a distinct sense of literature returning, after its first explosion into freedom (with all the excess inevitable in such a backlash), to a quieter, more traditional mode. Although the trend is still inward-looking, with feverish and agonised reassessments of life in the recently ended Soviet period, there are welcome signs that Russian literature is on the point of rejoining mainstream European literature. And in *Glas*, with its accurate and fluent translations, it has found exactly the right vehicle.

JENNIFER BAINES
Oxford University

Kalinka 1.0E Russian For Beginners disc-based learning programme *OZero Software Development Group, Irkutsk, 1993, approx £100 from The Language Technology Centre Ltd, 27 Cotswold Close, Kingston, Surrey KT2 7JN 0181 549 2359* PC, Windows not necessary, but the programme needs access to a feature known as *extended memory*, so users should check the configuration, as it may need altering.

With Russian learning software being so scarce, we might almost feel that anything new is worthy of an excited reception. This recently published programme is disc-based and does not have the broad scope often given now by the CD-Rom format; there is no sound, video or photo-quality graphics, and there is inevitably a certain repetitiveness about tasks (such as there is in many coursebooks too !), but nevertheless it has many positive features.

An initial real strength is that it forms a coherent learning package, introducing vocabulary and grammar progressively over 33 lessons. Within each unit, there is vocabulary preparation, texts and dialogues to read and understand, grammar reference and exercises and a 'game'. Instructions for tasks are in English, which might be regrettable, although if used in self-access mode, this does prevent potentially frustrating blocks to getting on with the exercises. Vocabulary is presented simply through a new words/phrases list for study, and these are tested before any textual material is seen. This operation is relatively simple with the normal test mode being to match up Russian and English equivalents on screen. You are given personalised feedback after each section, and, if you have a good mark, exhorted to 'keep working in the same spirit' ! On completion there is a summative score. The material introduced covers a good range of language structures (reaching participles by lesson 33 !), and a mixed range of language and text material, where there is a rather 'traditional' feel, as it is based on a previously written course, *Russian for Beginners* by Ovsienko.

The screen format is very easy to read, with colour backgrounds and highlighted text in some exercises. The progression through each unit is logical, with introductory work preceding reading and comprehension work, and with grammar points being explained and then practised. At the end of units there is a picture of a Russian monument or landscape which is complete if you have successfully negotiated the tasks, but lacking in some details if you have not!

Throughout the use of the programme you can access a menu bar which allows you to select a whole range of options: online help if you do not understand what to do; a short Russian-English dictionary; grammar notes; a phonetics and spelling section; a vocabulary presentation option, where you can choose simple topics and learn single words via pictures and labels; a section on Russian speech conventions (which offers a range of expressions to communicate functions such as thanking, apologising, requests etc.; and quick keys to move on, back or to the contents page.

This programme has all the features of a course-book, but in a very accessible format and with the great advantage of having tasks monitored and corrected automatically. The online reference help to vocabulary and grammar is also very useful – it helps to develop reference skills without the need to pore over lots of pages at other points in a book. The cost is relatively high, but this is inevitable given the small market for Russian materials. It would be good to see this emerging on CD-Rom, with sound, and it would be useful if the makers could provide a summary of the contents of each unit, from the point of view not so much of grammar, but of the themes and topics dealt with in the dialogue and text materials. Teachers need to know what is contained within a package such as this before committing a lot of money to it. It would be very helpful as a self-access programme, provided there was some teaching available to provide live talking and pronunciation practice. As long as the teacher's programme was broadly parallel in terms of content, this would also be very useful as a consolidation and revision tool. Since Russian software is comparatively rare it would also have some novelty value, despite not being as brash as much other language software.

Russo-file, Visual Materials for Teaching Russian, by Katharine Talbot, Illustrations by Margaret Setchell. *Published by K. A. Talbot, c/o 26 Westfields, Richmond, North Yorkshire. Price: £25 + £3 p&p or £27 + £3 p&p for version in plastic pockets. ISBN 0 9523350 OX.*

Russo-file aim to make life easier for the Russian teacher at least in one important aspect of teaching by providing vertatile photo-copiable materials for use in classroom teaching which actually look as if they were made for Russian teaching and not adapted from the French or German. It consists of a series of more than 50 sheets ranging from vocabulary areas (e.g. furniture, hobbies, lost property), to a room outline, a hotel form, a menu, to a map of Moscow, games like dominoes and Blockbusters, and signs to identify all the rooms in your school in Russian.

In the first section, the vocabulary areas, the illustrations and diagrams are given with the relevant Russian vocabulary, usually on the reverse side and in large print which makes them eminently suitable for transferring onto OHTs. The materials come in a variety of styles – some are straightforward, some diagrammatic, some entertaining. I particularly liked the very Russian-looking faces and the endearingly imperfect characters going about their daily business. The illustrations are always clear. I have spent much time with illustrations in text books in various languages over the years trying to identify with the class just what that dark splodge in the boy's hand is. Not so here! As a teacher mainly of adults and sixth form beginners, another advantage of these materials for me is that they are aimed at a wide age range, whereas a lot of the material available and intended for GCSE inevitably has a bias towards the young teenager, which is frankly rather boring to adults and sixth formers.

The authors hope to up-date and supplement materials occasionally, so there is a facility for doing this in place.

At £25 I am sure Russo-file is well worth the money and time saved trying to create my own inferior materials. My students have found the materials we have used from it clear, useful and, most important, fun.

ISOBEL HAZELWOOD

A Russian Grammar Workbook, Terence Wade, *Blackwell, Oxford, 1996. xv + 252 pp. ISBN: 0-631-19381-2.*

It is a fairly infrequent event in this country for Russian to find its way to the head of the linguistic queue, and so readers of this journal should be particularly pleased to learn that Terry Wade's distinguished *Comprehensive Russian Grammar*, published by Blackwell in 1992, is the first in that series to be accompanied by its own workbook. The *Workbook* consists of 232 exercises, many consisting of two or three separate parts, all of which are related to specific paragraphs of the *Grammar*. Not everything covered in the latter can be tested here, but most, if not all of the more salient points receive appropriate attention. The range of exercises is suitably wide and includes completion, substitution and multiple choice questions, as well as opportunities for linguistic comment and translation both from and into Russian. Few will want or be able to use all the material, but there is sufficient choice that those who, for example, find that there is more translation into Russian than is currently fashionable, will find plenty of alternative tasks. The author has made great efforts to ensure that his material reflects post-Soviet reality, although, as is unavoidable in this sort of book, there is the odd example that is more redolent of the class-room than of 'real life'.

Since the book is intended in part for those learning Russian on their own, it comes with a key to almost all of the exercises, though this need not be a disadvantage for the teacher. As one would expect, there is almost certainly not a single answer in the key which cannot be justified, but textbooks by their very nature often have to present a simplified version of reality. One of the delights of grammar is that in many instances there is no single right answer, and teachers and their classes can spend many hours discussing where alternative answers may be possible and even, on the rare occasion, preferable. One instance where the author himself offers an alternative is an interesting concession to the rapid change of Russian in recent years: the *Grammar* allows only на Украине, whereas the *Workbook* also recognises the post-Soviet (and 'politically correct') variant в Украине.

J. A. DUNN

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Nikita Mikhalkov's *Utomlennye solntsem*

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Nikita Mikhalkov's film *Utomlennye solntsem* is a Russian-French co-production, with a French production team but exclusively Russian actors. It came out in Russia towards the end of 1994, quickly became known abroad, and equally quickly gained almost universal acclaim. It was awarded the Grand Prix at Cannes, as well as the Academy Award for the Best Foreign Language Film at the Hollywood Oscars in 1995. Yet it cost a mere three and a half million dollars to make, in Hollywood terms a drop in the ocean, and Mikhalkov took it upon himself to ensure that the film was screened in Russian cinemas that now cater for the action films or soft-core porn that will bring in immediate tangible income. Mikhalkov travelled across Russia to get sponsorship and to persuade personally the managers of cinema halls to show his film.

Indeed, it is very much Mikhalkov's film. He wrote the screenplay (together with Rustam Ibragimbekov), he himself plays the main role of Sergei Kotov, and the film is shot and set in and around Mikhalkov's own family dacha. Mikhalkov's own daughter Nadia plays his daughter Nadia in the film, and there are several wonderfully touching scenes in the film between father and daughter that gain much from the obvious lack of any pretence or artificiality. The film essentially revolves around the relationship between Kotov, his daughter Nadia and young wife Marusia, and the mysterious Mitia, the intruder into their domestic idyll.

The film lasts two and a half hours, and is set within one hot summer's day in 1936 at a dacha, where members of Marusia's family and friends gather. Here Kotov is obviously out of place, as he is surrounded by representatives of the old-world intelligentsia. The dacha is set in a commune set aside for the cultural intelligentsia, punningly named KhLAM (literally 'trash'), after the people who live there: 'Khudozhniki, Literatory, Artisty i Muzykantu'. Kotov, on the other hand, is a Red Army divisional commander, hero of the Civil War, decorated many times and idolised by the troops. He truly believes in the cause of socialism and Comrade Stalin, and is always prepared to put his duty as a soldier above his responsibilities to his wife.

This is the lull before the storm, the beginning of the end of a world. With its recreation of the manners and life-styles of the 1930s, and its atmosphere of impending catastrophe, the film has much in common with Aleksei German's 1984 film *Moi drug Ivan Lapshin*. It also has much in common with Tengiz Abuladze's 1984 film *Pokaianie*, another emblem of glasnost', in that it has several levels of symbolism, and also concerns the disintegration of the family unit under totalitarian tyranny. One could also mention here Mark Zakharov's 1988 film *Ubit' drakona*. Mikhalkov's film, though, differs from them in its concentration on relationships, on the human aspect of disaster. It is a film about love and deep attachment, sincerity and trust; but also loss and betrayal, cynicism and coldness.

The scene is idyllic, the atmosphere relaxed, the setting almost Chekhovian. Indeed, there are unmistakable similarities between certain scenes in this film and the lyrical *Neokonchennaia p'esa dlia mekhanicheskogo pianino*, also directed by Mikhalkov in 1976. As has been noted, to a certain extent both films are about idealists who are unable to realise their potential; they are ultimately impotent in the face of the greater challenges facing them.[1] Family and friends drink tea, converse, play games together, bathe in the river. Moreover, the later film is about the disruption of this harmony by external forces. We first see this at the very beginning, when tanks, aircraft and armoured vehicles disrupt the peace and quiet of the countryside, and threaten to destroy the crops, as they begin training manoeuvres. Rural tranquility is broken again later when communal bathing in the river is interrupted by soldiers simulating a gas attack. Most significantly, the idyll is broken by the arrival of Mitia, and, later, the black NKVD car.

The film's tension is based on the relationship between Kotov and Mitia. Mitia used to be a pupil of Marusia's father, and also used to be in love with, and loved by, Marusia herself. He had left Russia and was with the White emigration in the 1920s, and his reasons for returning are spurious. We learn that he is an NKVD agent. Mitia charms the rest of the circle of family and friends, especially Nadia, Kotov's daughter, but it becomes clear that Mitia's reason for coming is to betray Kotov. However, he also destroys the house that once befriended and sheltered him, for Marusia will also be arrested, together with her child. Marusia, we learn from the closing credits, will die in the Gulag, her husband will be shot, and the orphaned Nadia will live out the rest of her days in Kazakhstan. The closing shots of the film are both heavily symbolic and highly significant: as Kotov is driven away, an air balloon carrying a huge portrait of Stalin ascends into the sky, as if the Great Leader assumes a God-like status. The car carrying Kotov follows it along the road, to a seemingly higher destination.

This image is reminiscent of the finale of Iurii Trifonov's unfinished novel *Ischeznovenie*, published only after his death and in the years of glasnost', in 1987. This novel is also about the destruction during the Great Terror of an Old Bolshevik and hero of the Civil War, and the subsequent disintegration of the family unit. Finally, we see Mitia in his white suit lying in a bath, in a room overlooking the Kremlin. As the camera pans out, we see he is lying in his own blood, he has cut his wrists and his life is ebbing away. This final scene is also ironic: Marusia had told him earlier that she had cut her wrists, but unsuccessfully. The right way is to do it under water, she tells him. Thus, Mitia too becomes a tragic character.

The subject matter concentrate on a tranquil and unhurried way of life, very much unchanged since the nineteenth century. People drink tea, laugh, sing and dance, play football, swim, go to the banya, row on the river, talk about the trivia that make up the fabric of life. One of the circle is a specialist on ancient Roman law. It is a cultured and thoroughly benign environment, until the arrival of Mitia. Even so, beneath the tranquil surface there are ominous danger signs: we learn that university academics, specialists in the Classics, are being dismissed from their posts merely for having an inadequate knowledge of the basics of Marxism-Leninism.

However, within this apparent simplicity the film has much irony and symbolism. Within its artistic scheme, there are references to the poetry of Nikolai Gumilev and Boris Pasternak. Kotov berates the circle of family and friends for not having defended the old pre-revolutionary way of life sufficiently. He, who had fought to bring an end to the old world and thus become a maker of history, becomes a victim of history. Mitia, once history's whipping-boy, becomes its driving force. Mitia is not only tyrant, but also victim, which leads to further irony. Kotov fervently believes in Stalin and the state; Mitia, having switched sides for personal gain, is thoroughly cynical. Kotov, the very symbol of the state's might, understands nothing of the true nature of the regime he serves until the final few moments.

moreover, the film is also the destruction of idealism and innocence. The characters, in particular Kotov, his wife and daughter, and even the traitor Mitia, wear white, the colours of the countryside are vividly lush and green, the water in the river fresh and clean, the relationships between the characters close and trusting. Often, especially in the ensemble acting, the camera is unobtrusive, observing in a documentary fashion the inter-action of characters from a distance. Only occasionally, in certain key scenes, is the camera used with deliberate

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stylisation. The dialogue is similarly naturalistic. The car that takes Kotov away is black. Several times in the film a roving sun, in the form of ball lightning, moves about the dacha, or Mitia's Moscow flat, suggesting that those who come into contact with it will be burnt, i.e. destroyed. Thus the film's title, a pun on the popular song, 'Utomlennoe solntse', recurs throughout the film as a measure of tranquility and peace. The title is also a pun on the Russian title of *Gone With The Wind*: *Unesennye vetrom*, and, like its classic predecessor, claims to show the destruction of a generation and a way of life through social upheaval and cataclysm.[2]

At several points in the film a lorry driver carrying furniture in his truck asks for directions, but nobody can tell him where the village he needs is. Even though this village is in the neighbourhood, nobody knows. People are cut off from one another, a nation is divided and disunited. He continues to lose his way, until finally he loses his way entirely, witnesses Kotov's beating, and is shot. Others in the film wander from place to place, village to village, unaware of where they are and how to get to their destination. There could be no clearer metaphor for a nation that is lost, bewildered, finally betrayed and destroyed.

This is also a film about illusion, pretence and deception. Things, and people, are not what they seem. Furthermore, most of the characters, including Kotov, do not know the real state of affairs. As Kotov is about to be driven away, the family and friends of his wife all assume he is going to an important meeting, and will be away for a few days only. They become part of the artifice. As he leaves, he is accompanied by them singing the emotional and valedictory Russian folk song 'Vechernii zvon'. The NKVD men willingly join in the deception, saying that the car has been sent by the local orchestra. But under the genteel surface lurk violence and betrayal. Mitia here is the key figure.

He arrives at the dacha in disguise, so that he is not initially recognised. In a later scene he wears a gas mask as he plays the piano, his facial features completely obscured as he watches those around him literally dancing to his tune. Kotov is unsure whether Mitia and Marusia have rekindled their affair. In Mitia's conversation with Kotov, we learn that he has in his time betrayed many: he was recruited into the NKVD in the 1920s, when he was living abroad, and betrayed eight leading members of the White emigration. He betrayed them to buy his was back to Russia.[3] We also learn that ten years previously he and Marusia were lovers, but Mitia fled the country to save himself from the secret police. He has returned to destroy Kotov, the man who took Marusia away from him, and also to destroy Kotov's whole family.

Mitia may be thoroughly reprehensible, yet, in a moment of decency, he warns Kotov of his imminent arrest, thereby endangering himself. But as he takes Kotov away, we see his true self: a dispassionate observer as Kotov's face is mercilessly reduced to pulp by the NKVD thugs, and then calmly ordering the shooting of an innocent bystander, the lorry-driver, who has accidentally stumbled upon them. As Mitia considers the situation with the lorry-driver, a huge balloon carrying Stalin's portrait ascends into the sky. Mitia salutes, a cynical grin on his face.

Kotov knows that the car that comes for him is not taking him away for a few days to a meeting, but to arrest. Yet he firmly believes that there has been some mistake, and that his access to Stalin's personal number will save him. He grandly, and touchingly, takes his leave of his wife and friends, and even allows his daughter to play at the wheel of the car for the first few hundred metres of his last journey. After his terrible beating the truth finally dawns on him, as he realises the hopelessness of his situation. His service in the Civil War, his rank, his reputation mean nothing to the thugs who sadistically and systematically destroy his face, his tunic and his self-respect. No appeals to a higher authority, no phone calls to Stalin will help him now, and his howls of despair and pain are the howls of someone who realises he has lost everything, including the meaning of his life.

This brings us to the message of the film, its intended audience and its reception. It is a film about the destruction of the Old Bolsheviks who fought for an created the new world after 1917, but there is, as with Trifonov, no questioning of their idealism and integrity. All was well until the Great Purges. However, it is not just a generation that is destroyed, but also a nation. For above all it is Russia, the Russia of rural peace, harmony and spiritual purity, that is threatened.

Mikhalkov the actor portrays Kotov as a man of the soil, a real Russian in contact still with his roots. Kotov is a man of the people, he talks to soldiers in the rough language they understand and is admired and respected for it. He spurns washing in a modern bathroom, and prefers to sweat and be beaten with birch twigs in a Russian rural bath-house. When Mitia impresses young Nadia with some Western-style tap-dancing, Kotov responds with an equally gutsy performance of Russian folk dancing. In everything Kotov is contrasted with Mitia, who is educated, cultured and well versed in Western ways. Mikhalkov the director has taken as his theme therefore not just about the end of a way of life and the destruction of a generation and its ideals, but also about the assault on Russia by non-Russians (of whom Stalin is the larger than life supreme representative). The film's theme, therefore, is not revisionist in any way, but rather neo-Slavophile. In this it does not stand comparison with Tengiz Abuladze's *Pokaianie*, which is a much more allegorical dissection of totalitarian tyranny and terror.

Somewhat paradoxically, *Utomlennye solntsem* has more in common with another recent Russian film, *Kurochka Riaba*, made and released almost simultaneously by Mikhalkov's brother Andrei Konchalovskii, and which also concerns itself with the fate of Russia. A sequel to the director's 1967 film *Asino schast'e*, *Kurochka riaba* depicts a thoroughly demoralised rural workforce that lives only for drink and which resents the attempts of others to achieve some degree of prosperity. It is a thoroughly depressing picture, whose conclusion suggests that Russia is a savage and barbaric land with a slave mentality. The peasants, led by Asia Kliachina, want to return to the days of 'stagnation', carrying aloft banners of Brezhnev and his Politburo, yearning to return to a world where everyone was poor together, and where everything, consequently, was democratic. Those who try to achieve some prosperity are reviled and mistrusted by everyone around, regarded as traitors. The theme of betrayal is equally strong in both these otherwise very different films. Both films, therefore, are about the death of idealism and ambition in Russia, and the triumph of mediocrity and oppression.[4]

To conclude: Nikita Mikhalkov has made an undeniably powerful, not to say compelling, film about the end of a way of life, the end of innocence and idealism. It is a film of trust and betrayal, about the failure of a generation, like the pre-revolutionary generation before it, to defend its values and way of life. It is, moreover, also about the assault on Russian values and the Russian soul. The film, therefore, is part of the apocalyptic theme in Russian culture, as it is not so much about the nature of tyranny, as the death of old Russia.

Notes

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Annual Conference of the British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies, held at Fitzwilliam College 30 March-1 April 1996. We are grateful to colleagues who contributed to the discussion of this film, and consequently to the final form of this paper.

1 See Mark Kushnirovich, 'Skazka o glupom myshonke po imeni Kotov', *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 14 December 1994, p. 8. See also Mikhalkov's interview, "'Mne khotelos' ikh zashchitit' . . . "', *Ekran*, no. 1, 1995, pp. 3–9.

2 See Dmitrii Bykov, 'Utomlennye vetrom, ili Gone with the sun', *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 14 December 1994, p. 8.

3 Mitia thus has much in common with Sergei Efron, husband of Marina Tsvetaeva who was involved in the abduction and murder of leading members of the White emigration while living in France in the 1920s and 1930s. He, too, had been in the White Army during the Civil War. On his return to the Soviet Union in 1937, he was arrested and shot by the NKVD.

4 See also Matthew Campbell, 'Film Brothers Shoot It Out for Russia's Soul', *The Sunday Times*, 1 May 1994, p. 23.

Existentialism and War in *Red Cavalry*

Bryn Geffert St Olaf College

Part 1

The world portrayed in Isaac Babel's *Red Cavalry* is a world of war. War is all-pervasive, providing the context for activity and thought in the tales. Arguments about the extent to which Babel uses war as a metaphor for life are intriguing, but ultimately irrelevant: War is the only life in which these characters live. Characters can and do make frequent references to lives and ideologies that preceded the war, but these references are not germane to the life they now face. Life in *Red Cavalry* is a life of war.

The world of war is amoral, indifferent and often hostile. It is a world where characters find nothing on which they can base a faith, and thus a world largely without meaning. This interpretation of *Red Cavalry* – the world of war as a world without meaning – is not a popular interpretation in Western scholarship. It is not and cannot be based upon any explicit thesis found in the tales; Babel never states the underlying existentialism in a concise or concrete manner. Instead he presents tales that explore the emptiness and absurdity of traditional and romantic ideologies and beliefs. Patriotism, communism/marxism, Christianity and Judaism offer no answers in such a world. Virility through violence is a heady ideal but an empty and barbaric reality. The universe itself is indifferent. Nature can be beautiful but is usually absurd and often horrific. Humanity is corrupt and weak, both in flesh and spirit. Meaning, in short, is to be largely absent. It is sought in religion, politics and nature, but the search is futile.

Such a thesis runs contrary to many interpretations of *Red Cavalry*, and to demonstrate this thesis requires that one prove a negative: If meaning is indeed absent from these tales then we must show that any reference to an ideology, faith or transcendent belief is made in a dismissive, absurd, contemptuous, or despairing manner. That is the aim of this article.

Isaac Babel never aligned himself with any ideological group,[1] and his contempt for ideology is clear in these tales. Few characters in *Red Cavalry* show any evidence of patriotic fervour, and those who do are more interested in political ideology than devotion to the motherland. In fact one of the only non-political patriotic statements in the entire book is uttered by Pan Romuald (a 'faithless monk' with a 'merciless soul'), whose expostulations border on the crazed: 'Seized by a hoarse enthusiasm . . . [he] counted and recounted his motherland's wounds.'[2]

Devotion to political ideology, however, is more prevalent. Several characters devote themselves to communism and the ideology of revolution, but most are portrayed with little sympathy. The masses of soldiers and peasants rarely are inspired by the rhetoric of political ideology, and when they are it is more due to uncomprehending hysteria inspired by the excitement of war than to any intellectual commitment. Voroshilov urges his men to battle with a call to fight for the world's 'first government of workers and peasants', but this cry, ironically, draws a response from the most non-ideologically inclined group in the regiment, the Cossacks, whose wild howling serves only to undermine any real substance behind the call. The masses whom the ideology is meant to serve listen in dumb incomprehension; peasants who surround the propaganda train only 'snorted, sniffled, scratched, and surged on in silence.'[3]

'Gedali' and 'Salt' perhaps level the harshest blows at revolutionary ideology.

In 'Gedali' we find something of an aberration – a truly thoughtful character with a genuine commitment to revolution. But his commitment is a tragic commitment, since he is unable to reconcile his revolutionary idealism with his religion. 'We say *yes* to the revolution . . . but why must we say *no* to the Sabbath? *Yes!* I shout to the Revolution, *yes, yes!* But what does it do? It hides from Gedali and sends out only rifle bullets.'[4] Disenchanted and disorientated Gedali never fully resolves his conflict, and revolution fails to produce the meaning for which he hoped. If he must choose between religion and revolution, he chooses religion: 'The Sabbath was here. Gedali, the founder of the unrealizable International, left for the synagogue to pray.'[5]

Any legitimacy ascribed to communist ideology by characters in other tales is fully undermined by the scathing tale 'Salt'. Nikita Balmashov, 'Soldier of the Revolution', is the embodiment of Bolshevik ideology taken to its logical (and thus, for Babel, illogical) extreme. He has nothing but contempt for 'enemies of the people', i.e., those trying to eke out an existence in a horrific war. In the service of the revolution he shoots a woman thrown off a train, believing he has wiped a 'disgrace from the toiling face of our Republic'.[6] Revolution is Balmashov's life, but it breeds only contempt for the lives of others – life, in other words, taking life.

The revolution is inexorably linked with war and death, and thus becomes absurd, stripped of significance. When death is the price of revolution and the only tangible outcome, revolution is meaningless. This is perhaps expressed best by the character urged to 'come along and die for a pin and the world revolution'.[7] Revolution, it seems, holds no more meaning than a pin.

But if revolution and political ideology are meaningless, the alternative we see in Gedali – religion – holds no answers for Babel either. In a book so devoted to physicality, it is instructive to note that nearly all religious characters are either physically weak, dirty or racked with illness. This physical corruption serves as a metaphor for the moral corruption found in clergy such as Pan Romuald, the monk hoarding gold and hanging the 'bodices of his women parishioners on the nails of the Saviour!'[8]

But Babel's attack on Christianity is more than an attack on the failures of its adherents and its leaders. Babel subverts the symbolism and significance of the faith itself. Christian imagery is mocked throughout the tales. Crucifixes are equated with harlots' charms; papal bulls with 'the satin of ladies' letters'.[9] Christian symbolism is made grotesque. 'I see the wounds of your God oozing seed and exhaling the fragrant poison that intoxicates virgins.'[10] Christian paintings include no ethereal imagery but rather portraits such as 'Death of John the Baptist', whose head 'had been cut off at a slanting angle from his scrawny neck'.[11] Holy places are defiled. Churches are a place for corrupt clergy to store their booty and for drunken soldiers to play marches on the organ. Christianity seems to offer nothing to counter the debauchery to which it is subjected, and to whose service it is sometimes put.

Notes

[1] Sicher, Efraim. 'Art as Metaphor, Epiphany, and Aesthetic Statement: The Short Stories of Isaak Babel.' *Modern Language Review* 77 (April, 1992): 387.

[2] Babel, Isaak. *Lyubka, the Cossack, and Other Stories*. Translated by Andrew R. MacAndrew. (New York: New American Library, 1963), 108.

[3] Babel/MacAndrew, 130.

[4] Babel/MacAndrew, 125.

[5] Babel/MacAndrew, 126.

[6] Babel/MacAndrew, 136.

[7] Babel, I. *Red Cavalry*. Translated by Nadia Helstein. (New York: Knopf, 1929), 114.

[8] Babel/MacAndrew, 112.

[9] Babel/MacAndrew, 110.

[10] Babel/MacAndrew, 111.

[11] Babel/MacAndrew, 117.

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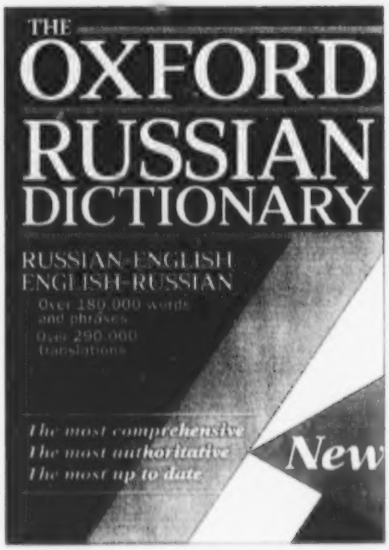
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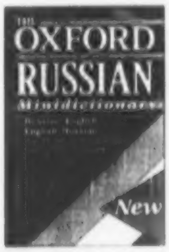
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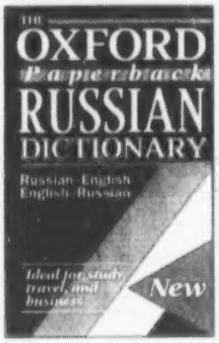
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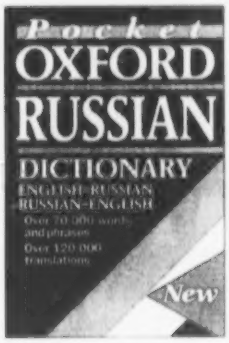
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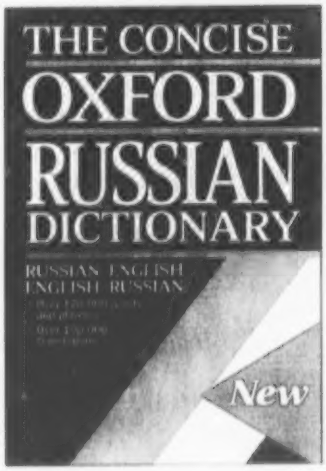
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БОЛЬШЕВИК СМЕЮЩИЙСЯ: Poésie fugitive Александра Богданова

Andrei Rogachevskii

Если бы выставить в музее...
Маяковский

Мало кому известно, что выдающийся философ, врач, экономист, революционер Александр Александрович Богданов (настоящая фамилия Малиновский; 1873-1928)[1] был еще и талантливым поэтом. В отличие от неоднократно переиздававшихся научно-фантастических романов Богданова «Красная звезда» и «Инженер Мэнни», почти все его стихи до сих пор остаются неопубликованными. По нашим сведениям, из трех десятков стихотворений, известных в настоящее время, при жизни Богданова увидели свет лишь пять — то в качестве социал-демократической листовки («Не даром», 1896); то в некоем периодическом издании, название которого установить пока не удалось («Неожиданная гостья», 1914); то в составе романа «Инженер Мэнни» (две «Песни Нэллы», 1912); то в приложении к изданиям «Красной звезды» 1920-х годов («Марсиянин, заброшенный на землю», 1920).[2]

Предлагаемые вниманию читателя стихи, в свое время любезно предоставленные нам сыном Богданова Александром Александровичем Малиновским (1909-1996), ранее, насколько нам известно, не публиковались. Все они сочинены довольно молодым еще человеком, и, быть может, именно этим обьясняется отразившееся в них пронизанное юмором спокойствие духа, с которым Богданов и его друзья социал-демократы переносили так называемые преследования царского правительства.

Стихотворение «Бысть ми видение в нощи» написано в связи с обыском, произведенным на квартире Богданова в Туле, куда он был выслан из Москвы в 1894 году за участие в Союзном совете землячеств.[3] Обилие церковнославянских языковых элементов, совершенно не адекватных ситуации (и по этой причине создающих комический эффект), возникает, как ни парадоксально, вследствие стремления автора к архаической безыскусственности поэтического творчества (на подсознательном уровне, возможно, противопоставленной нарождающемуся в России «буржуазному» модернизму). В «философской» лирике Богданова («Волны творения», «Загадка», «Мысль человечества» и др.), отмеченной особым соотношением «физического» и «лирического» начал, эта тенденция, хоть и не всегда выраженная теми же самыми лексическими средствами, еще более заметна. Отнюдь не невероятно поэтому предположение, что типологически ближайшим литературным предшественником Богданова следует считать М. В. Ломоносова.

По-видимому, тяготением к архаическим формам можно обьяснить и странные для революционера рубежа 19-20 веков опыты в жанре альбомного и дружеского послания. Разумеется, несовместимость культурного контекста, привычно связываемого с бытованием упомянутых жанров, и образа жизни и деятельности членов РСДРП (в недалеком будущем — «б»), отчетливо осознавалась Богдановым и использовалась им в качестве одного из основных приемов для достижения комического эффекта.

Подписанное пародийным псевдонимом «А. Непризнанный», стихотворение «В альбом Людке», в котором обыгрывается анафорическая структура знаменитого отрывка из десятой главы второй части лермонтовского «Демона», обращено к Людмиле Александровне Рудневой, сестре известного философа, литературного критика и революционера Владимира Александровича Руднева (псевдоним «Базаров»; 1874-1939). Скорее всего, оно также было написано в период тульской ссылки, когда Богданов жил у Рудневых. Здесь он познакомился со своей будущей женой Натальей Богдановной Корсак. Дружба Людмилы Александровны и Натальи Богдановны продолжалась вплоть до войны 1941-45 годов, когда Людмила Александровна, по-видимому, умерла от голода или погибла под бомбежкой.

Стихотворение «Мечты и колебания редактора Ахбедного» представляет собой дружеское вышучивание Ивана Ивановича Скворцова (псевдоним «Степанов»; 1870-1928), видного литератора-марксиста. Богданов и Скворцов-Степанов познакомились в Туле, где оба одновременно отбывали ссылку (Скворцов-Степанов оказался там весной 1986 года). В Туле они преподавали в рабочих кружках общественные дисциплины и вместе работали над книгой «Краткий курс экономической науки», обсуждая ее структуру и содержание разделов (Скворцов-Степанов, в частности, осуществлял редактирование «Курса», приводя его в соответствие с цензурными требованиями). Тем не менее, при выходе труда в свет в 1897 году Скворцов-Степанов «отказался поставить свою фамилию на титульном листе, считая свой вклад в подготовку книги скромным».[4] В 1899 году Скворцов-Степанов поселился в Калуге. В своих воспоминаниях Скворцов-Степанов так рассказывает об обстоятельствах, побудивших его переехать в Калугу: «Мне было разрешено жить повсюду, кроме столиц и столичных губерний, университетских городов, промышленных центров и даже таких городов, как тогдашние Саратов, Самара и Нижний [Новгород]. Поехал на 4 месяца за границу. А потом вынужден был поселиться в мирной, захолустной Калуге: никуда не пускали. По таким же причинам в 1900 году здесь временно поселились А. Богданов, В. Базаров, А. В. Луначарский».[5]

В Калуге и написано последнее стихотворение из настоящей подборки. Оно является типичным примером «домашней» поэзии, преисполненной деталей и намеков, понятных лишь тесному кругу немногих избранных. Помещенные здесь же автокомментарии Богданова не столько расшифровывают, какие именно обстоятельства жизни и свойства натуры Скворцова-Степанова служат объектом насмешки, сколько еще более затемняют конкретную основу стихотворения, и без того реконструируемую с трудом.

Как почитателям Богданова, так и настроенным по отношению к нему скептически, наверняка будет небезынтересно ознакомиться с этими произведениями (независимо от их художественных достоинств, порой небезупречных) — хотя бы потому, что такая поэзия придает несколько неожиданные черты традиционному облику профессионального революционера.

Бысть ми видение в нощи.
Тьмы полчищ ангельских узрех;
Хотеша в ад меня влещи;
Но яко агнц невинен бех.
И се, порфирой облачен
И высшей властью облечен,
Архистратиг, бумаги рассмотрев,
Рече: «Минует тя господень гнев».
И извинишася и отыдоша прочь,
И аз доспах слокойно ону ночь.

1895

В АЛЬБОМ ЛЮДКЕ

Клянусь врагов моих презреньем,
Клянусь насмешками друзей,
Моим «нахальным самомненьем»,
«Самовлюбленностью» моей.

Клянусь — мне в Вас весьма досадно
Вражду все прежнюю встречать,
Стремленье уязвить нещадно
Иль просто зверски изругать.

Но добродетелями гордый,
Я Вас за это не виню, —
В любви и ненависти твердый,
Я чувств моих не изменю.

Из-за нападок Ваших вечных,
Вы мне поверьте, никогда
Моих симпатий к Вам сердечных
Не сменит гнусная вражда.
А. Непризнанный

МЕЧТЫ И КОЛЕБАНИЯ РЕДАКТОРА АХБЕДНОГО[6]

Я видел тритона.[7] На солнце сверкал
Он чудною шкуркой своей.
И я о блаженстве в болоте мечтал
Средь плесени, жаб и ужей.

Я видел в лазури небес журавля[8]
И новой увлекся мечтой;
Мне вдруг ненавистною стала земля.
Я к небу стремился душой.

Но шум самовара[9] раздался вдали.
Шумел он: «Пойми, идиот,
Что лучше реальные блага земли,
Чем грезы небес и болот!».

Я сердцем смирился, судьбе покорился,
Судьбе покорился, мечты позабыл,
Я чаю напился и спать завалился,
Я спать завалился, насколько есть сил.

Примечания

1. См. о нем: В. Н. Сачков, «А. А. Богданов», *Русские писатели, 1800–1917: Биографический словарь*, под ред. П. А. Николаева, Москва: Советская энциклопедия, 1989, т. 1, с. 296–7.
2. В *Медицинской газете* от 28 декабря 1990 года автором этих строк были опубликованы еще четыре стихотворения Богданова: «Поэзия», «Мысль человечества», «Волны творения» и «1905».
3. Подробнее об этой организации и об участии в ней Богданова см.: James D. White, 'Bogdanov in Tula', *Studies in Soviet Thought*, 22, 1981, pp. 35–41.
4. В. М. Викторов, В. А. Куманев, *Скворцов-Степанов*, Москва: Молодая гвардия, 1986, с. 31.
5. И. Степанов, «Из воспоминаний», *На заре рабочего движения в Москве*, под ред. Н. Овсянникова, сборник 2, Москва, 1919, с. 104.
6. Он же И. Степанов [примечание А. Богданова]. Род занятий, вынесенный в заголовок, указан не случайно. И. И. Скворцов писал историку М. Н. Покровскому: «Я, действительно, по натуре газетчик» (Российский центр хранения и изучения документов новейшей истории, фонд 150, опись 1, единица хранения 76, лист 12), [примечание А. Рогачевского].
7. Относительно тритона некоторые утверждали, будто это был вовсе не тритон, а 17-летняя вдова скончавшегося перед тем 87-летнего графа Делянова. Упомянутое болото действительно находилось в имении графа [примечание А. Богданова].
8. Газета «Калужский журавль», просуществовала один номер [примечание А. Богданова]. Номер не разыскан [примечание А. Рогачевского].
9. Имеет какую-то связь с О. И. Ахбедной [примечание А. Богданова], то есть Ольгой Илиодоровной, первой женой И. И. Скворцова-Степанова [примечание А. Рогачевского].

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Lara Ryazanova Clarke

В Британской университетской теории и практике обучения иностранным языкам работа по проектам не занимает должного места, упускается из виду. Нет этого метода и в довольно детально разработанной методике преподавания русского языка как иностранного в России. Вероятно, одной из причин последнего в определенной степени является то, что в традиционной марксистской советской педагогике, из которой методика РКИ черпала многие свои идеи, проектное обучение считалось сугубо буржуазным, а поэтому соответственно, не дающим глубоких и систематических знаний, поверхностным. Особенно такая подача материала отвергалась в школьной практике, где противопоставлялся проектный метод и научный или предметный подходы.

В Великобритании же, напротив, проекты в обучении использовались издавна. Одно из упоминаний проектных исследований мы можем найти в «Путешествии Гулливера» Джонатана Свифта. Во время путешествия в Лапуту Гулливера приглашают инспектировать Проектную Академию в Лагадо. Это приглашение Гулливер принимает с энтузиазмом, говоря, что он большой поклонник проектов и что в юные годы он ими занимался изрядно. Напомню, что, проект, о котором идет речь, ставил своей целью извлечение солнечных лучей из огурцов.[1] С тех пор и цели и методика проектной работы значительно изменились. Но ценность ее в образовательном процессе делает ее достойной привлечения все большего внимания внимание методистов. Особенно в данный момент, поскольку, как утверждает К. Джонс, работа по проектам имеет схожие принципы с модульной системой обучения,[2] на которую переходит все большее число британских университетов.

Конечно, само по себе использование того или иного метода, а также место и значение его не самоцельны, а зависят от условий, в которых протекает обучение.

Курс практического языка в британских университетах отличается от курса, предлагаемого в программах вузов других стран, в частности, российских, относительно малым количеством контактных часов. Например, в Эдинбургском университете на 1 курсе только для начинающих с нуля предлагается так называемый «интенсивный» курс русского языка, состоящий из 8 часов в неделю (из которых только 5 часов уделяется практическому языку), а на остальные курсы выделятся всего по четыре часа в неделю. Такое распределение часов ставит вопрос о привлечении методов, которые могли бы вывести занятие за рамки аудиторного времени, расширить границы контакта с изучаемым языком. Одним из методов, удовлетворяющим этим условиям, является проектная работа.

Этимологически в значении слова «проект» («project») присутствует идея перспективы, событий, спланированных в будущее.[3] Такое отдаление конечного результата, пролонгирование пути к нему как нельзя соответствует определению и целям проектной работы в обучении иностранному языку. Для наших условий особенно ценным в этом методе является то, что обьектом речевого внимания становится не только конечная цель, но и путь к ней. В связи с этим, отличительными особенностями проектного метода можно назвать следующие факторы:

— систематическое планирование и подготовка проекта;

— стадийное проведение работы над проектом;

— представление итога исследования.[4]

В условиях обучения иностранному языку вне языковой среды, где нет непосредственной коммуникативной потребности, важной проблемой становится поиск дополнительных стимулов и мотивации обучаемых. Одной из существенных особенностей проектной работы является тот факт, что она увеличивает мотивированность студентов в речевой деятельности на иностранном языке. Это объясняется следующими моментами:

(1) проектная работа включает в себя элементы исследования. Оно может быть лингвистическим (поиск языковых элементов определенного стиля, сопоставление оригинала и нескольких переводов итд), речевым (поиск адекватных речевых форм, например, для отчета, плана, письма и т.д.) или страноведческим (поиск информации об особенностях жизни в России). Исследовательская деятельность стимулирует интерес к предмету, углубляет понимание его.

(2) проектная работа создает возможность индивидуализации обучения, в этом случае преподаватель выступает в роли руководителя или консультанта. Индивидуальный подход осуществляется в выборе темы и методах работы над ней в зависимости от интересов студента.

(3) проектная работа создает условия, в которых студент может проявить максимум самостоятельности и творчества, испытывая при этом ответственность за процесс и результат своего обучения.

Работу над проектами в университетском курсе можно рассматривать в двух ракурсах:

(а) как вид аудиторного вузовского занятия, выделяющийся типом взаимодействия преподавателя и студента, степенью активности обучаемых и видами деятельности в процессе учения — в следующей группе: лекция, практическое занятие, семинар, проектная работа;[5]

(б) как один из методов коммуникативного обучения — наряду с такими методами как симуляция, ролевая игра, дискуссия.[6] При таком подходе проект можно определить как вид работы, входящий в более широкую группу речевых проблем. В процессе работы над проектами студенты вступают в речевую деятельность во всех ее четырех видах, хотя акцент может быть на том или ином виде в зависимости от конкретного типа проекта. Работа над проектами включает в себя развитие умений как речевой интеракции, так и речевого сотрудничества.[7]

Проектная работа способствует развитию целго комплекса речевых умений. Среди них можно выделить умения, необходимые для устного общения и умения, необходимые для письменного общения.[8] Из первой группы умений назову следующие:

— умение высказываться продуктивно,

— умение выражать основные речевые функции, как например, доказать, подтвердить что-то, возразить, усомниться, предположить, удивиться и т.д.

— умение переспрашивать собеседника

— умение переформулировать свою мысль и т.д.

Среди группы умений, необходимых для общения в письменной форме, назову:

— умение использовать разные виды чтения, в первую очередь, аналитическое и просмотровое,

— умение сбора информации из нескольких источников,

— умение делать выписки, сжимать собранную информацию, т.е. конспектирования, реферирования и аннотирования.

Проектная работа может занимать разное место в курсе практического русского языка. Она может предварять работу над темой, может являться — формой работы над темой, а может проводитьсы в конце темы как суммирующий элемент. Естественно, очень важно использовать интегрирующую функцию присущую проектной работе, как методу обучения. В ней происходит языковая, коммуникативная и социальная интеграция.

Я на примере продемонстрирую, как

можно включить проектную работу в систему занятий по разговорной практике.[9] Например, проектная работа, связанная с темой «Професии», может проходить на 1 курсе в группе студентов продвинутого уровня в следующей последовательности: (а) просмотр учебного фильма о профессиях;[10] (б) выполнение языковых, условно-речевых и речевых упражнений по теме, в том числе, разыгрывание ситуаций и диалогов, увиденных в фильме; (в) дискусия по фильму; (г) проект, включающий в себя следующую задачу: взять интервью у представителя профессии, которой не было в фильме, снять его на видеокамеру и сделать звуковой перевод (задание распределяется по группам из 3 человек); (д) показ своего видеоклипа другим группам и его обсуждение.

Безусловно, виды проектной работы должны быть связаны с уровнем коммуникативной компетенции студентов, и, соответственно, с этапами обучения. На начальном уровне она предстает в виде небольшой речевой задачи, для решения которой студентам необходимо сфокусировать в первую очередь свои языковые навыки и элементарные речевые умения (так называемый мини-проект). В таком виде проектной работы имеется большой игровой элемент, и фактически он довольно близок к ролевой игре. Приведу пример такой работы. В задании предлагается парная работа. Первому студенту дается роль человека, который должен поехать на фестиваль или на конференцию в другой город. Ему дается ограниченная информация: время начала конференции и сумма денег, которую ему выделяет университет на поездку (за инфляцией материалы, к сожалению, поспеть не могут, так что цифры даются довольно условные). Вторая роль — агент бюро путешествий, который по должности знает расписание поездов и самолетов и стоимость билетов. В речевой коммуникации студенты объединют информацию, обмениваются ею, и заполняют так называемый «информационный пробел» («**information gap**»), что является одним из центральных принципов коммуникативной речевой интеракции.[11] Таким образом учащиеся решают вместе главную задачу проекта: определить, какими видами транспорта надо ехать студенту, исполняющему первую роль, до места назначения, чтобы успеть во-время на конференцию, и чтобы уложиться в данную сумму, и нужна ли в этом случае пересадка. При этом, методический акцент делается на тренировку глаголов движения, определение времени, числительные, также студенты практикуются в умении задавать вопросы, отвечать на вопросы, слушать и понимать ответы и снова реагировать на них.

Приведу другой пример проектной работы на 1 курсе нулевиков. Студентам дается опорный текст (например, о Карелии). После изучения текста студентам предлагается взять интервью у работников туристского агентства и изучить рекламные туристские проспекты на русском и английском языках (для перевода могут привлекаться студенты более старших курсов), и рекламные обьявления в русских газетах. На основе собранной информации и опорного текста, первокурсники, опять же разделенные на маленькие группы, должны создать брошюру, рекламирующую отдых в Карелии.

На более старших курсах проекты занимают больше времени и принимают более исследовательский характер. Например, на 2 курсе проекты проводятся как итоги речевых тем и требуют как минимум неделю интенсивной работы, а на продвинутом этапе (3 и 4 курсы) — проект рассчитан на 6-9 месяцев и вовлекает в себя серьезный исследовательский поиск.

Приведу примеры проектных работ на 2 курсе. Так, после серии занятий по разговорной речи по теме «Транспорт» группам студентов предлагаются проекты:

«Составить проект развития транспортной системы в разных типах городов: (а) с населением в несколько миллионов человек; (б) среднего размера; (в) в маленьком городке или поселке.»

«Составить проект программы обмена опытом в области проектирования и строительства метро между Великобританией и Россией.»

В работе над проектами может быть

учтена будущая профессиональная ориентация студентов. Одна из работ, проведенная при завершении разговорной темы: «Мужчины и женщины. Брак, семья, дети», проходила по следующему заданию: «На основании интервью, сделайте вывод о наиболее типичных сценариях знакомства девушек с молодыми людьми». Важной методической целью в этой работе является совершенствование коммуникативных навыков, необходимых для перевода и письменной передачи разговорной речи, которые очень важны для журналистской профессии. В другом проекте цель была поставлена выяснить, современен ли брак в наши дни. (Тема: «Брак — современно ли это?») Студентка провела свой, оригинальный и, хоть и небольшой, но довольно репрезентативный социологический опрос. Работа включала в себя составление социологического опросника, используя существующие вопросники в материалах русской и британской печати, и проведение интервью. После этого был проведен статистический анализ результатов, который приведен в письменной работе вместе с вопросниками, классификацией ответов и выводами.

Для студентов выпускного — 4-го — курса в 1993/4 учебном году в виде эксперимента работа по проектам была выбрана основной формой работы на занятиях по развитиию речи. С начала учебного года студенты были разделены на проектные группы — по 2-3 человека. Им были даны темы на весь год. Темы звучали так: «Речь современной молодежи», «Ирония в современной русской публицистике: (газета, телевидение)», «Типы новых передач на русском ТВ», «Перспективы совместных русско-британских предприятий» и др. В течение года учащиеся должны были собирать разнообразный материал по теме, и примерно 2 раза в год проводить свое тематическое занятие в группе, которое включало в себя поиск и создание опорного материала для ознакомления всех членов группы, презентация результатов своего исследования, проведение обсуждения материалов в группе. Такая форма работы вызвала вольшой интерес у студентов, помогла сфокусировать их внимание на адекватных темах, вызвала живые и естественные дискуссии в группе и являлась важным стимулирующим элементом в развитии их речевых умений.

Подводя итог, можно выделить следующие наиболее распространенные формы проектной работы:

— работа с научной и художественной литературой, материалами печати;

— видео и аудио- формы: работа с материалами радио и телевидения, подготовка и обработка аудио- и видеоматериалов, создаваемых самими студентами;

— работа с предметными, наглядными материалами: картами, планами, музейными и выставочными экспонатами, социокультурными реалиями;

— интервьюирование, работа с респондентами;

— устная презентация в виде доклада;

— устная презентация в виде подготовки и проведения дискуссии.

— презентация в виде письменной работы разных жанров.

В заключение скажу, что, как я пыталась здесь доказать, проектная работа имеет достаточный методический потенциал, чтобы повысить эффективность обучения русскому языку в британских университетах. В ситуации относительно малого контакта с языком в аудитории проектная работа оказывается одним из методов, придающих обучению дополнительное измерение.

Notes

1. Swift, J. *Gulliver's Travels.* Belfast: Appletree Press Ltd, 1976. Part III, chs. V and VI.
2. Johns, K. *Interactive Learning Events. A Guide for Facilitators.* London: Kogan Page, 1988, pp. 60–2.
3. 'The Modern Oxford Dictionary extends Johnson's definition whilst retaining his emphasis on the project as a prospective concept, sufficiently defined in terms of future events not yet fulfilled or implemented. Here the substantive pro'ject clearly reflects the verb "to project" in the sense of easing or throwing forward, in this case in time': *Project Methods in Higher Education:* London Society for Research into Higher Education, 1975, p. 6.
4. ibid., p. 6.
5. ibid., pp. 69–82.

6. Littlewood, W. *Communicative Language Teaching*. Cambridge: CUP, 1981, pp. 43–65.
7. Rivers, W. *Communicating Naturally in a Second Language. Theory and Practice in Language Teaching*. Cambridge: CUP, 1983.
8. The skills are grouped according to the classification given in: Пассов Е. Основы коммуникативной методики обучения иноязычному общению. Москва: Русский язык, 1989.
9. The experimental teaching covered by this paper took place in the University of Edinburgh in academic years 1992/3 and 1993/4.
10. A 10-minute film on the topic of Professions is a part of the video materials 'Video Journal "Contact" ', made in Moscow and distributed by the University of Leeds.
11. On the 'information gap' in communicative teaching see, for example, *Communication in the Classroom. Applications and Methods for a Communicative Approach*. Ed. by K. Johnson and K. Morrow. Colchester and London: Longman, 1981; *Perspectives in Communicative Language Teaching*. ed. by K. Johnson and D. Porter. London: Academic Press, 1985.

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Existentialism and War in *Red Cavalry*

Bryn Geffert St Olaf College

Part 2

Babel at times seems to enjoy what his narrators freely identify as 'blasphemy'. In 'Pan Apolek' we find a painter who delights in the blasphemous reformulation of divinity by elevating ordinary citizens to iconographic saints. The paintings are deemed 'sacrilegious' by 'prominent citizens' and the priest 'hurled threats at the blasphemer'.[12]

Many critics have argued, with some justification, that 'Pan Apolek' is not a blanket condemnation of Christianity, but rather a celebration of an earthy faith and its visionary painter, who circumvents the corrupt clergy and church to bring a lofty and inaccessible religion to a common and hence more real level. Good arguments can and have been made for such an interpretation. Carol Luplow, for example, argues that Apolek 'affirms the divinity of the individual in all his 'flaws, in all his degradation'.[13] True enough. But such an affirmation is less an affirmation of divinity in humanity than in the base humanity posited in divinity. Apolek's 'saints' are the dregs of society, and remain so even after immortalisation. Although it is the unappealing Vicar of Dubno who labels them 'merciless usurers . . . who falsify your scales and trade in the innocence of your own daughters'[14], the characterisation still stands. Thus Apolek's new divinity takes the ratty cloak of humanity rather than vice versa. Humanity is less elevated than divinity is debased. There is ultimately nothing divine in the paintings, for they are painted for crass material gain. Apolek charges for divinity: 'Fifteen zlotys for a Virgin Mary, twenty-five zlotys for the Holy Family . . . and for an extra ten zlotys the customer's enemy will be portrayed as Judas Iscariot.'[15]

Critics frequently interpret Apolek's tale of Christ's marriage to Deborah as another example of the divine aspect of humanity. Luplow views Christ's willingness to lie in Deborah's vomit as an act of 'compassion'[16] for humanity. Certainly this is an act of supreme compassion, but we may also read in this act a reference to Christ as the embodiment of fallen divinity. To lie in vomit is compassion, but compassion divested of divinity, wallowing in and embracing human suffering. Divinity is abandoned for compassionate identification.

'Sasha the Christ' is perhaps the most traditionally blasphemous of all the tales, using as its Christ figure a simple boy who sleeps with prostitutes and contracts syphilis. Efraim Sicher sees in Sashka and his disease an 'earthy acceptance of sin'.[17] This seems a logical reading. But it is a reading that undermines the possibility of divinity. If sin is now acceptable, then there is no need for divinity, let alone Christianity. Christ, whether the Christ who comforts Deborah or the Christ figure of Sashka, is fully human, subject to the same indignities and suffering as the most unfortunate. Christ is not 'true God and true man' but only true man. The Christian universe is stood on end: humanity finds no meaning in Christianity, for there is no Christ but the Christ who is us, and the 'us' of these tales is rather a sorry lot.

Thus Christianity in the tales fails to offer any meaning beyond the suffering of the human condition. Sasha, though a Christ figure, offers humanity nothing more than an addled meekness. Pan Apolek offers the chance to purchase divinity, making divinity meaningless. And Christ himself abandons divinity to comfort Deborah. It is humanity, divested of divinity, that offers comfort. Comfort, however, is fleeting, and fleeting comfort is quite different from meaning.

Judaism offers no meaning either. While Judaism as an ideal is never attacked, Judaism, at least Judaism in war time, is a religion of the feeble and the weak. Although the narrator can recall the 'stout and jovial Jews of the south', he encounters now only 'narrow-chested Jews' in whose anguish-chiselled features there is no flesh, no warm pulsing of blood'[18] – Jews 'with the beards of prophets, pathetic tatters covering their sunken chests'.[19] Judaism of the Promise is no match for the physical decay of time and war.

Babel does, of course, offer sympathetic Jewish characters. Gedali is a noble, devout Jew, yet his story inspires more sympathy than inspiration. He is a confused ideologue, unable to comprehend why his religion should be in conflict with the revolution. His devotion to the Sabbath ('The Sabbath is on its way . . . Jews must go to synagogue') is less a passionate commitment than a dazed retreat from difficult questions to comfortable traditions.

Gedali does find some meaning in a rather mystical formulation of Hasidism:

> 'All is mortal. The mother alone is destined for eternal life. And when the mother is no longer among the living, she leaves behind her a memory that no one has yet dared to desecrate. The memory of the mother feeds our compassion, just as the immense ocean feeds the rivers across the world.'[20]

'In the passionate edifice of Hasidism,' Gedali continues, 'the doors and windows have been smashed, but still it is immortal like the mother's soul. With its eyes gouged out, Hasidism still stands at the crossroads of the winds of history.'[21]

But if Hasidism indeed has had its doors and windows smashed and eyes gouged out, all that remains is memory – a memory at blatant odds with the realities of the war. This mystical memory is a lofty ideal that finds no tangible expression. Gedali's ode to memory serves as a heart-rending reminder of what he longs for rather than what exists.

The Judaism of *Red Cavalry* shows a religion that is oblivious to the realities of a world at war. Rabbi Braclawski calls 'blessed be the God of Israel who has chosen us from among all the peoples of the earth', while 'outside the windows, the desert of war was gaping'.[22] Judaism in the tales is a retreat from the horrific realities of the world, a return to memory rather than an engagement with the present. Gedali and his fellow Jews live in bad faith, as the existentialists might understand bad faith, resting in the comfort of past ideas rather than present realities.

Babel does inspire profound feelings of sympathy for these broken people, and explores the savage absurdities of anti-Semitism; every third tale seems to have its anti-Semitic thug and buffoon. But as appealing as the reveries of Gedali may be, the reveries provide no answers to the problems of war and revolution. Gedali is to be admired for not surrendering to despair,[23] but his faith is misplaced.

If religion and ideology provide no alternatives to existence in war, the only remaining answer is to embrace war. Many characters do derive identity from the war, particularly the Cossacks. But identity is a very different thing from meaning. War in *Red Cavalry* is exciting, but it is also destructive. Victory is elusive, and when attained, it is 'scornful'.[24]

There are, certainly, elements of pageantry in war: The narrator of 'Afonka Bida' describes Maslak's cavalry troops and their 'ornate standards on gilded poles, loaded with velvet tassels, fluttered in fiery pillars of dust. The horsemen rode with cold, majestic arrogance'.[25] But every such glorious description is quickly countered. 'At the head of the regiment, on a jaded, bandy-legged steppe pony, rode Brigade Commander Maslak. He was full of drunken blood and the putrescence of his own fatty juices.'[26] Never is an inspiring picture allowed to stand for long before it is defeated by another grotesque image.

War does offer the chance to display bravery and virility, and many critics point to Lyutov's strong admiration for the Cossacks, who display these traits in abundance, as a search for meaning via violence. Lyutov does try repeatedly to win the Cossacks' admiration, succeeding momentarily when crushing the head of a goose under his heel.

The will for violence, however, is difficult to summon, and when it is summoned, it is fleeting. Lyutov beseeches fate 'to grant me the simplest of abilities – the ability to kill a man'[27], even though he becomes 'sick from the proximity of death'.[28] In 'The Death of Dolgushov', when killing would be a humane act, Lyutov is unable to summon the will. Allan Reed contends that 'There is really no doubt that Liutov will never be like these people, i.e. the Cossacks as warmongers'[29]. But this is not for lack of trying. Lyutov fails not because he lacks the desire, but because he lacks the stomach. Violence is attractive from afar, but is repellent and meaningless when faced directly. Lyutov is thus in a terrible existentialist predicament, repelled by that which attracts him.

Physical virility, whether innate or acquired through violence and suffering, is subject to the whims of ever-present death. In 'The Rabbi's Son' typists stare at the dead Vasily's genitals, 'the wasted, curly virility of a starved Semite'.[30] Suffering is a cruel absurdity, not an ennobling or meaningful ordeal. The only character to find any meaning in suffering is Khlebnikov, who writes to Savitsky, 'I understand my sufferings in that army and keep them purer than scared things in my heart'.[31] Khlebnikov's letter, however, is simply the naive and forgetful nostalgia of a man who abandoned a war he now seeks to memorialise.

David Low believes that 'Babel stops far short of condemning war outright, particularly inasmuch as it serves as an instrumentality [sic] for the Revolution and as a grossly revelatory laboratory of human behaviour;.[32] This is a dubious interpretation, but even if we accept it for the sake of argument, we may still maintain that Babel sees no *meaning* in war. The ideals of the revolution are corrupt, thus war can claim no relevance simply by virtue of being a vehicle for revolution. And though war does indeed serve as a 'revelatory laboratory of human behaviour', it is a laboratory that breeds a very corrupt variety of human behaviour.

Nature offers no respite from war. In fact nature takes on the same violent characteristics of war. Granted, the universe can be 'brilliant and rhapsodic',[33] but this is the exception that is always quickly mocked by some other bizarre description of natural phenomena. War is not an aberration in nature, but rather a violent representation of a nature that is itself hostile, making it difficult to accept Peter Stine's contention that 'all of Babel's violences are only meant to return us to the precious earth'.[34] Babel's earth is not terribly precious. 'The orange sun rolls down the sky like a chopped-off head.'[35] 'The blackened Zubrich growls, tying its rapids in foamy knots.'[36] '[B]ehind the scenes a grisly electrician stood by a switch, ready to turn off the moon.'[37] The 'young Sabbath slid in stealthily behind the sunset, crushing out little stars under its red heel . . .'[38] 'The sun rolled through the blood-red dust.'[39] The 'crimson haze of sunset . . . seemed as unreal as on-coming death'.[40] Stine's idea of 'precious earth' is mocked by Lyutov's perverse comfort in finding that the 'sodden Earth offered me the soothing embrace of the grave'.[41] The universe becomes nothing more than a sounding chamber for the tragedy of violence and war. 'The whole universe resounded with vociferations from the transport wagons'[42], while the earth is 'girdled about with shrill sounds'.

Humanity[43] in this universe is reduced to an animal level. In 'St. Valentine's Church' Sashka's body is described as 'fresh and malodorous as the meat of a cow that has only just been slaughtered . . .'[44] Human life has no integrity.

Reactions to this absurd universe take several forms. In 'The Letter' Vasily Kurdyukov abandons any attempt to distinguish between the tragic and the mundane; it all flows into a single, twisted narrative. Vasily accepts absurdity at face value, making no effort to delineate the horrific from the ordinary. It is a classic example of existentialist bad faith – living cognisant of evil and absurdity, yet submitting and attempting to reconcile disparate elements rather than rebelling or standing up to the absurdity.

Other characters fall into a hopeless

weariness. Lyutov's landlady says, 'I'm so sick of everything, I couldn't even enjoy sinning,'[45] suggesting Camus' formulation of existence as 'evil without sin'. Others abandon any effort to continue. 'What a game', Grishuk says mournfully in the midst of battle. 'Why do women go through all that fuss? . . . Why all the matchmaking, weddings, wedding feasts? Why do they bother, the women?'[46] What, in other words, is the point?

Not only are there no answers, but often there are no real questions. In his examination of 'dialogic' aspects in *Red Cavalry*, David Danow notes that the tales 'frequently conclude on a note that not only does not seek a response but makes one all but impossible. What is one to answer, for example, the young woman who is made to witness her father's brutal murder in 'Crossing into Poland'? . . . Does she really expect an answer?'[47] The implied answer, of course, is 'no'.

This inability to find answers, let alone solicit true questions, makes *Red Cavalry* an existentialist work. Although most critics still attempt to find degrees of meaning, some have come ever so close to recognising its existentialist themes. Agnes Gereben points out that 'the narrator is not only considered alien by the other characters; he is aware of his being alien all the time, too'.[48] Peter Stine, perhaps not recognising the existentialist implication of his remarks, notes that Babel's 'awestruck admiration for aspects of the Cossack ethos . . . can best be grasped as a dream of rescue'.[49] Stine thus implies that the Cossack ethos represents the hope of escape, or what Camus identifies as a common though impossible and cowardly reaction to human existence. David Danow in a very recent article speaks of the 'existential universe of free choice'[50] in *Red Cavalry*, though he never elaborates upon this characterisation.

Most critics, however, would balk at the characterisation of *Red Cavalry* as an existentialist work. Efraim Sicher believes that 'hope for a future justice and salvation' temper 'the despair and desperation of the book'.[51] But such hope in the tales is based only on discredited political ideology, impotent religious faith, or unattainable longings for meaningful violence, a tangible oxymoron that only makes Lyutov physically ill. Luplow and many others attempt to posit meaning in the Christ stories. Characters do indeed identify with Apolek's paintings and stories, but their identification is merely a recognition of their own condition, or an acknowledged attempt to 'flatter our pride'[52], rather than the discovery of real meaning. Even Luplow must admit that 'The dreams and values of the religious characters cannot be realised and touch only a few individuals. They are ineffectual in dealing with reality and inevitably become victims of the strong'.[53]

Without the hope or meaning of religion, physical identity or ideology, existentialism is all that remains. Yet, ironically, *Red Cavalry* remains a work that falls just short of acknowledging its existentialism. Although the universe of war and nature at war is indifferent and amoral, many characters fail to recognise it as such. In fact Babel delights in parodying the ideologues – both political and military – whose vapid formulations of meaning merit only laughter and contempt.

Other characters do recognise the horror of existence, even if they usually fail to recognise the corresponding lack of meaning. They acknowledge their weariness, their hopelessness, their wish for comfort and security, but remain one step short of rebellion, the final stage of existentialist engagement. Gedali recognises the 'veil of existence', but holds out hope for the 'wise man' who can 'tear the veil of existence with his laughter'.[54] Of course such a wise man will never appear. Lyutov recognises that he will fail to find meaning in the violence of the Cossacks, but he rails against his intrinsic weakness rather than against the universe that demands barbaric (and for him, impossible) displays of virility. The tragedy of *Red Cavalry*, then, is the tragedy not only of existence, but of misplaced hope.

Notes

12 Babel/MacAndrew, 120.

13 Luplow, Carol. Isaak Babel's *Red Cavalry*. (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1992): 54.

14 Babel/MacAndrew, 121.
15 Babel/MacAndrew, 120.
16 Luplow, p. 56.
17 Sicher, Efraim. 'The Road to *Red Calvary*: Myth and Mythology in the Works of Isaak Babel' of the 1920s' *Slavonic and East European Review* 60 (October, 1982): 541.
18 Babel/Helstein, 63.
19 Babel/MacAndrew, 125.
20 Babel/MacAndrew, 127.
21 Babel/MacAndrew, 127.
22 Babel/MacAndrew, 127.
23 Murphy, Brian. 'An Introduction to the Stories of Isaak Babel.' *Journal of Russian Studies* 47 (1984): 5.
24 Babel/MacAndrew, 130.
25 Babel/MacAndrew, 174.
26 Babel/MacAndrew, 174.
27 Babel/MacAndrew, 172.
28 Babel/MacAndrew, 170.
29 Reid, Allan. 'Isaak Babel's *Konarmiia*: Meanings and Endings.' *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 33 (March, 1991): 150.
30 Babel/MacAndrew, 131.
31 Babel/Helstein, 103.
32 Low, David. 'A Generic Approach to Babel's *Red Cavalry*.' *Modern Fiction Studies* 28 (Spring, 1982): 73.
33 Ehre, Milton. 'Babel's *Red Cavalry*: Epic and Pathos, History and Culture.' *Slavic Review* 40 (Summer, 1981): 232.
34 Stine, David. 'Isaak Babel and Violence.' *Modern Fiction Studies* 30 (Summer 1984): 255.
35 Babel/MacAndrew, 108.
36 Babel/MacAndrew, 108.
37 Babel/MacAndrew, 113.
38 Babel/MacAndrew, 130.
39 Babel/MacAndrew, 207.
40 Babel/MacAndrew, 71.
41 Babel/Helstein, 178.
42 Babel/MacAndrew, 171.
43 By 'humanity' I mean all humanity. For a contrary, feminist perspective see: Andrew, Joe. '"Spoil the Purest of Ladies": Male and Female in Isaak Babel's *Konarmiya*.' *Essays in Poetics: The Journal of the British Neo-Formalist School* 14 (September): 1–27. Andrew argues that *Red Cavalry* is an essential misogynist work. Women, he says, are 'an emblem for the futility of life'. 'If men are heroic, and therefore valorised by the text, then women are almost uniformly denigrated.' While women certainly are denigrated, Andrew has, it seems, an insufficient appreciation for the degradation also suffered by men. Men are not 'valorised' by violence (see, for example the description of dead Vasily) or made heroic (Lyutov tries repeatedly for such heroism, but cannot overcome his physical and moral nausea). The world of war is a world in which all suffer.
44 Babel/Helstein, 150.
45 Babel/MacAndrew, 193.
46 Babel/MacAndrew, 209.
47 Danow, David K. 'A Poetics of Inversion: The Non-Dialogic Aspect in Isaak Babel's *Red Cavalry*.' *The Modern Language Review* 86 (October, 1991): 941.
48 Gereben, Agnes. 'Some Aspects of Narration in the Composition of Cycles of Short Stories.' *Studia Slavica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 28 (1982): 334.
49 Stine, Peter. 'Isaak Babel and Violence' *Modern Fiction Studies*. 30 (Summer, 1984): 239.
50 Danow, David. 'The Paradox of *Red Cavalry*' *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 35 (1994): 47.
51 Sicher, Efraim. 'The Road to *Red Calvary*: Myth and Mythology in the Works of Isaak Babel of the 1920s.' *Slavonic and East European Review* 60 (October, 1982): 538.
52 Babel/MacAndrew, 121.
53 Luplow, Carol. Isaak Babel's *Red Cavalry*. (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1992): 57.
54 Babel/MacAndrew, 128.

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Using word derivations in teaching Russian[1]

Terence Wade

The study of word derivations can play a significant part in learning Russian vocabulary, the amount taught varying in accordance with the interests of the teacher and the competence of pupils.

Time chart

With senior pupils who have a sound knowledge of the language and a reasonably sized vocabulary, it may be helpful to establish a time-chart of Russian vocabulary, beginning with words of Indo-European origin (брат ‘brother’, видеть ‘to see’, вода́ ‘water’, два ‘two’, дом ‘house’, etc.)[2] and proceeding to words deriving from Common Slavonic (ведро́ ‘bucket’, де́рево ‘tree’, дождь ‘rain’, etc.)[3], finally the East Slavonic and Russian strata.[4]

At the Indo-European level pupils can be encouraged to find cognates of Russian words in other European languages, even where these are less obvious (for example, the relationship between жена́ ‘wife’ and *misogynist*, мёд ‘honey’ and *mead*, ого́нь ‘fire’ and *ignition*, ночь ‘night’ and *nocturnal*, овца́ ‘sheep’ and *ovine*, *ewe*, also Spanish *oveja* ‘sheep’). This exercise can help to disperse the facile assumption that, for example, дом ‘house’ ‘comes from’ Latin *domus*, id. or Greek *dómos*, id.

The retention in Russian of both Indo-European themes (*-l-* and *-n-*) in со́лнце ‘sun’ can be contrasted with retention of only the *-l-* theme in most Romance languages (Latin *sol*, id., French *soleil*, id., etc., cf., however, liquid *r* in Romanian *soare*, id.) and only the *-n*-theme in Germanic languages (*sun*, German *Sonne*, etc.), while the presence of the consonants *-p-* and *-n-* in Indo-European *supnos ‘sleep, dream, drowsiness’ (cf. Greek *hypnos* ‘sleep’), can be compared with their separate distribution in Russian (спать ‘to sleep’, сон ‘sleep’, засыпа́ть/засну́ть ‘to fall asleep’).

At the Common Slavonic level comparisons are less easy to make. Students may, however, be warned that some words which seem exclusively ‘Slavonic’ may in fact have correlates in other Indo-European languages. Thus, де́рево ‘tree’ may be cognate with *tar* and German *Teer* ‘tar’, оте́ц ‘father’ with Greek *átta* ‘a salutation made to elders, father’ (and thus possibly with *Attila*), ста́рый ‘old’ with German *starr* ‘stiff’, ведро́ ‘bucket’ with вода́ ‘water’, and thus with *water* itself.

Loanwords

An examination of loan words can be set against a survey of the present flood of borrowings, mainly from English, especially American English: пле́йер ‘player’, ди́лер ‘dealer’, ба́ксы ‘bucks’, etc. The study of loan words can take various forms:

(a) pupils are asked to guess the language of origin of a number of loanwords – абажу́р ‘lampshade’ (from French), ад ‘hell’ (from Greek), бастова́ть ‘to strike’ (from Italian), ло́шадь ‘horse’ (from Turkic), ште́мпель ‘stamp’ (from German), etc.

(b) much can be learnt from the above exercise about the nature of Russian vocabulary. For example, words beginning a- are almost without exception of foreign origin (ателье́ ‘workshop’, etc.), nouns in -аж tend to come from French (гара́ж ‘garage’), words in шт- from German (ште́псель ‘plug, socket’), words in -дж (джем ‘jam’) and -инг (ка́ртинг ‘go-carting’) from English, words with vowel harmony[5] from Turkic languages (барабáн 'drum'), and so on. Greek loans often have the sound [v] (as in вáрвар 'barbarian') where English and other West European languages have [b], since Greek β was pronounced [v] during the Byzantine period, when many Greek words entered Russian (often via Church Slavonic). On occasion a foreign root may form the basis of a whole series of Russian words: thus, -жур- (French *jour* 'day') in абажýр 'lampshade', дежýрный 'duty' (adjective), тужýрка 'double-breasted jacket', журнáл 'journal'. The concept of opaque and transparent vocabulary can be introduced: to a French speaker *abat-jour* 'lampshade' is transparent, since it derives from French *abattre* 'to lower' + *jour* 'day, light', while to Russians абажýр is opaque. Conversely, перестрóйка 'restructuring' is transparent to Russians but opaque in many of the languages that borrowed the word in the 1980s.

It is also worth pointing out that Russian words which contain the syllables ге/ке/хе (герáнь 'geranium', скелéт 'skeleton', схéма 'scheme', etc.) are of foreign origin, unless part of a declension ending (e.g. ногé, dative/prepositional case of ногá 'foot, leg'), since a velar consonant in a native word would have palatalised to ж, ч, ш before the front vowel (as in желéзо 'iron', cf. Lithuanian *geležis*, id.,[6] четы́ре 'four', cf. Lithuanian *keturi*, id., шлем 'helmet', cf. German *Helm*, id.).

Extralinguistic factors can also be considered: ад 'hell' derived from Greek via Church Slavonic in the 11th century during a period of intense Byzantine religious influence in Kievan Russia, полкóвник 'colonel' from Polish in the 17th century at a time of considerable Polish influence in the military and administrative spheres, трюм 'hold' from Dutch in the 18th/19th centuries during the evolution of the Russian navy, дéньги 'money' and other fiscal terms from Turkic in the 15th century during the period of the Tatar yoke, and so on.[7]

Affixes

While familiarity with Russian roots helps to rationalise meaning, a knowledge of affixes brings the subject into sharper focus. Thus, while a study of roots reveals not immediately obvious links between words such as вязáть 'to tie', ýзы 'bonds', союз 'union' and обязáть 'to oblige', the study of affixes adds a new dimension to the learning of vocabulary. For example, спýтник 'travelling companion, satellite' can be interpreted as an agent noun that accompanies someone/something along a course or route (путь), 'accompaniment' being conveyed by the prefix с- (cf. собутыльник 'drinking companion'), agency by the suffix -ник (cf. удáрник 'firing-pin, shock-worker'). Standard affixes are treated in depth in a number of books,[8] and it is worthwhile dwelling on some of those which are less common.

One of these is па-, usually stressed, meaning 'secondary' or 'similar' and common to such disparate words as пáдчерица 'step-daughter', пáсынок 'step-son', пáлуба 'deck' ('resembling bast' [луб]), пáпоротник 'fern' (literally 'like a wing'), паýк 'spider' (from the insect's hook-like legs, -ук from Indo-European *onkos 'hook', a seeming exception to the initial-stress rule), пáдуб 'holly' (perhaps originally 'like a tree', cf. 11th-century *дубъ* 'tree, oak').[9]

Another is су-, meaning either 'with, together with', as in супрýг(а) 'spouse' (originally 'harnessed pair', cognate with спрячь 'to harness together'), сугрóб 'snow-drift' (cognate with сгрести́ 'to rake together'), сýтки 'day and night' (based on initial meanings of convergence, cognate with стык 'join, junction'), or 'indefinite, approximate', a meaning found in сýмерки and сýмрак 'dusk', сýпесь 'sandy soil', сугли́нок 'loamy soil' and сýкровица 'lymph' (a colourless alkaline fluid, *like* blood but without red corpuscles).

Though many nouns end in -л(о) (гóрло 'throat', зéркало 'mirror', крылó 'wing', мáсло 'oil, butter', etc.), -л(о) is rarely perceived as a suffix. In fact, however, it is an ancient agent suffix, in some cases a simplified form of the suffix *-dlo (cf. мыло/Polish *mydlo* 'soap', го́рло/Polish *gardlo* 'throat', крыло́/Polish *skrzydlo* 'wing', etc.), and has a variant in *-slo, e.g. весло́ 'oar' (*vez- 'to convey' + -slo), ма́сло 'oil, butter' (based on ма́зать 'to smear'), число́ 'number' (*čit- 'count' + -slo). The suffix denotes an object that performs or is used to perform the action designated by the root verb: мыло 'soap' (literally 'what you wash with', from мыть 'to wash'), пу́гало 'scare-crow' (from пуга́ть 'to scare'), би́ло 'gong' (from бить 'to strike', ду́ло 'gun-muzzle' (literally 'what you blow with', cf. дуть 'to blow'), опаха́ло 'fan' (cf. опа́хивать 'to fan'), сверло́ 'drill' (from сверли́ть 'to drill'), седло́ 'saddle' (cf. сиде́ть 'to sit'), точи́ло 'grind-stone' (from точи́ть 'to grind'). Some of the nouns belong to the plural-only category: пери́ла 'railing', черни́ла 'ink' (from earlier *чьрнило* 'dyeing agent', seemingly a calque of Greek *melánion*, diminutive of *mélan* 'black dye, ink') and end-stressed, удила́ 'bit' (cf. the series of masculine agent nouns in -л(а) of the type заводи́ла 'instigator', меня́ла 'money-changer', etc.)

The suffixes -н(я) and -ищ(е) denote place: колоко́льня 'belfry', спа́льня 'bedroom', часо́вня 'chapel', also говори́льня 'talking-shop', earlier used only of Western organisations and legislative bodies, since the mid-1980s also of meetings of the Russian parliament. An interesting example is тамо́жня 'customs', which derives from 14th-century там(ь)га 'brand, seal' (possibly cognate with *деньга́* 'coin'/де́ньги 'money', but from a different Turkic dialect), with velar г palatalising to ж (cf. softening of л to ль in чита́льня 'reading room', etc.).

The suffix -ищ(е) (cf. homonymous augmentative -ищ(е), as in кулачи́ще 'large fist') also has locational meaning: вмести́лище 'receptacle', убе́жище 'refuge', учи́лище 'college', чисти́лище 'purgatory', кла́дбище 'cemetery' (from OR *кладьба* 'placing'), стре́льбище 'firing range' (from стрельба́ 'firing')[10]. Incidentally, the 'erroneous' presence of щ in това́рищ 'comrade' has been attributed to the influence of Old Russian *товарище* 'encampment', since 'comrade', a coalescence of Turkic *tavar* 'property, goods' and *-iš* 'friend' should strictly speaking be *товариш, (literally 'trading partner', cf. Ukrainian *товариш* 'comrade').

Language awareness can be stimulated by the study of a number of other phenomena.

Homonyms[11]

Only etymological analysis can clarify the relationship between members of a homonymous group. For example, the relationship between, брак 'marriage' and брак 'rejected goods' becomes clear only when брак 'marriage' is seen to derive from the root of брать 'to take' and брак 'rejected goods' from a Low German root meaning 'to break' (the Low German of North Germany was the *lingua franca* of the Hanseatic League, trading partners with the merchants of Pskov and Novgorod).

The homonym must be distinguished from a semantic extension. Thus газ 'gas' (via Western European languages from Latin/Greek *chaos*) is homonymous with газ 'gauze' (from Gaza, where the fabric is said to have first been manufactured, or from an Arabic word meaning 'gauze'), while ру́чка 'pen, handle, knob' is an extended meaning (through contiguity – the three objects all involve contact with the hand) of ру́чка 'small hand'.

Other examples of homonymy include икра́ 'roe, calf of leg' (perhaps connected through the shared concept of lumpy tissue – remarkably, Dutch *kuit* also shares the two meanings), ла́ска 'caress, weasel' (the second meaning may, however, derive from the first as a euphemism), ключ 'key, spring of water' (the second meaning being onomatopoeic), коса́ 'scythe, plait' (though both may derive ultimately from the Indo-European root *kesō 'cut, chop, comb'), лук 'onions' (cognate with *leek*), 'bow' (from a root denoting 'curve'), мол 'he says (from мо́лвит, id.), 'pier' (from Italian *molo*, id.), петру́шка 'parsley, Punch', and so on.

Onomatopoeia

Onomatopoeia (звукоподража́ние, literally 'imitation of sound') will be familiar to students through English *bang!, crash!,* etc. In Russian, onomatopoeia may help in assimilating vocabulary. Examples include бормота́ть 'to mutter' (cf. *b/m* combinations in 'babble, murmur', French *marmotter* 'to mutter', *balbutier* 'to stammer', etc.), ка́шель 'cough', хло́пать 'to slam', скри́пка 'violin', грач 'rook' (from гра! 'caw!'). Onomatopoeic ко́локол 'bell' is also an example of reduplication (cf. пе́репел 'quail', apparently originally пелепелъ). Some words are liable to dual interpretation. Thus ца́пля 'crane' derives either from ца́пать 'to grab' (from the crane's habit of fishing for frogs and other small aquatic animals) or from the meaning 'to squelch' (from the crane's progress through the wetlands, cf. Ukrainian *чапати,* id.). Other forms may not appear to be onomatopoeic at all, e.g. ску́ка 'boredom', сова́ 'owl', while etymological analysis reveals unlikely cognates such as бык 'bull', пчела́ 'bee', бука́шка 'small insect', all seemingly associated with Indo-European *bhukiō 'buzz, roar'.

Calques[12]

Knowledge of calquing (loan translation) procedures can transform opaque into transparent lexis, with obvious advantages for comprehension. Calques range from 11th-century examples such as все́нощная 'all night service' (calqued from Greek) to recent examples such as *Кто* 'The Who' (no harm in exploiting youthful obsession with popular music – cf. doublets such as хард-рок (a loan) and тяжёлый рок (a calque or semi-calque) 'hard rock'. Calques are as abundant in Russian as in German: носоро́г 'rhinoceros', literally 'nose-horn' (cf. German *Nashorn,* id.), впечатле́ние 'impression' (cf. German *Eindruck,* id.), хладнокро́вие 'sang-froid' and hundreds more. Students studying German *and* Russian can note parallels: водоро́д/*Waßerstoff* 'hydrogen', влия́ние/*Einfluß* 'influence', пылесо́с/*Staubsauger* 'vacuum cleaner'. There are also semantic calques, where an existing word acquires a new meaning under the influence of another language, e.g. у́тка 'duck' and (under the influence of French *canard,* id.) 'newspaper lie'. Other examples include вкус '(artistic) taste' (under the influence of French *goût* 'taste, artistic taste').

False etymology

False ('popular') etymology (ло́жная or наро́дная этимоло́гия) is a process whereby a word changes its form due to its chance similarity to another form or word. Thus, 18th-century *фоксал* (from the English *Vauxhall* pleasure garden) changed to вокза́л under the influence of зал 'hall', близору́кий 'short-sighted', originally comprising близ- 'close' and зо́ркий 'keen-sighted', changed under the influence of -рукий (as in одноору́кий 'one-armed'), верблю́д 'camel', ultimately from Gothic *ulbandus,* id., was wrongly associated with блужда́ть 'to wander', медве́дь 'bear', lit. 'honey-eater', is sometimes mis-interpreted as 'honey-knower' (cf. ве́дать 'to know'). English examples include *gooseberry* (originally *groseberry,* cf. dialect *groser,* French *groseille* 'currant), by false association with *goose,* and *crayfish,* from French *écrevisse,* by false association with *fish.*

Distinguishing features of Russian

Features which distinguish Russian from other languages include mobile stress, treatment of fleeting vowels, initial о- before a soft consonant (e.g. оди́н 'one', о́сень 'autumn', олёнь 'deer', cf. Polish equivalents *jeden, jesien, jelen*), the reflexes ž (ж) and č (ч) from *d'* and *t'* respectively (e.g., надёжный 'reliable', свеча́ 'candle', cf., under South Slavonic [Church Slavonic] influence, наде́жда 'hope', освеще́ние 'illumination), ё before a hard consonant: нёбо 'palate', падёж 'murrain', напёрсток 'thimble' (cf. не́бо 'sky', under South Slavonic influence), падёж 'grammatical case', перст 'finger' (an obsolete form retained in перча́тка 'glove', пе́рстень 'signet ring'). As a group, with one or two additional phenomena (see pleophony, below), these features define the unique nature of the Russian language.

Even the least perceptive of students will have noticed the recurrent sequences -оро-, ере-, -оло-, -еле- in Russian words, a sub-system of the language involving pleophony (полногла́сие), the development of 'flanking vowels' either side of the liquid consonants л and р. These forms evolved from inter-consonantal *or, *er, *ol, *el in Common Slavonic, resulting in Russian голова́ 'head' (from Common Slavonic *golva), во́рон 'raven', го́лос 'voice', го́род 'town', желе́зо 'iron', молоко́ 'milk', etc. Many coexist with non-pleophonic forms of South Slavonic origin (specifically Church Slavonic). Thus бе́рег 'shore', but прибре́жный 'coastal, off-shore' (now also оффшор, оффшорный, relating exclusively to a tax haven),[13] голова 'head' but глава́ 'chapter', го́лос 'voice' but гла́сный 'consonant', коро́ткий 'short' but кра́ткий 'brief', середи́на 'middle' but среда́ 'milieu' (also cognate with сердце 'heart'), and less obvious doublets such as сморо́дина 'currants', named for their pungent smell, cf. смрад 'stench'. Others do not have common non-pleophonic counterparts: борода́ 'beard' (cf., however, the obsolete and facetious form брадобре́й 'barber'), воро́на 'crow', желе́зо 'iron', зо́лото 'gold' (but cf. poetic златоку́дрый 'golden-haired'), коро́ва 'cow' (cf. Lithuanian *karv*, id.), коро́ль (ultimately from *Karl der Große* 'Charlemagne'), мо́лот 'mallet', серебро́ 'silver' (but за три́дцать сре́бреников прода́ть/преда́ть 'to sell/betray for thirty pieces of silver'), холосто́й 'single'. In some cases only close analysis reveals a cognate non-pleophonic form (Мле́чный путь 'Milky Way', cf. молоко́ 'milk', моло́чный суп 'milk soup'), or, for that matter, the pleophonic cognate of a common non-pleophonic form, cf., for example, ожере́лье 'necklace' and го́рло 'throat' (also жерло́ 'muzzle of a gun').

Russian, like most Slavonic languages, has not retained the Common Slavonic nasal vowels. Known as 'major jus' and 'minor jus', usually rendered as *ę* and *ą* and pronounced approximately as French *in* and *on*, these have been replaced in Russian by я and у, which often correspond to nasals in Polish or some other language, cf., for example, пять 'five' and *pentagon* (from Greek *pente* 'five'), у́зкий 'narrow' and Latin *angustus*, id., German *eng*, id., Polish *wazky*, id., у́тка 'duck' and Latin *anas*, id., German *Ente*, па́мять 'memory' and Latin *mens* 'mind', Lithuanian *mintis*, у́гол 'corner, *angle*'. Sometimes я and у coexist within the same root: трус 'coward', lit, 'he who trembles' (cf. Old Russian *трусъ* 'earthquake'), трясти́ 'to tremble', тяну́ть 'to pull' (Polish *ciagnac*, id.), туго́й '(pulled) tight'.

Root variants

Russian relies on root variants in the creation of new vocabulary. Thus, the concept of 'burning' is represented by the root variants жг-/жж-/жег-/жиг- and жог-, etc., as in жгу 'I burn', жжёшь 'you burn', жёг 'he burnt', зажига́ть 'to ignite', ожо́г 'a burn' (cf. жечь 'to burn'), the concept of 'seeing' by the quadrapartite group зр-/зер-/зир-/зор-. Thus, obsolete зреть 'to behold' (cf. homonym зреть 'to ripen'), with derivatives and cognates in зря 'in vain', зре́ние 'sight', зря́чий 'sighted', зре́лище 'spectacle', подозрева́ть 'to suspect', зрачо́к 'pupil of eye', при́зрак 'phantom', прозра́чный 'transparent'); презира́ть 'to despise'; зе́ркало 'mirror'; зо́ркий 'keen-sighted', позо́р 'shame' (originally 'spectacle'), прозорли́вый perspicacious' (cf. the metatonic group: бр-/бер-/бир-/бор-, which link брать 'to take', беру́ 'I take', убира́ть 'to take away', сбор 'collection', etc.).

Familiarity with such word-formatory processes facilitates the learning and retention of Russian vocabulary. Thus де́ва 'maiden', дои́ть 'to milk', дитя́ 'child' and possibly дочь 'daughter' are linked by the concept of giving or receiving milk (cf. Old Russian *дева* 'female child' or 'young woman breast feeding' – де́вочка 'little girl' and де́вушка 'girl' appeared in the 16th and 18th centuries respectively), корь 'measles' ('bark' in the 12th century) and кора́ 'bark' are linked by the meaning 'peeling' (коры́то 'trough' – perhaps originally of bark – is a cognate), колесо́ 'wheel', о́коло 'near, about', коля́ска 'brougham' (whence *calash*, etc.), колея 'track, gauge' are based on Old Russian *коло* 'wheel', кремль 'kremlin', кроме 'apart from' (earlier 'outside'), скрóмный 'modest', укрóмный 'secluded' are linked by the meaning 'peripheral', лапа 'paw', лáпоть 'bast shoe', лопáта 'spade', лóпасть 'blade', лопýх 'burdock' (which has flat leaves) by the meaning 'flatness', лягáть 'to kick', лягýшка 'frog', ля́жка 'thigh' (by the concept of 'powerful leg action', норá 'burrow', ныря́ть 'to dive', нóрка 'mink' (noted for its aquatic skills) by the concept of swimming and diving, obsolete перст 'finger', пéрстень 'signet ring', перчáтка 'glove', напёрсток 'thimble' by the meaning 'finger', руби́ть 'to chop, hack', рубль 'rouble' (originally cut from a silver ingot), рубáшка 'shirt' by the concept of cutting, сад 'garden', сидéть 'to sit', сесть 'to sit down', сáжа 'soot' (literally 'that which settles') сосéд 'neighbour' (literally 'one sitting, living near'), сало 'lard' ('that which has been deposited') by the concept of sitting, settling.

Etymologies

A natural curiosity about the origins of words can be exploited by the language teacher. Since time will inevitably be very limited, explanations will probably need to be terse: бýква 'letter' derives from бук 'beech' because early writing was inscribed on beech bark, гвозди́ка is so called because its plant heads are said to resemble nails (гвоздь 'nail'), holidays are кани́кулы because originally associated with Latin *canicula* 'dog days' (Latin *canis* 'dog'), the hottest days in July and August, the lung is лёгкое, literally 'light' because it floats in water, both 'window' and окнó (cf. óко 'eye') mean literally 'eye' (of the house) a date is called фи́ник because it comes from Финики́я 'Phoenicia', a lime is called ли́па because of its sticky sap (ли́пкий 'sticky'), and so on. Russian contains hundreds of words with interesting derivations: воскресéнье 'Sunday', врач 'doctor, зонт 'umbrella', зубри́ть 'to swat', копéйка 'kopeck', крáсный 'red', крестья́нин 'peasant', невéста 'bride', недéля 'week', to name only a few. The introduction of etymology into classroom practice needs careful management but can enliven classes when the circumstances are right.

Notes

1. This article is an expanded version of a talk given at an ALL Russian Day at Imperial College, London, on 15 June 1996.
2. The Indo-European linguistic community is thought to have begun to disintegrate in the third millennium BC.
3. Common Slavonic is assumed to have existed for about 3,000 years before breaking up into individual languages between the 6th and 9th centuries AD.
4. The period of Old Russian (East Slavonic) lasted until about 1250 AD. Following the Mongol invasions (1237–40), Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian, all deriving from Old Russian, began to develop separately.
5. Turkic languages are subject to vowel harmony (if a word's root vowel is frontal or back, the other vowels in the word will follow suit).
6. Id. = *idem*, denoting the same word or meaning.
7. For a seminal work combining the history of language and society, see Owen Barfield's *History in English Words*, London, 1953.
8. See N.Y. Shvedova *et al.*, (eds.), *Русская грамматика*, 2 vols., Moscow, 1982, pp. 142–411, A. N. Barykina *et al.*, *Изучение глагольных приставок*, Moscow, 1979, Paul Cubberley, *Handbook of Russian Affixes*, Columbus, Ohio, 1994, etc.
9. Note the homonymous prefix на 'after' in память 'memory'.
10. Shvedova, *op. cit.*, p. 153, identifies бище as a separate morph in кладбище 'cemetery', лéжбище 'breeding-ground, rookery', стóйбище 'nomad camp'.
11. A homonym (гомоним) is a word identical in form with another word but from a different root.
12. A calque (калька) is a loan created by translation from another language.
13. See S. V. Podchasova, 'Оффшор – налоговый рай за рубежом', *Русская речь*, 1, 1996, 47–9.

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'Ya vas lyubil . . .'; who was Pushkin's addressee?

Alison Brunton

One of the best-known poems in Russian Literature is Alexander Pushkin's love lyric 'Ya vas lyubil: lyubov' eshche, byt' mozhet . . .' (1829). Celebrated for its succinctness, poetic quality, restrained passion and charitable conclusion, the lyric is often studied, and learnt, by foreign students of Russian as the first work of literature in their new language. The appeal and the message of this eight-line poem are clearly established; the identity of its addressee is not. Over the years this has been much debated with none too successful an outcome: no single woman has been identified and universally accepted as the addressee. Natalya Goncharova, Anna Olenina, Elizaveta Vorontsova and Karolina Sobanskaya have been advocated by a variety of critics and commentators, yet the arguments concerning all of these women are flawed. Annenkov and W. E. Brown claim respectively, for instance, that the addressee is Anna Olenina and Natalya Goncharova.[1] The poem, though, contains the phrase 'I loved you silently, hopelessly . . .' from which it appears reasonable to deduce that Pushkin had not told the addressee of his feelings for her. However, Pushkin proposed to both of these women. They would be only too aware of how he felt. If this were not sufficient evidence to justify the exclusion of Natalya Goncharova, we need only examine the psychology of the Pushkin-Goncharova relationship. W. E. Brown asserts that while debate continues as to the addressee's identity, in his opinion she is most likely to have been Natalya Goncharova. This he justifies by the statement that Goncharova had recently rejected Pushkin's proposal of marriage and he, in his turn, was treated coldly by her family.[2] Pushkin, though, deeply loved Natalya and regardless of parental animosity, was determined to marry her. It does not make sense, therefore, for him to address a work to Natalya in which he candidly states his hope that she will be loved by another.

If Brown has failed to comprehend the psychology of the Pushkin–Goncharova relationship, then Robin Edmonds has misinterpreted the nature of Pushkin's liaison with Elizaveta Vorontsova. Edmonds fails to provide any supporting evidence, but this does not prevent him from writing: 'The identity of the woman to whom . . . ['Ya vas lyubil . . .'] was addressed has not been established, although more than one candidate has been advanced: Olenina and Vorontsova are both possibilities.'[3] Unlike his lyrics to Amalia Riznich for instance, the starting point of Pushkin's poems to Elizaveta Vorontsova is the end of their affair. This is acknowledged in the aptly titled 'Vse koncheno: mezh nami svyazi net . . .' where Pushkin goes on to concede the likelihood that Vorontsova would have other lovers. In late 1824, though, Pushkin discovered that his friend Alexander Raevsky was Vorontsova's lover. His horror at this discovery appears to have been so great that it raises the question of whether he would subsequently have addressed such a generous and selfless lyric as 'Ya vas lyubil . . .' to Vorontsova. What is more, the poet's admission that he may still be in love with the addressee suggests that the 1829 composition is referring to a recent romance. Pushkin's relationship with Vorontsova had ended some five years previously and since that time he had been involved in other serious liaisons. It is unlikely, therefore, that by the time of composition love for Vorontsova was still burning in his soul.

As for Karolina Sobanskaya, the arguments put forward to support the claim that she is the addressee are somewhat more convincing than those which advocate Olenina, Vorontsova and Goncharova, but they too are not without flaws. The proposal centres upon the assertion that Sobanskaya was the intended recipient of two letters written in French by Pushkin which are essentially declarations of love.[4] The first letter contains the phrase 'j'aime mieux vous écrire que vous parler . . .' which would be in keeping with the fifth line of 'Ya vas lyubil . . .' where Pushkin writes that he loved the addressee silently ('Ya vas lyubil bezmolvno . . .'); nevertheless the overall tone of the letter does not match that of the poem. The tone of Pushkin's verse composition is one of tenderness and generosity whereas the letter opens with a series of statements which imply that he feels tormented by her:

> vous vous jouez de mon impatience, vous [vous] semblez prendre plaisir à me désapointer . . . . . . Il y a en vous une ironie, une malice qui [m'attriste] aigrissent [est] [me] et découragent . . . [Surement] *[sic]* vous êtes [un] le démon, c. à dire celui qui doute et nie, comme le dit l'Ecriture.

Admittedly Pushkin goes on to write that he owes her much and includes a future hypothetical statement which indicates he is aware that their relationship is coming to an end, yet the tonal balance is not redressed.

The second letter, now accepted as having been intended for Sobanskaya, does not help to identify the addressee either. Written in February 1830 in the period during which the poet's engagement to Natalya Goncharova was being finalised and he reflected upon past romantic encounters, Pushkin now maintains that he has realised he was born to love and follow Sobanskaya and that everything else was an error on his part. Pushkin's reputation as a womaniser is well-known. Nonetheless, even he does not seem feckless enough to undermine the apparent sincerity of his verse in the last quatrain in particular by going back on his word and essentially negating everything he had said to Sobanskaya (assuming that she is the addressee). Karolina Sobanskaya may well be the intended recipient of both letters, yet these prose communication fail to corroborate her position as the addressee of 'Ya vas lyubil . . .'. The diversity and conflicting nature of the sentiments expressed in Pushkin's verse and prose, together with the speed of his change of heart and, significantly, the timing of his declarations, introduce elements of doubt into the argument concerning Sobanskaya and so pave the way for a fifth candidate.

Ekaterina Vaslievna Velyasheva (1813–1865), the sixteen-year old niece of P. A. Osipova, first met Pushkin at a ball held at her father's home in Staritsa (Tver' province) in early January 1829. An attractive girl who caught the eye of Pushkin but also Aleksei Vulf, Ekaterina Velyasheva is the accepted addressee of the poem 'Pod"ezzhaya pod Izhory . . .'; a work which happens to contain interesting lexical and contextual similarities to 'Ya vas lyubil . . .'.[5]

Dated in the Academy edition of Pushkin's works as having been penned during the period 18 January–7 February 1829,[6] 'Pod"ezzhaya pod Izhory . . .' is a work in which Pushkin reveals the extent of his attraction to Velyasheva as well as his planned future behaviour. The text of this poem is worth quoting in full:

Подъезжая под Ижоры,
Я взглянул на небеса
И воспомнил ваши взоры,
Ваши синие глаза.
Хоть я грустно очарован
Вашей девственной красой,
Хоть вампиром именован
Я в губернии Тверской,
Но колен моих пред вами
Преклонить я не посмел
И влюбленными мольбами
Вас тревожить не хотел.
Упиваясь неприятно
Хмелем светской суеты,
Позабуду, вероятно,
Ваши милые черты,
Легкий стан, движений стройность,
Осторожный разговор,
Эту скромную спокойность
Хитрый смех и хитрый взор.

Если ж нет . . . по прежню следу
В ваши мирные края
Через год опять заеду
И влюблюсь до ноября.

Pushkin admits to having been attracted to Velyasheva, but, perhaps surprisingly given his easy-going attitude to love, felt unable to reveal his feelings. As a result, he now wishes to be swept along by the heady cares of life so that he will come to forget her. However, the use of the adverb *veroyatno* ('probably') (line 15), closely followed by the phrase 'Esli zh net . . .' ('If not . . .') (line 21) suggests that, in reality, Pushkin is hoping that this will not happen. It is for this reason the poem is brought to a close with the statement 'I will come back again in a year // And fall in love until November . . .', which, rather than being a light-hearted statement which trivialises the sincerity of his affection, actually emphasises the profound effect Velyasheva has had upon him. Her appeal is so great, Pushkin could not but fall in love with her again.

From this simple summary of 'Pod"ezzhaya pod Izhory . . .' the similarities with 'Ya vas lyubil . . .' are not evident, especially when one considers that the former is a poem of remembrance and reflection whereas the latter is a work in which Pushkin bids the addressee farewell. In fact it may seem entirely unfeasible to suggest that the links between the two lyrics form the basis of the argument that Ekaterina Velyasheva is the fifth candidate for the addressee of this well-known poem. This, though, is not the case. Up to eleven months passed between the writing of 'Pod"ezzhaya pod Izhory . . .' and 'Ya vas lyubil . . .' during which time Pushkin's personal circumstances changed.[7] At the end of April 1829 he proposed to Natalya Goncharova. His proposal was refused by her mother, yet this did not lessen the poet's resolve to marry her. Accordingly he would not be in a position to reveal his feelings to Velyasheva. Such a change in circumstances is implied in the last line of 'Ya vas lyubil . . .' and accounts for the basic thematic difference between the two works under consideration. Pushkin is unable to pursue a relationship with the addressee and so he hopes that God will allow her to be loved by another. The fact that he still hopes that another man will love her as ardently as he indicates that Pushkin is not bidding the addressee farewell because he has discovered that she is in love with a rival. Instead, it is *his* position vis-à-vis the possibility of a romance which has altered and not hers.

A change in circumstances, then, forms the first of the possible links between 'Pod"ezzhaya pod Izhory . . .' and 'Ya vas lyubil . . .'. Subsequent connections derive from Pushkin's choice of vocabulary and their context. Pushkin's generosity of spirit in the later of these lyrics is disclosed primarily in lines 3–4 where he asserts that the addressee ought not let herself be troubled by his declaration of love since he does not want to sadden her with anything. An almost identical disclosure can be found in 'Pod"ezzhaya pod Izhory . . .'. Pushkin writes that he did not dare go down on bended knee and trouble her with romantic petitions. The tenses may be different ('No pust' ona vas bol'she ne trevozhit // Ya ne khochu pechalit' vas nichem . . .' compared to 'No kolen moikh pred vami // Preklonit' ya ne posmel // I vlyublennymi mol'bami // Vas trevozhit ne khotel . . .'), but the sentiments involved and, more significantly, the vocabulary are suspiciously similar.

A contextual link between the poems also arises from this similarity, centring around Pushkin's description, as presented in 'Ya vas lyubil . . .', of the nature of his love and in particular his confession that he loved the addressee silently, hopelessly. We have already dismissed the arguments concerning Anna Olenina on the grounds that she was aware of Pushkin's feelings for her. In his own words, however, Pushkin reveals to Ekaterina Velyasheva that *he did not tell her of his love*. That is, he loved her silently. Furthermore, in line 6 of 'Pod"ezzhaya pod Izhory . . .' he writes: 'Khot' ya grustno ocharovan . . .'. Here, the combination of adverb and participle is of particular interest. Pushkin is openly confessing to being attracted to Velyasheva, but in the same breath he reveals his awareness of the fact that nothing could happen between them: he loved her hopelessly. For a man who could quite easily go from one liaison to another, a rather startling side to Pushkin's character is being uncovered: he backs away from an affair. The reason why this happens is not entirely clear, though one proposal is made in the poem itself. Pushkin writes in lines 7–8 that in the Tver' province he is known as the vampire; his reputation with women precedes him and would be known to Velyasheva. Of course, other possibilities exist too; for example, the risk of P. A. Osipova drawing upon the experience of Pushkin's involvement with her own daughters and so putting an end to the relationship. His surprising reticence, though, was probably not due to Velyasheva's age, since he had declared his love before to girls no older than her (including Natalya Goncharova herself). What seems most likely is that the poet's feelings for his wife-to-be were preventing him from acting out of line.

While we can only speculate as to the reasons for his behaviour, we can be sure of one thing: Ekaterina Velyasheva made a profound impression upon Pushkin. She is depicted in 'Pod"ezzhaya pod Izhory . . .' in such detail – her age, eyes, build, laugh, manner of speaking and so forth – that evidently Pushkin had passed considerable time in the addressee's company and had observed her closely. No doubt, during this time he had also been able to observe her behaviour towards others. This would form a basis for comparison and perhaps for the jealousy (*revnost'*) he will come to mention in 'Ya vas lyubil . . .'. What is more, she is mentioned in a letter from Pushkin to Aleksei Vulf (16 October 1829), three sketches of Velyasheva have been found on manuscripts which date from the period in question,[8] and Pushkin will later refer to her again in the letter of 21 August 1833 to Natalya Nikolaevna. In addition, Ekaterina Velyasheva is believed to have been the inspiration behind the character of Mashenka in *Roman v pis'makh* (1829). By far the most exciting of these findings is the letter to Natalya Nikolaevna. Pushkin writes: 'Velyasheva, once glorified by me, lives here in the neighbourhood. But I will not go to her, knowing that it would not be to your liking . . .'. Presumably, Pushkin had mentioned Velyasheva's name to Natalya and received a far from favourable reaction. His relationship with Velyasheva may never have developed, yet even some four years later, to Natalya's mind, it seems she still posed a threat.

In October 1829 Pushkin returned to the Tver' province where, it is believed, he met Velyasheva for the last time. In his letter to Aleksei Vulf Pushkin writes of her: 'Gretchen grows prettier and by the hour is becoming more innocent'. Despite returning to the region earlier than he had intended (based on the closing lines of 'Pod"ezzhaya pod Izhory . . .'), the outcome is the same and, if anything, his attraction to Velyasheva would now be stronger. Pushkin, though, would be in even less of a position to act upon his emotions than before, so that the composition at this time of a tender poem of farewell would be highly appropriate and in keeping with the Academy's dating of 'Ya vas lyubil . . .'. The coherence in timing, motivation and, above all the lexical and contextual connections between 'Pod"ezzhaya pod Izhory . . .' and 'Ya vas lyubil: lyubov' eshche, byt' mozhet . . .' cannot be ignored. All things considered, therefore, it seems reasonable at least to consider Ekaterina Vasilevna Velyasheva as a possible fifth candidate for identification as the addressee of Pushkin's famous love poem. Her claim appears, in fact, to be much stronger than those of her four established rivals.

Notes

1. W. E. Brown is not the only person who claims that Natalya Goncharova is the addressee of 'Ya vas lyubil . . .'. Magarshack also names Pushkin's then fiancée as the addressee, whereas Blagoi appears to align himself with this camp although he does not actually commit himself to making a statement of this kind in print. See: D. Magarshack *Pushkin*, Chapman & Hall, London, 1967, p. 142 and D. D. Blagoi *Tvorcheskii put' Pushkina 1826–1830*, Sovetskii pisatel', 1967, pp. 413–415.
2. W. E. Brown *A History of Russian Literature*

of the Romantic Period, Volume 3, Ardis, Ann Arbor, 1986, pp. 173–174.

3. R. Edmonds *Pushkin: The Man and His Age*, Macmillan, London, 1994, p. 92.
4. The proposal is made and the draft letters printed in an article which can be found in: Ed. M. A. Tsyavlovksy, L. B. Modzalevsky and T. G. Zenger *Rukoyu Pushkina*, Academia, M.-L., 1935, pp. 179–208.
5. Aleksei Vulf wrote in his diary about Pushkin's visit to Staritsa: 'Here I found . . . Katenka Velyasheva, my cousin, [who] in one year, in which I did not see her, has grown from a 14-year-old child into a beautiful girl.'
6. See: A. S. Pushkin *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 3, AN SSSR, M.-L., 1937–49, p. 1177.
7. The exact dating of 'Ya vas lyubil . . . is unknown, though the Academy edition dates the work as having been composed no later than November 1829. See: *op. cit.*, p. 1193.
8. See: V. Enisherlov 'Vel'yasheva mnoyu nekogda vospetaya', *Ogonek*, Number 23, 1974, p. 13.

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The Russian Paradox

Susan E. Kay

If Higher Education has become a market place then it is a market serving two separate customers: employers and students. These two customers often have very differing ideas about which goods in the market place are desirable. The state of Russian in Higher Education currently illustrates this point.

At least, this is how it seemed to us, facing a decline in applications just at the time when we perceived a marked increase in the number of our graduates using Russian in their careers. However, this perception was based on random and anecdotal evidence: joyful graduates ringing or writing to express their gratitude and to boast, just a little, over the acquisition of plum positions. This could mask a greater number of part time temporary shelf packers or disillusioned unemployed. In order to try and give some semblance of scientific basis to our viewpoint and to ascertain whether there was justification for trying to convince waverers of the value of studying Russian, we embarked on a more systematic survey of our own Russian graduates.

Employment survey results

The objective of the survey was threefold. Firstly we wanted to quantify what proportion of graduates had found the study of Russian useful in gaining employment, either because they used the Russian language in the course of their work or because their employment involved contact with former Soviet or Eastern European states. Secondly, we wanted to discover which aspects of the students' course had proved most useful in employment and thirdly whether students would benefit from the opportunity to study a second Slavonic language and, if so, which?

The survey covered graduates of Russian from the years 1991–94. Questionnaires were sent to a total sample of 62 graduates of whom 37 replied, a response rate of 60%. Before detailing the findings it is important to make clear that these were not single honours Russian students. All those surveyed were graduates who had studied Russian as one of two major languages on either the BA Hons Modern Languages and International Business Finance, the BA Hons Modern Languages and International Marketing (only from 1993) or BA Hons Modern Languages and Politics. Given that these were graduates with two major and one minor strings to their bow the extent to which they have made use of their Russian is particularly gratifying.

Of those surveyed 62% had used the Russian language in employment. This excluded any where the use of Russian was infrequent or chance, i.e. not part of the job description. A slightly higher percentage, 68%, had employment involving contact with either the former Soviet Union or Eastern Europe.

Among the 37 jobs in which graduates had used Russian there was an impressive range. Eighteen, almost exactly half, were in business or commerce. Fields included: accountancy firm, advertising, conference organisation, engineering, finance, food industry, freight services, import-export agents, publishing, sensors, steel, telecommunications and media, tourism, transport. The predominance of commerce was most marked in the most recent cohort of graduates where it reached 80% of the 'Russian' jobs reported. 29% of jobs were in teaching, but all of these were either in Further or Higher Education and two thirds of them abroad, reflecting the

Table 1: Use of Russian Language in employment

year of graduation	used in any employment (no. of graduates)	used in current employment (no. of graduates)	used in previous employment (no. of graduates)	total no. of jobs	total graduate sample	% graduates using Russian in employment
1991	4	2	4	6	5	80%
1992	5	5	5	12	8	63%
1993	4	3	6	9	8	50%
1994	10	6	4	10	16	63%
All years	23	16	19	37	37	62%

Table 2: Contact with Russia, F.S.U. or Eastern Europe in employment

year of graduation	any employment	current employment	previous employment	total no. of jobs	total graduate sample	% graduates having contact in employment
1991	4	2	4	6	5	80%
1992	6	5	8	13	8	75%
1993	4	3	6	9	8	50%
1994	11	7	5	12	16	67%
All years	25	17	23	40	37	68%

limited Russian teaching opportunities in British schools. The remaining 21% were employed by public bodies such as an NHS trust, the Royal Society, Sports Federation, TECs, university administration, university library.

By focusing on those graduates who are actively using Russian I would not wish to give the impression that I am dismissive of the jobs occupied by those who are not using their Russian. They too have fulfilling and exciting careers, for example in the civil service, finance, hotel management, journalism, marketing, personnel and training, research, teaching. Nor are they dismissive of the value of studying Russian simply because they are not using it actively at present. As one respondent (working in the Diplomatic Service but not using Russian at present) commented at the end of her questionnaire: 'I have found that a language degree which includes a difficult/unusual language is useful when looking for employment. It seems to impress.' Another, who has never used his Russian (except on a casual basis so it was not included in the figures) because he has worked in Japan ever since graduating wrote: 'Even if afterwards a job does not require a knowledge of Russian, the course teaches transferable skills that can be used anywhere . . . I feel passionately about Russia, Russian . . . I consider myself extremely lucky to have had such an experience.' And yet another, who works as a bar manager while waiting for the big breakthrough in his acting career, wrote with disarming candour: 'Even though I am at present doing a pretty menial job and not using my languages, this is very much by choice and I have no regrets whatsoever about my choice of course. (Remember how I sort of "fell" into the Russian/ German combination by default, thinking I was doing Spanish? Well, it's most definitely one of the best mistakes I've ever made.)'

This 'no regrets' message was reiterated by other non Russian users. Indeed, none of the respondents took the opportunity of the questionnaire to express any negative feelings about their choice of Russian as a degree subject. All professed to have gained some benefit from their studies. These comments came in response to the request to list 'aspects of the course in Russian which you found useful in your employment'. The question was deliberately open ended as we did not want to prompt the graduates by suggesting areas that they might name. However, this has made the responses rather difficult to analyse, particularly such positive, but non-specific replies as 'all'. The area which received the most references was the 18–week long placement at one of our partner universities in Russia – indicated by 12 students, almost a third of the total. This echoes the generally very positive feedback on the study period in Russia. Had we prompted graduates by giving them a list to tick which included these placements, I suspect the response would have been close to 100%. Individual students selected different areas of language work, very often referring to the value of the language work on their particular course being contemporary in content and practical in nature. Translation received the largest number of references. A surprising number of Russian users referred to the requirement to do English–Russian translation as part of their job and I felt vindicated in retaining it in the curriculum, despite the fashionable trend to eliminate it. Interpreting was deemed the next most useful activity, followed by oral classes in general. Surprisingly, even grammar received a modest mention as valuable in its own right. These students had deliberately chosen a non-literary course and remained faithful to their choice. They professed to have found the combination of language with the study of contemporary society, politics, history and business valuable in employment. In particular the Business and Economic environment of Russian course (an option not followed by

Table 3: Aspects of the Course found useful in Employment named by more than 10% of sample

Aspect of the course found useful in employment	no of references	% of respondents
Period spent in Russia	12	32
Translation	11	30
Interpreting	8	22
Contemporary language and business language	8	22
Business and Economic Environment of Russia	6	16
Combination with politics/economics rather than literature	6	16
Modern History/Politics	5	14
Oral	5	14
Contemporary Society	5	14
Grammar and morphology	4	11

all students) was singled out for mention, but politics, history and society did not lag far behind.

None of the students suggested new areas we might explore for the Russian curriculum but their responses on their contacts with Eastern Europe did give us some ideas. The largest number of references in Eastern Europe were to the Czech Republic and Poland and we have, because of existing staff expertise, been able to introduce the study of Polish as an option for our students. The honours for the largest number of references to a former Soviet state fell to the Ukraine. Unfortunately, our plan to introduce Ukrainian as an option was thwarted when the contract of the only member of staff with expertise in that area expired and was not renewed.

Table 4: F.S.U. and EE countries of contact (excluding Russia)

country	no. refs
Ukraine	7
Poland	6
Czech Republic	6
Latvia	3
Estonia	2
Hungary	2
Belarus	1
Croatia	1
Slovakia	1
Kazakhstan	1
'All republics FSU'	4
'All E. Europe'	4
'Baltic States'	2

The National Picture

I appreciate that our survey can be criticised for being rather 'kitchen table' both in its scope and execution. But, compared with French, for example, Russian teaching in Britain is a very small scale operation. All surveys are, perforce, based on small samples. Similarly, it may be argued that only those with something to boast of complete questionnaires. I can counter this latter view by saying that I am aware, either because of previous contact or second hand information, of several more of our graduates from these years who have employment using Russian and whose inclusion would certainly have enhanced our findings had we been able to secure questionnaire returns from them. In my view, limited though the survey is, it gives an encouraging picture of the prospects for Russian graduates. To what extent can this optimistic assessment be corroborated by evidence from elsewhere? After all, these were graduates of a very particular kind of course and their experience might not necessarily be typical.

Penny Milner, a Russian graduate from Surrey University, interviewed in *The Times* last year about her job with Moscow Aviation International remarked:

> 'There is a demand for Russian speakers at present, as you will be aware if you have been scanning advertisements in *The Times* Crème de la Crème column. Dozens of British companies now trade with Russia compared to the small number of a few years ago.'[1]

Analysis of recent Multilingual Crème advertisements bore out her statement. Eight[2] successive entries chosen at random yielded a total of 17 job vacancies for Russian speakers, all with attractive salaries. On September 4th alone no fewer than 5 vacancies were on offer.[3] Other commentators endorse the potentially high earning capacity of Russian speakers, for example Denis Waxman, a recruitment specialist interviewed in *The Independent*:

> 'French and German are almost taken for granted. The real premium is on East European languages. Companies are prepared to pay 20 per cent more for candidates who can add fluency in Hungarian, Polish or Russian to an otherwise strong academic background'.[4]

National first destination surveys also give a positive picture for Russian graduates. Figures quoted by Brian Heap in *Complete Degree Course Offers 1995*[5] place Russian second only to Religious Studies when it comes to the employment record of graduates in arts subjects. 73 per cent of Russian graduates had found permanent employment within six months. Russian was the subject with the greatest increase in employment rates, an increase of 8 per cent in 1993. Statistics from the Association of Graduate Careers Advisory Services show a similar improvement in the fortunes of Russian graduates with the number going straight into permanent employment doubling between 1991 (20%) and 1992 (43%). The Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) first destination figures for 1994/95[7] show only 6.3 per cent of Russian graduates still seeking employment after six months. The comparable figure for French was 9.5 per cent, German 8.7 percent and Spanish 10.6 per cent. The percentage of Russian graduates employed as opposed to following further training, travelling or unavailable for work was 72.5 per cent as compared with 57.9 per cent for French, 59.2 per cent for German. 56 per cent for Spanish. The reason for the improvement in the employment fortunes for Russian graduates is not hard to find. 'British exports to Eastern Europe were £1 billion eight years ago. Last year, the figure had quadrupled. . . . Four countries – Poland, Russia, the Czech Republic and Hungary – are among the UK's top 50 export markets.'[8]

All the evidence points to rosy employment prospects for graduates of Russian, better than for other more popular languages. This contrasts sharply with decline in demand for Russian among students. Nationally applications through UCAS for Russian courses appear to have fallen by 22 per cent comparing 1995 and 1996 entry.[9] This figure only takes into account applications for Russian studies or single honours as the figures for Russian combined with other subjects for 1996 are not available at the time of writing. But the picture is not encouraging, particularly when one makes a further comparison between the number of 1996 applications – 76 – and the number of students graduating with single honours Russian or Russian studies in 1995 which, according to HESA, was 166. In contrast, applications for Spanish, which comes out much worse in the employment surveys, rose by 12 per cent.[10] The position seems anomalous but the reasons are well-known. Several of them are identified in the report on the meeting of Russian teachers from Europe in Helsinki, April 1995 which appeared in the June 1996 edition of *Rusistika*.[11] Most influential among them for British students seem to be students' negative impression of Russia, gained from press reports of gangsterism and economic instability and their conviction that Russian is 'difficult'. The authors of the Higher Education Funding Council for England report *Review of Former Soviet and East European Studies*, whilst recognising its 'paramount importance'[12] appeared quite sanguine about the future of Russian. In consequence new resources were concentrated on other Slavonic and East European languages. They explain: 'Russian does not appear on this list because provision for the country and its language is fairly secure'.[13] Many would not share their confidence. The information in the report that 'Most institutions reported that demand for undergraduate courses in Russian and in East European studies was healthy'[14] also appears to be belied by UCAS figures. Apart, perhaps, from a brief respite in the Gorbachev era when students flocked to study Russian, the history of Russian Studies over the last two decades has been a constant struggle for survival. The decline in student numbers would indicate that the coming years will be no exception, unless that decline can be reversed. In the Brezhnev era we were rather defensive in our proselytising for Russian because, candidly, whereas we were confident in the intellectual value of the subject, we could only be ambivalent about employment prospects. Now, at least, there is evidence to put forward a much more upbeat message.

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Editorial

The autumn and early winter months of 1996 have provided a wide variety of events for British Russianists. In November, for example, the writer Viktor Erofeyev introduced his work both in London and in Edinburgh. A very successful Russian Teachers' Day was held in Birmingham in October and one of the presentations given on that occasion is published in this edition of *'Rusistika'*. Professor Terry Wade gave a very successful talk to The Institute of Linguists, Glasgow, in November and the recent London Film Festival showed a selection of *'Russian'* films, one of which is reviewed in this issue. Many valuable new books and materials have also appeared lately; brief mention only is made at this stage of Derek Offord's long-awaited volume *Using Russian: A Guide to Contemporary Usage* and of the collection of essays edited by Nicholas Luker entitled *After the Watershed: Russian Prose 1917–1927*. Many Russian teachers will be using Brian Lockett's *'Russian Language Games'* and further information on these will be given in the June 1997 issue of the journal. This edition will also contain a selection of articles from Russian teachers overseas; these arrived, unfortunately, too late for inclusion in this issue. Our promised feature on the present Russian Committee will be published then too.

MARGARET TEJERIZO

Современные лексические заимствования в русском языке: «чужеродные речения» или средство обогащения литературного языка?

М. А. Брейтер (МГУ им. М. В. Ломоносова)

> ...старательным и осторожным употреблением сродного нам Словенского языка купно с Российским отвратятся дикие и странные слова нелепости, входящие к нам из чужих языков... Оные неприличности ныне небрежением чтения книг церковных вкрадываются к нам нечувствительно, искажают собственную красоту нашего языка, подвергают его всегдашней перемене и к упадку преклоняют.
>
> М. В. Ломоносов
> (цитируется по: Ломоносов, 1986, с. 201)

1. Активизация лексических процессов в современном русском языке и языковое заимствование

Связь языка и культуры, языка и общества очевидна. Время общественного перелома и «перестройки» в обществе является одновременно и временем перестройки языковой системы. На некоторых уровнях языка — фонетическом, грамматическом — общественные изменения отражаются опосредованно, в течение долгого времени. Лексический уровень языка, наиболее мобильный и подверженный изменениям, с одной стороны, и четко структурированный, с другой, в эксплицитной форме отражает происходящие в социальной жизни изменения. Лексика является «барометром» общественных изменений и пристрастий членов языкового коллектива. В лексике отражается общественное сознание, с одной стороны, а лексика и язык в целом оказывает влияние на формирование общественного сознания. Именно поэтому столь важно для лингвистов проследить тенденции языковых и, в первую очередь, лексических изменений в переломные моменты истории языкового коллектива.

Одним из интересных объектов лингвистического анализа является лексика русского языка «перестроечного» и «послеперестроечного» периода. Многие лексикологи обращают внимание на интенсификацию многих лексических тенденций и, как следствие, следующие лингвистические процессы:

- слова расширяют полисемию, приобретая новые значения от этих значений возникают производные слова и целые словообразовательные гнезда (*перестройка — перестроечный, доперестроечный, антиперестроечный, перестроечник, ... ; ускорение — ускорительный, ...*);
- расширяют сферу употребления и повышают степень употребительности такие слова, как *мэрия, департамент, префектура, спикер, консенсус, спонсор, менеджер, плюрализм, имидж, приватизация, дайджест, рэкет, мафия, конверсия, меценат*;
- слова расширяют свою сочетаемость, используясь в новых словосочетаниях (*духовный, храм, отрекаться*);

- слова изменяют свои коннотации (позитивные на негативные, и наоборот), например, *коммунизм, большевики, партячейка, пятилетка, диктатура*, с одной стороны, и *дворяне, белогвардейцы, троцкисты, религия, царь*, с другой. Этот процесс неразрывно связан с изменением политических ценностей в социальной сфере;

- с политическими пристрастиями косвенно связано также употребление неправильных ударений вслед за политическими деятелями, отсюда — нАчать, углУбить, средствА, хозяевА, сОзыв, осУжденный, будуЮщий, Эксперт, прАрост, констаНтировать, волеизлияние (вместо «волеизъявление»), закорма (вместо «закрома»). Л. И. Скворцов (Скворцов, 1995) называет эти и подобные примеры парламентской, «трибунной» речью;

- происходит переосмысление топонимов, обозначающих населенные публики бывших Советских республик. Дебаты ведутся вокруг таких топонимов, как Беларусь/Белоруссия, Ашгабат/Ашхабад, Алматы/Адма-Ата, Таллинн/Таллин и т.п. Выбор наименования стал не только лингвистическим выбором, но и языковым способом демонстрации региональных или общероссийских идеологических и политических пристрастий;

- происходит активизация словообразовательных процессов, включая словосложение (*гуманизм — гуманист, гуманистический, гуманистичный, гуманистка, гуманитаризация, дегуманизация, гуманизировать, гуманно-прогрессивный, гуманно-снисходительный, антигуманный, гумпомощь, антигуманистический, антигуманист*...);

- происходит «ресемантизация» русской лексики, в терминах Л. А. Нестерской (Нестерская, 1995, с. 23). Нестерская указывает на семантические процессы, рассматриваемые как «явления языкового возрождения». С одной стороны, происходит освобождение языка от многочисленных языковых штампов (*единодушное одобрение, посланцы народа, всенародная поддержка* и т.д.). Этот процесс было бы точнее назвать «десемантизация». С другой стороны, многие слова и значения освобождаются от «семантических подмен» и возвращают исходные значения (*благотворительность, святой, праведник, милостыня, милосердие, покаяние*). Этот процесс — «ресемантизация». Такого рода процессы можно также назвать «детоталитаризацией» русского языка. Вместо с исчезновением тоталитарного общества постепенно вымирает и тоталитарный язык — язык штампов и языковых идиологем (Купина, 1995). Но приходящий на смену языку идеологических клише новый язык — язык постсоветского общества — также не лишен штампов. Один из наиболее известных примеров — «Хотели как лучше, а получилось как всегда». В то же время происходит переосмысление и осмеяние штампов советского периода в форме цитации, которая имеет такие функции как пародирование, осмеяние догм и некоторые другие (Земская, 1996);

- активизируется процесс заимствования иностранных слов в русский язык. Помимо активного использования иноязычной лексики в речи (*ди-джей, байкер, хоррор, триллер, фьючерсный*), происходит ее моментальное освоение (фонетическое, грамматическое, семантическое) и включение в ядро языковой системы (*рэкет, имидж, рокер, брифинг, мониторинг, спикер, киллер*). В некоторых случаях вхождение в речь и выпадение из языка заимствований происходит буквально на наших глазах. Так, с провозглашение приватизации в нашу жизнь вошло заимствование *ваучер* и его производные: *ваучеризация, ваучеризировать*. И. С. Улуханов (Улуханов, 1994) приводит примеры того, что данное заимствование настолько прочно вошло в русский язык, что стало причиной множественной игры слов: в тексте российской периодики можно было встретить такие примеры, как «мяучер», «изаучер» (от имени героини популярного в конце 80-х бразильского сериала Изауры), «коняучер», «Ваучерний звон», «Ваучера на хуторе близ Диканьки», «Ваучеризация всей страны» и даже «Дорогие товаучеры!» После неудачи попытки приватизации денотаты, обозначаемые данным словом, исчезли, а в течение нескольких лет вышло из употребления и само слово с его производными. Этот пример наиболее наглядно демонстрирует связь общественных и языковых процессов.

Заимствования активно используются в названиях телепередач, например, Брейн-ринг, парадиз-коктейль, Телемикст, Джем-сейшн, Стартинейджер, Шейп-шоу, Кинохитпарад, Поп-магазин, Хит-конвейер и т.п., в названиях многих коммерческих структур, в рекламных текстах.

Рассматривая изменения в современном русском языке, Д. Данн (Данн, 1995) указывает на три категории социолингвистических перемен: вестернизацию русского языка, т.е. приспособление русского языка к некоторым сферам речи, уже ставшими привычными на западе (к этому процессу можно отнести и интенсификацию процесса лексических заимствований); смягчение отношения к сленгу и жаргону а также «возврат к старому» — употребление старых букв, религиозных понятий и, как следствие церковнославянских элементов. Отказываясь от идеологизированного языка советизмов, русский язык стремится дать свободу тем элементам, которые ранее отрицались — политикой (вестернизация), нравственностью и культурой (жаргонизация) и даже самой историей (славянизация). Эти противоположные тенденции свидетельствуют о разноплановости процессов, происходящих в русском языке и его лексике.

Таким образом, последнее десятилетие характеризуется активными политическими, экономическими, культурными изменениями в России. Дезинтеграция Советского Союза и распад существовавшей политической системы открыли ранее тщательное охраняемые границы для иностранного влияния и обеспечили доступ к мировой культуре и экономике. Носители русского языка получили возможности для широкого международного и межкультурного взаимодействия с носителями других языков. В результате языковых контактов (непосредственных — при контакте носителей языка и опосредованных — при чтении литературы на иностранном языке) появилась возможность для вхождения заимствований в русский язык, а в результате контактов на научном и культурном уровне заимствовались понятия, которые нуждались в номинации. Эти изменения «окружающей среды», в которой функционирует и развивается язык, ускорили и значительно активизировали процесс языкового заимствования.

Процесс заимствования является одним из наиболее активных лексических процессов, происходящих в современном русском языке. В этом явлении сконцентрированы все лексические тенденции: семантические изменения, образование словообразовательных производных, расширение сочетаемости и т.д. Рассмотрим особенности этого процесса с культурологической и лингвистической точек зрения.

2. Языковая ситуация и языковая культура

Процесс заимствования вызывает разнообразную реакцию как специалистов-филологов, так и носителей языка-нефилологов: от восторженной до осторожной и даже резко отрицательной. Отношение к этой проблеме имеет в России долгую историю.

Борьба за чистоту русского литературного языка, за освобождение его от любых примесей — разговорных, диалектных и иностранных — велась среди русской просвещенной интеллигенции еще со времен М. Ю. Ломоносова. Именно Ломоносов, создавший учение о трех штилях, которое препятствовало взаимопроникновению языковых средств, резко отрицательно высказывался против вовлечения иностранных слов в русский язык и считал, что они разрушают его красоту и способствуют упадку. Несмотря на активное противостояние, стили смешивались — в публицистике, литературе (Кантемир, Сумароков, Тредиаковский); сам Ломоносов смешивал стили, излагая научные сочинения в стихах. Конец эры классицизма в литературе унес с собой четкое распределение языковых средств по жанрам. Однако спор о красоте языка и об использовании «чужеродных речений» этим не завершился.

Новое преломление эта дискуссия нашла в войне «карамзинистов» и «шишковцев». Сентиментализм привнес в литературу моду изъясняться красиво, в элегантной манере. Отсюда — стремление Н. М. Карамзина и его последователей сделать русский язык более красивым за счет использования разных средств: создания новых слов, заимствования иноязычных элементов, использования лексики разных стилей. Именно карамзинистами введены в русский язык такие заимствования, ныне входящие в его ядро, как *кризис, дуэт, тост, эгоист*. Ему возражал А. С. Шишков, опубликовавший «Рассуждение о старом и новом слоге Российского языка» (1803 год), отстаивавший, по его мнению, национальную самобытность русского языка и выступавший против «иностранщины». Считая употребление заимствований «порчей русского языка» и свидетельством «презрения к источнику красноречия нашего Славенскому языку», Шишков так реагировал на мысль Ломоносова, вынесенную нами в эпиграф: «Когда Ломоносов писал сие, тогда зараза оная не была еще в такой силе, и потому мог он сказать: «вкрадывается к нам нечувствительно», но ныне уже должно говорить: вломились к нам насильственно и наводняют язык нам, как потоп землю» (Шишков, 1803). Несмотря на эти возражения, многие из заимствованных карамзинистами слов вошли в русский литературный язык и более не воспринимаются как заимствования.

Спор между Карамзиным и Шишковым был частично разрешен творчеством Пушкина, положившем в основу своего языка не теоретические взгляды и не пристрастие к моде, а яркость языковых средств, потребность в той или иной языковой форме, т.е. чувство языка и чувство меры. В его творчестве объединены разные подъязыки, включены иностранные и просторечные слова, но лишь там, где это оправдано и необходимо. Недаром именно язык Пушкина, лаконичный и одновременно выразительный, лег в основу русского литературного языка. Но и творчество Пушкина не разрешило спор о принципиальной возможности использования иностранных слов.

Этот спор был продолжен славянофилами и западниками и продолжается до сих пор. Славянофилы призывают не использовать иностранных слов, портящих язык и заменяющих исконные слова, западники всегда рады использовать иностранное слово, украшающее, по их мнению, речь, даже если существует исконный эквивалент. Если модно говорить по-французски, западники следуют моде и считают русскую речь признаком невежества. Славянофилы возражают, что тем самым они перестают владеть своим родным языком, и считают эту моду (как и вообще использование иностранных слов в речи) недопустимой.

Анализируя историю русского литературного языка, В. Г. Костомаров (Костомаров 1994, с. 60) вложил в уста героя своей книги, жившего в конце 19-го века, следующие слова: «Заимствование колико удобно, толико и применяемо. К нему понуждаемся уточнением понятий мудрых народов и недостатком на нашем языке слов к выражению оных. Но не дойдем до совершенства, покуда вводит их не по нужде, а по буйственному пристрастию ко всему, что есть французское... Иноземное слово непристойно, когда есть свое, не хуже».

Как и любые крайности, западнические и славянофильские теории не объективны. Однако в измененной форме они существуют и в настоящее время. Особенно активизировались подобные дискуссии сейчас в связи с зачастую неоправданным активным использованием заимствований.

Формируется новая лингвистическая дисциплина — лингвоэкология, ставящая своей целью борьбу со злоупотреблениями языковыми заимствованиями. Термин «экология» в применении к русскому языку обоснован в работе В. А. Журавлева «Экология русского языка и культуры», где он трактуется как «словесная (языковая) среда обитания (Журавлев, 1991). Оценка иноязычных заимствований объявляется актуальным вопросом лингвистической экологии (Скворцов, 1988).

«Лингвоэкологи» с неприятием пишут о таких явлениях в современном русском языке, как «наплыв заимствований (преимущественно англицизмови, жаргонизация и вульгаризация речевого общения, легализация сквернословия» (Сковородников, 1996, с. 43). Л. И. Скворцов сравнивает две крайности — языковой пуризм и антинормализацию и делает вывод о том, что в современном русском языке происходят опасные для его «экологии» процессы — грубость (олитературивание «матерного слова»), перенасыщенность штампами, заимствованиями и искажениями литературной нормы (Скворцов, 1995).

Использование заимствований в современном русском языке часто не оправдано ни лексически (в русском языке существует исконный или заимствованный ранее эквивалент), ни стилистически (*отделы PR* вместо *отделы по связям с общественностью, риэлти* вместо *недвижимость, кастинг* вместо *показ, девелопмент* вместо *развитие, байкер* вместо *велосипедист* и т.п.). Более того, заимствования, как показывает повседневная практика, часто не понятны читателям: «... это собрание биографий было лишь еще одним произведением в длинном ряду..., спешащим на фоне политкорректности променять изысканно-маргинальный статус на устойчивую *мейнстримность*». Некоторые авторы выходят из этого положения, обьясняя вводимые ими понятия: *хакер, тендер, кикбайк, нэйл-арт* и другие. В некоторых случаях значение заимствования не понимают даже сами авторы-журналисты, например, репортаж с выставки обуви включает следующее описание: «немало *шузов* больше 45-го (*for man(!)*) и еще богаче выбор крошечной дамской обуви (для *дам's*)». Этот пример показывает, насколько велико пристрастие современных российских журналистов к заимствованиям: даже постфикс «-с» заменен английским «s», которое имеет значение притяжательности, не имеющее ничего общего с ерническим «-с» автора статьи. Л. И. Скворцов приводит примеры заимствований, имеющих эквиваленты в русском языке: *спонтанный/случайный, непреднамеренный, релятивный/относительный, релаксация/расслабление, паритет/равноправие, имидж/облик, эксклюзивный/исключительный, деструктивный/разрушительный*. Кроме того, многие «ожившие» (ресемантизировавшиеся) заимствования представляют собой, по его мнению, «смешение французского с нижегородским», например, *спикер думы, глава администрации, супрефект округа* (Скворцов, 1995, с. 5).

Культура языка, культура речи является сейчас одной из серьезнейших проблем, активно обсуждающихся как русистами-профессионалами, так и публицистами, говорящими иногда об «угрозе» русскому языку (Скворцов, 1994). Однако культура речи не является чисто языковой проблемой. Как никакая другая, она связана с языковой ситуацией, которая, в свою очередь, напрямую зависит от общественной ситуации. Еще В. В. Виноградов (Виноградов, 1981) писал о том, что «отступления от литературно-языковой нормы» должны осмысляться «как с нормативно-стилистической, так и с социально-исторической точек зрения».

Являются ли современные заимствования отступлениями от языковой нормы? На этот вопрос мы ответим в главе «Лингвистический анализ заимствований».

3. Лингвистический анализ заимствований

Почему же все-таки происходит заимствование? Практически любое различие между двумя системами (в данном, случае, лексическими системами двух языков — языка-источника и языка-рецептора) может явиться отправной точкой заимствования. Для иллюстрации этого положения разделим лексические единицы языка на следующие группы:

- эквивалентные,
- безэквивалентные,
- псевдоэквивалентные.

Первая группа является наиболее распространенной и отражает некоторые универсальные когнитивные свойства. Эта группа фиксируется в переводных словарях и, как правило, не является источником заимствований.

Вторая группа содержит значения, которые не имеют эквивалента в языке-рецепторе. Единственным способом передать эти значения является заимствование единиц из языка-источника. В ряде случаев эти заимствования используются только для обозначения иноязычных реалий, а в ряде случаев языковое заимствование происходит одновременно с заимствованием соответствующей реалии (предмета, понятия или действия). Данная группа заимствований может быть представлена в графике языка-источника (*Предлагаем вам около 7000 наименований CD*) или языка-рецептора (*На фестивале рэп-музыки можно будет увидеть всех отечественных рэперов*), а также дополнена «моментальной» дефиницией (*Внимание! Сейл (распродажа)!*).

Проблема «моментальной» дефиниции является актуальной при заимствовании, так как, как известно, лексическая единица в высказывании не может быть подменена ее дефиницией. Так, например, в словаре можно найти определение лошади как «крупного домашнего непарнокопытного животного», но вместо «Я вчера катался на лошади» нельзя сказать «Я вчера катался на крупном домашнем непарнокопытном животном».[2] Таким образом, существуют семантические и контекстуальные ограничения на использование «моментальной» транскрипции для толкования новейших безэквивалентных заимствований. Для разрешения этой проблемы необходимо проанализировать, насколько подробной должна быть дефиниция в данном контексте. В одной ситуации достаточно определить «стример» как «компьютерное устройство» (*Он потратил деньги на стример*), а в другой — специфицировать его назначение (*Предлагаем вам лучшие стримеры (расширители памяти)*).

Наибольший интерес, с нашей точки зрения, представляет псевдоэквивалентная лексика (Breiter 1996). Эта группа, как и эквивалентная лексика, имеет соответствия в переводных словарях, например, *barbecue* — *шашлык*, *thriller* — *боевик*, *know how* — *секреты производства*, *killer* — *убийца*. Однако эта группа лексических единиц, как и первая, является источником заимствований. Причина этого — то, что единицы языка-источника и языка-рецептора обладают денотативными и, как следствие, семантическими различиями. *Barbecue* — это не *шашлык*, а *lawyer* — не *адвокат*. Английское *killer* представлено двумя эквивалентами в русском языке: исконным *убийца* и заимствованным *киллер*, значения которых в русском языке разошлись. Семантический сдвиг приводит к тому, что возникает потребность в заимствовании.

Однако чисто лексическими стимулами перечень причин, по которым происходит заимствование, не исчерпывается. Так, в некоторых случаях заимствованные единицы не оказывают влияния на смысловую структуру газетного обьявления и даже требуют дефиниции, приводимой в скобках. В ряде случаев заимствование избыточно, а функция его — не языковая, а сверхязыковая, например, в телерекламе банка «Гермес»: «Наберите ваш пин-код». Немногие понимают, что «пин» — аббревиатура от английского «personal identification number» (личный идентификационный номер), но семантики слова «код» достаточно для носителя русского языка для того, чтобы понять, что от него требуется. Задача заимствования «пин-код» состоит в том, чтобы внушить уважение к деятельности якобы иностранного банка, так как иностранные банки обыденное сознание относит к более надежным.

Осознав это, мы сталкиваемся с необходимостью дать ответ на следующие вопросы:

1. каковы в целом причины языковых заимствований;
2. каковы методы конвертации языковых заимствований из одного языка в другой и, следовательно, включения заимствованных единиц в языковую систему (т.е. способы репрезентации и интеграции заимствований);
3. какие структурные типы заимствований существуют.

3.1 *Причины языковых заимствований*

Могут быть выделены следующие основные причины заимствований:

- отсутствие соответствующего понятия в когнитивной базе языка-рецептора;
- отсутствие соответствующего наименования (или его «проигрыш» в конкуренции с заимствованием) в языке-рецепторе;
- обеспечение стилистического (эмфатического эффекта);
- установление позитивных (негативных) коннотаций, которыми не обладает эквивалентная единица в языке-рецепторе.

3.1.1 Заимствованные в силу отсутствия соответствующего понятия в когнитивной базе языка-рецептора языковые единицы являются одним из наиболее распространенных и очевидных способов заимствования. Согласно нашим подсчетам на материале репрезентативной выборки из текстов российских средств массовой информации 1990-1996 годов, около 30% новейших англицизмов заимствованы в русский язык вместе с новыми понятиями. К заимствованиям такого рода относятся *спикер, брокер, пейджер, принтер, е-мейл, сандей, хакер, барбекю, компакт-диск, вэлфер,варрант, клип, холдинг, фрэнчайзинг* и многие другие. Эти заимствования связаны не столько с языковыми системными различиями, сколько с несовпадением когнитивных баз языка-рецептора и языка-источника. Новыми оказываются не только заимствованные слова, но и заимствованные понятия. На начальной стадии заимствования многие из них нуждаются в «моментальной» дефиниции, приводимой, как правило, в скобках, например, *Продаем сканеры (считывающие устройства) и стримеры (расширители памяти)... В отличие от акции варрант (в переводе с английского –» полномочие», «правомочие») доходов не дает*. Далее происходит постепенное включение понятия в лексическую базу русского языка, вследствие чего пропадает необходимость в подобной «моментальной» дефиниции, например, *В продаже сканеры, стримеры, тонеры для принтеров... Варрант – это пробный шар, бумага для людей осторожных*.

Как это ни парадоксально, заимствования могут использоваться для обозначения понятий, новых для языка-рецептора и не присутствующих в языке-источнике, например, новейший англицизм, понятный носителям русского языка, *шоп-тур*, не имеет эквивалентного понятия в английском языке. В этом случае можно говорить о раздельном заимствовании двух элементов и объединении их в сложное наименование в языке-рецепторе. Эта точка зрения вполне проясняет ситуацию, если не считать того, что данная словообразовательная модель в русском языке не продуктивна; кроме того, первая часть данного сложного слова не склоняется, в то время как отдельное заимствование – слово «шоп» – склоняется, например, *Лучше нашего шопа вам на найти*. Данная модель словосложения продуктивна в английском языке. Таким образом, в данном случае можно говорить и о заимствовании словообразовательной модели.

Интересным, на наш взгляд, примером окказионального заимствования словообразовательной модели применительно к исконной лексике является следующее: *мотивы американской литературы-для-народа*. Этот пример является одним из подтверждений положения о том, что в настоящее время русский язык переживает пик активизации процесса заимствования.

Некоторые единицы, заимствованные ранее для обозначения явлений иноязычной действительности, переосмысляются и, следовательно, изменяются соответствующие им понятия, например, *Американцы, как известно, изобрели на радость всему миру небоскребы, бигмаки и супермаркеты. Но если в области домостроения Москва пока мало похожа на Нью-Йорк, то такое явление, как супермаркет, приживается в столице России весьма успешно.*

С точки зрения денотативной теории перевода, описывающей данное соотношение между кодами языка-источника и языка-рецептора как «отсутствие в системе языка перевода знака, о котором было бы известно, что он называет ситуацию, описанную данной единицей исходного текста» (Комиссаров, 1973, с. 34), возможны следующие способы перевода элементов данного класса:

- создание нового знака в языке перевода (*beatnik — битник, nail-art — нэйларт, franchising — фрэнчайзинг*);
- подбор в языке перевода знака, описывающего близкую ситуацию, и расширение его языковой функции при включении в нее указания на данный денотат (*freedom-ride — поход за свободу, witchhunter — мракобес, America-firster — ура-патриот*);
- описание денотата при помощи сочетания знаков языка перевода (т.е. в наших терминах, «моментальная дефиниция») (*drive-in — кинотеатр, в котором смотрят фильм, не выходя из машины*).

Эти же процессы происходят и в языке-рецепторе при заимствовании единиц, не имеющих денотативных соответствий. Первый из описанных методов — создание нового знака в языке-рецепторе на основе кода языка-источника — является наиболее распространенным видом языкового заимствования. Эти заимствования в наибольшей степени активизируются за счет межкультурной коммуникации.

3.1.2 Около 15% новейших англицизмов заимствуются в связи с отсутствием соответствующего наименования в языке-рецепторе. К такого рода заимствованиям относятся, например, *детектор (валют), топ-модель, brand name, виртуальный, инвестор, дайджест, спичрайтер, спонсор, спрей*. Грань между этой и предыдущей группой размыта, так как в ряде случаев трудно утверждать, является ли данное понятие новым для языка-рецептора, например, существовали ли ранее в русском языке такие понятия, как *инвестор* или *топ-модель*.

К этой группе могут быть отнесены также те заимствования, которые по тем или иным причинам (в силу того, что они легче произносятся, короче, прозрачнее по своей этимологии, конкретнее по семантике) вытеснили (частично или полностью) ранее освоенные или исконно русские языковые единицы, например, *прайс-лист* (вместо *прейскурант*), *имидж* (вместо *образ*).

В случае сосуществования заимствования и исконного (ранее освоенного) наименования может произойти естественное расслоение: заимствование используется для обозначения западной реалии или стилистически окрашивается, а русские эквиваленты — для описания российской действительности, например, *спектр американской pulp-fiction, влияние американского гранджа, грант госдепартамента США, североамериканский дансинг, ранние роуд-мувиз Вендерса начала 70-х, обычные для Лондона сорта пива и безалкогольные напитки (smart drinks), «Князь тьмы» — чистой воды хоррор*.

3.1.3 В соответствии с распространенным среди носителей русского языка представлением, иностранные технологии являются более прогрессивными по сравнению с российскими, иностранные банки более надежны, иностранные товары — более высокого качества. Эта концепция широко применяется в рекламе, где заимствования используются вместо исконно русских эквивалентов с целью обеспечения позитивных коннотаций, например, *нон-стоп* вместо *без перерыва*, *фирмы auto-rental* вместо *прокат машин*, *лучший паб в городе* вместо *пивная*, *новый триллер* вместо *боевик*, *дневная норма TV* вместо *TV*, *модный слоган* вместо *лозунг*, *грант* вместо *стипендия*. Между этими заимствованиями и их русскими эквивалентами нет сдвига значения, но коннотативные различия принципиальны с точки зрения обеспечения адекватной коммуникации.

3.1.4 Заимствования широко используются средствами массовой информации для обеспечения стилистического (эмфатического) эффекта. Так, например, статья о фильме Н. Михалкова «Утомленные солнцем», в которой фильм был охарактеризован как *профессионально сделанный, точно просчитанный претендент на номинацию премии «Оскар» в разряде «Лучший иностранный фильм»*, называлась «Produced for Sale». Статья с анализом опроса общественного мнения об отношении к западу носила название «Запад: Friend or Foe?» Дебаты о выходе

Эстонии из СНГ обсуждались в статье под названием «Эстонию — back in USSR». Рецензия на книгу «Миры Пола Андерсона» была озаглавлена «Аптека. Street. Фонарь».

В одном из своих видеообзоров А. Рондарев сравнивает английский фильм «Маленькие женщины» («Little Women») с экранизацией рассказов Зои Воскресенской о юном Ильиче, который был неестественно послушным ребенком, и пересказывает следующие реплики: *«Мей ай скушаю яблочко, мамми?», «Пароль д'онер, я пойду побегаю в садике с бедными крестьянскими детьми, маман», «Я, натюрлих, не буду кушать кашу, потому что не сделал свою алгебру, мутер»*. Подобные заимствования являются, конечно же, оказиональными и выполняют функцию не только стилистическую, но и художественную. В ряде случаев заимствования являются средством для создания иронического или сатирического эффекта.

Заимствования используются также в целях привлечения внимания (как правило, в этом случае отсутствует графическая адаптация — см. 3.3.2), например, *Отличная возможность для тех, кто хочет иметь свой бизнес, приносящий cash*.

3.2 *Репрезентация и интеграция заимствований*

3.2.1 *Репрезентация англицизмов в русском языке*

Заимствование происходит разными путями и на различных языковых уровнях (фонетическом, семантическом и т.д.). Морфемная импортация,[3] при которой заимствуются как фонетические (графические), так и семантические характеристики морфем в составе заимствуемой единицы, является характеристикой **заимствованных слов** (например, *офис, колледж, спеллинг, дринк, кул, сейл, драйвер*).

Второй тип заимствований — это **кальки**, которые заимствуются на семантическом уровне. Характеристикой этого типа является морфемная подмена, при отсутствии транспортации морфем одного языка в другой, например, *электронная почта (e-mail), желтые страницы (yellow pages), чековый счет (checking account)*.

Смешанные заимствования, по классификации Хаугена, объединяют как морфемную импортацию, так и подмену. Эта группа, таким образом, имеет черты как заимствованных слов, так и калек, например, *хит-парад (hit parade), денежный ордер (money order), экспресс-почта (express-mail), дорожные чеки (travel cheques)*.

Наиболее типичным видом заимствований являются заимствованные слова, активно заимствующиеся уже на начальной стадии этого процесса. Будучи заимствованными, эти слова используются даже теми, кто не знает английского языка. В целом по отношению к этой группе можно выделить два полярных типа индивидуальной языковой политики: некоторые носители языка считают их показателем высокого уровня образованности и активно используют их, другие — считают беспричинное использование заимствований преходящей модой и стараются воздержаться от их использования.

Две других группы заимствований следуют правилам языковой системы русского языка и поэтому часто не воспринимаются носителями языка как заимствования (клуб здоровья (от *health club*), а знаешь что (от *you know what*), все, что можешь сьесть (от *all you can eat*)).

С точки зрения репрезентации можно выделить также такие группы заимствований, как «псевдозаимствования» (Barbe, 1994) и «творческие заимствования» (Rozen, 1992), которые также становятся элементом русской лексики. Обе эти группы представляют типы, которые не имеют аналогичной структуры в языке-источнике, но либо создаются за счет средств языка-рецептора для обозначения иноязычных реалий, либо создаются как подражание языковым средствам языка-источника, но не являются его единицами.

3.2.2 *Интеграция заимствований*

Заимствование является процессом, во время которого происходит постепенное продвижение от разовых, окказиональных использований данного заимствования, по пути его постепенно освоения средствами языковой системы и, в конце концов, включения его как полноправного элемента в систему языка-рецептора с присвоением характеристик, свойственных исконным единицам соответствующих классов. Процесс этот не обязательно развивается поступательно, так, любая из заимствованных единиц по внутри- и внеязыковым причинам может выпасть из языка-рецептора и не быть им усвоенной. Особенно активно это выпадение происходит на начальных ступенях заимствования.

Заимствование происходит на нескольких языковых уровнях, как параллельно, так и последовательно. Как правило, уже на начальной ступени заимствования происходит его освоение сразу на нескольких уровнях языковой системы. С этой точки зрения выделяются четыре стадии интеграции заимствований системой языка-рецептора:

- фонетическая и графическая интеграция;
- грамматическая интеграция;
- словообразовательная интеграция;
- семантическая интеграция (включающая такие процессы, как расширение значения, сужение значения и синонимическая замена).

Первый шаг процесса заимствования — это «проникновение» — формальная (фонетическая и/или графическая) трансформация англицизмов. За этой стадией следует грамматикализация и, наконец, лексико-семантическая ассимиляция. Данная последовательность не является обязательной, наиболее частотной является одновременная интеграция на нескольких уровнях. Интеграция на всех указанных уровнях может считаться «полной».

Рассмотрим особенности каждого из уровней интеграции. На начальной стадии заимствования фонетическая и графическая ассимиляция наиболее вариативны, так как установление одно-однозначных соответствий между фонетическими и графическими системами языка-источника и языка-рецептора практически невозможно.

Классификация заимствований на графическом уровне предложена Г. Г. Тимофеевой (Тимофеева, 1991), которая выделяет такие типы, как **трансплантация, транслитерация, трансфонирование** и **практическая транскрипция**. Трансплантация предполагает использование английской графики в тексте на русском языке, например, *Как купить property с минимальным down payment*. Транслитерация и трансфонирование являются односторонними способами графической интеграции, так как транслитерация основана исключительно на графике, а трансфонирование — на фонетике. Транслитерация представляет собой побуквенную передачу символов языка-источника без учета фонетических особенностей заимствуемой единицы, а трансфонирование — позвуковую передачу единиц языка-источника за счет графических средств языка-рецептора. Обьединяет эти два типа практическая транскрипция, которая сочетает как побуквенную, так и позвуковую передачу единиц языка-источника средствами языка-рецептора за счет межкодовых соответствий между языковыми системами.

В грамматическую интеграцию вовлечены существенные внутрисистемные характеристики. Так, англицизмы в русском языке быстро получают эксплицитные характеристики рода, числа, склонения, так как в английском языке не существует постоянных маркеров грамматических категорий, которые должны были бы быть опущены при заимствовании. Несмотря на это, на начальной степени заимствования существует значительная вариативность (*грин-кард/грин-карта, новый е-мейл/новая е-мейл*). Помимо выбора категории рода на основе естественной родовой принадлежности, а также грамматического принципа (по окончанию слова), на выбор категории рода влияет род русского эквивалента, например, *mail — почта, card — карта*). Существительные, как правило, склоняются (*у меня нет сидирома*), глаголы — спрягаются (*надо откешить чек*).

Словообразовательная интеграция англицизмов в русском языке происходит чрезвычайно интенсивно за счет активности словообразовательных средств русского языка. Многие недавно заимствованные единицы уже образовали обширные деривационные гнезда (например, *шоп — шопаться, пошопаться, нашопаться, шопинг, шопинговый*). Многие словообразовательные варианты являются чисто разговорными и стилистически окрашенными (*саспенс в фильме не саспенсит; пейджерни мне, пейджерни; пейджинговый лидер; ти-шотка, пропагандирующая то ли джин, то ли виски*), а некоторые из них (в особенности сложные слова, часто образованные по словообразовательным моделям языка-источника) активно вовлекаются в языковую систему.

Уже на начальной стадии заимствования можно наблюдать семантические процессы — расширение и сужение значения, синонимическую замену, эллипсис (семантическую конденсацию).[4] К наиболее интересным случаям семантических сдвигов могут быть отнесены те заимствования, которые ранее уже были заимствованы в ином значении, например, *чек — check, рецепт — receipt, купон — coupon*. Так, слово *чек* заимствуется в значении *чек из чековой книжки*, слово *рецепт* заимствуется в значении *квитанция*, а слово *купон* — в значении *листок (как правило, вырезанный из газеты или журнала), дающий право на скидку при покупке определенного товара*. В некоторых подъязыках заимствования приобретают уничижительный смысл (*гирла, дринкать, шузы*). Эллипсис обозначает замену заимствованного сочетания одной из его составляющих (*cable TV — кабель, CD player — сиди*). Синонимическая замена происходит в том случае, когда существует русский эквивалент заимствованного англицизма, но по тем или иным (чаще всего внеязыковым причинам) он вытесняется заимствованием, например, *сейл* (от *sale*) — вместо *распродажа*. В некоторых случаях подобная замена является спорной и значительно зависит от контекста (например, *лойер* (*lawyer*) вместо *адвокат*, *экаунтант* (*accountant*) вместо *бухгалтер*, *покетбук* (*pocket book*) вместо *карманное издание*.

3.3 *Структурные типы заимствований*

Заимствования в современном русском языке проявляются не только на уровне лексики, но и на уровне морфем и даже словообразовательных моделей. Развилась продуктивность морфем *супер-, -бол, -бизнес, нон-*, можно утверждать, что заимствован новый суффикс *-гейт* (от *Уотергейт*) в значении «разоблаченное дело скандального характера, имеющее отношение к тому, что названо исходной основой» (например, *российгейт, рашиовгейт*) (*Улуханов, 1994*); калькируются словосочетания (*желтые страницы* — от *yellow pages*, *вторые руки* — от *second hand*). Происходит идиоматизация заимствований (*Made in USA, 2 in 1, VIP-зал, Duty Free*).

Более того, проникновение идиоматизированных заимствований в русский язык столь велико, что они часто становятся основой для «языковой игры», допускают переформулировку, например, название статьи «Мейд ин Раша» (по аналогии с *Made in USA*). Игра слов легла в основу отрывка из статьи о негосударственных учебных учреждениях (называемых сокращенно НОУ): «Они (родители) уже определили ребенка в НОУ, но еще не очень знают, *how* ему там будет». Вышеприведенные примеры являются ярким свидетельством того, насколько прочно англицизмы вошли в современный русский язык и насколько существенным фактом языка, подлежащим внимательному изучению, они являются.

Таким образом, лингвистический анализ новейших англицизмов в русском языке позволяет сделать вывод о том, что они не являются отступлениями от нормы и подчиняются фонетическим, грамматическим, семантическим законам русского языке. Более того, многие из заимствованных слов осваиваются и получают в русском языке семантическое, графическое и иное переосмысление, формируют словообразовательные гнезда, т.е. развиваются и функционируют по тем же законам, что и исконная русская лексика.

Заключение

В заключение, проанализировав различные типы заимствований и причины, по которым они проникли в современный русский язык, попытаемся дать ответ на вопрос, вынесенный в начало статьи: что же такое современные лексические заимствования в русском языке — «чужеродные речения» или средство обогащения литературного языка?

С одной стороны, отдельные носители языка, средства массовой информации и, особенно, реклама злоупотребляют заимствованиями. Можно даже говорит о языковой «моде» на заимствования в современном русском языке (которая является, конечно же, следствием моды на западный образ жизни, как мода на церковнославянские элементы — следствие вошедшей в моду «религиозности»). Многие носители русского языка, слушающие устную речь или читающие газеты, не понимают значения этих слов или с трудом догадываются о нем, отталкиваясь от контекста. Некоторые журналисты избыточно употребляют англицизмы, не заботясь о том, чтобы быть понятыми, отдавая дань моде.

Можно ли связать образованность и степень использования языковой личностью новейших (заимствованных во время и после «перестройки») англицизмов в русском языке? Скорее всего, образованность проявляется не в количественном показателе, каким является число заимствований в речи, а в качественном показателе, каким, как и в пушкинские времена, является чувство языка, чувство меры и уместности. Если заимствование неизбежно (в первую очередь, если речи идет о безэквивалентной и псевдоэквивалентной лексике, как это происходит при описании технических, политических, экономических новшеств, привнесенных западом), — оно является свидетельством образованности и речевой культуры. Такие заимствования — средство обогащения русской лексики. Если заимствование употреблено в неверном значении, не понятно автору и слушателю (читателю) или если оно не оправдано лексически (например, в русском языке существует прямой эквивалент), — оно характеризует автора как человека с низкой речевой культурой. Подобные заимствования лишь загрязняют русский язык.

Как бы мы ни оценивали процесс языкового заимствования и глубину проникновения новейших англицизмов в русский язык, эта тенденция является объективной, и активизация этого процесса вызвана историческими и языковыми факторами и, следовательно, лишь дальнейшее развитие русского языка покажет, будет ли этот процесс постепенно затухать, и какие из заимствований будут освоены языковыми средствами и войдут в ядро языковой системы, а какие выпадут еще на начальной стадии заимствования. Современному носителю русского языка трудно представить, что пересты активно восставали против использования таких слов, как *мотель, сервис, хобби, кафе, ателье, лайнер, плантация*, многих терминов спортивной терминологии (Бабай, 1983). Тем не менее все эти заимствования входят сегодня в ядро русской лексики. Для лингвиста исследование заимствований представляет несомненный научный интерес, так как позволяет рассмотреть в гиперболизированном виде некоторые тенденции языкового развития.

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Примечания

1. Слово «англицизм» используется в данной статье в широком смысле — «заимствование из английского языка». Получение достоверных данных относительно подразделения англицизмов, например, на британизмы и американизмы, затруднено размытостью критериев определения, к какой именно из данных групп относится каждое конкретное заимствование. Определённые косвенные признаки (лингвистические — например, графическая репрезентация в языке-рецепторе, и экстралингвистические — ссылка на страну заимствования в тексте, в котором зафиксировано данное заимствование) в некоторых случаях могут позволить отнести заимствование к конкретной группе. Однако наиболее важным фактом для анализа является язык-источник, а данные о стране-источнике — это косвенное дополнение языковой информации.
2. Данный пример приведен В. Н. Комиссаровым в книге «Лингвистика перевода». — М., 1980.
3. Темин «морфемная импортация» (morphemic importation), а также использованная в разделе 3.3.1 классификация заимствований предложены Э. Хаугеном в работе *Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing* // Language 26, 1950, pp. 210–231.
4. Данная классификация типов семантической интеграции основана на классификации, предложенной А. Данчевым при анализе англицизмов в болгарском языке. См. A. Danchev. *The English elements in Bulgarian* // English in contact with other languages. Ed. by W. Wiereck and W.-D. Bald. – Budapest, 1986, pp. 7–23.

Microconcord: A useful tool for language research and teaching

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In an earlier article in *Rusistika* David Adshead has discussed the use of concordance programs in the classroom.[1] The program described used a relatively small data base of words or corpus. In this article I would like to discuss a program which can easily handle a corpus of several million words, Microconcord. I began to use Microconcord some months ago and thought it might be useful to alert colleagues in the field outside Birmingham to the possibilities of this software.[2]

Introduction

Microconcord is a concordancing programme available from Oxford University Press†. Although originally designed and still mainly used for English language research and teaching, it can be used for other European languages and, despite one or two minor bugs, can be effectively used to handle Russian text.

This article is divided into three sections: firstly, an examination of Microconcord's capabilities in Russian; secondly, a discussion of an example of its use; and thirdly a brief practical description of the way I use it with Russian text.

Part I. Microconcord

Microconcord will search a body of text very rapidly (a search of a million words takes well under a minute) and will find all the examples of the search word or words. The output will be presented on screen with the search word highlighted in the middle of the screen. The search word can be a complete word or words, or part of a word (for example the verb root **каз** in order to find all the derivatives of this particular group of compounds). The search can also use two 'wild cards' – ? which stands for a single letter and * which stands for any number of letters. Thus a search for all nouns ending in **ость** would be entered as ***ость**. This would only give the nominative or accusative forms, but all case forms could be covered by *ост* or alternatively by entering *ост??? (which would cover *ост followed by up to three letters. A search for compounds including the root '**каз**' could be entered ***каз***, while a search for all examples of the adjective **новый** could be entered as **нов???**, thus avoiding longer words like нововедение etc.

The program will then search through all the material in a particular directory or part of a directory, listing the number of occurrences in each file and at the end show the frequency of the occurrences – for example one per 4567 words. The number of examples produced is linked to the power of computer but, for example on the 486 which I use, the maximum is 1100–1200. This means that even with a large body of text (e.g. around a million words) only a small number of high frequency words exceed this limit.

The results of the search are displayed on screen in lines of eighty characters with the search word highlighted, but the wider context can be viewed and indeed the whole text from which the example comes from. The output on screen can be organised in alphabetical order of the search word or the words on either side (the default for this is three words but this number can be changed). This can be used for example to show which adjectives are used with a particular noun or which nouns are used with an adjective etc. The programme will also provide a list of 'context words' – words which appear on either side of the search word (the precise number of words to be covered can be set). The occurrences of the most frequent words (three or more occurrences) are shown as a total for both sides of the search word, and also for occurrences on the left or right of the search word.

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†See end of article for details of price etc.

In addition to these features, the examples can be edited to remove inappropriate ones and also classified into up to ten categories and all examples marked in this way can be sorted together – this could be used, for example, to group together all examples of each case of a noun or adjective.

Using English material the output can be printed directly, but Russian text has to be saved for printing. Up to 999 characters can be saved for each entry although this would make up a dozen lines of normal text and in practice a shorter length, for example to give a complete sentence, is enough, and in many cases, for example in an analysis of prepositions the basic 80 character line is usually sufficient, as in the example below. The saved entries are numbered and the source file can be indicated for each example or given as a list at the end. The file can then be loaded into a word processor for printing. Using a proportionally spaced font for printing such as Romanov in Wordperfect on a laser printer, the search word will not line up exactly in the centre of the page, but I find that highlighting the search word gives a clear print out. Adjusting the print size to 10 point gives a complete example on one line.

With a reasonably sized corpus, this software offers an enormous potential for language analysis and the collection of examples for teaching purposes etc. With its counting facility it can be used to prepare a frequency count of known words, for example by going through an existing frequency list. It is in fact easier than some wordcounting software since it is possible to count all cases of a noun at once, and it is also easy to edit out any inapprorpiate entries. It can also be used by students to enable them to go beyond the limits of the dictionary to see examples of the way words and expressions are used and also provide material for language research topics in the final years of university courses.[3]

II. Российский-русский

One of the problems I was interested in using Microconcord to examine was the use of the adjectives **российский** and **русский** in modern Russian. This is a point on which students are far from clear and indeed some Russians as well. Solzhenitsyn has offered his prescription: Надо различать слова «российский» и «русский» и никогда их не путать. Российское у нас — государство, многонациональное и многоверное. Российские у нас все органы правительственные, государственные, — это всё российское. Но культура, простите, у нас русская, и никак культуру российской сделать нельзя, это бессмыслица.[4]

Nicholas Brown in his new book[5] gives **русский** a frequency ranking of 349, while **российский** is 2999. Using the corpus I have collected (see below for details) **русский** produces 723 examples, while **российский** gives 1621 and even after eliminating the most frequent noun федерация, the total remains around twice that of **русский**. In the case of русский a large number of entries relate to the adjective used on its own, usually in the plural to mean Russians (108) or in the expression новые русские (25). For convenience I restricted analysis to cases where the noun immediately followed the adjective. This gave 491 entries for русский (69 words with more than one entry with a total of 366 entries in all, and 125 single entries and 1314 for российский (139) multiple entries totalling 1088, and 226 single entries).

There is, however, a third interesting group containing those words which are found with both adjectives:
архив, библиотека, бизнесмен, войско, вопрос, город, гражданин, деньги, дом, жизнь, земля, золото, изобретение, император, интеллигенция, история, коммунист, композитор, культура, люди, мафия, медведь, министр, моряк, музыка, народ, население, наука, общество, офи-

цер, патриотизм, правительство, президент, служба, солдат, специалист, традиция, учёный, хакер, школа, школьник, эмиграция.

In most cases the one adjective has a clear majority and there are only individual examples of usage of the other adjective. In the case of история, however, there are seven examples of русский and four of российский; in the case of интеллигенция there are four examples with русский and six with российский. In most cases the use of российский is understandable, since it stresses the relationship to the Russian Federation. Thus, in an example which Solzhenitsyn would probably not approve of, the choice of российский is understandable:

Мы ощущаем, как тянутся к российской культуре жители стран СНГ.

Other similar examples are:

Всех чеченов на российской земле с этого момента объявляем иностранцами.

...экономический и социальный статус российской интеллигенции....

Обращение ста представителей российской интеллигенции к президенту Российской Федерации....

All this shows that the use of российский has increased dramatically since 1991 and the disappearance of the Soviet Union and the appearance of the Russian Federation as an independent state. The disappearance of советский has meant that российский has taken over many of its functions and as Россия establishes its statehood and national identity it is found in some areas, in which perhaps one would expect to find русский. At the same time the range of nouns with which русский is used is now rather limited. It is my impression that the present situation is not simply reproducing the pre-1917 situation, where a cursory reading of Russian materials suggests that русский was used more widely than российский.

Part III: Practical matters:

I must stress that I am not a computer expert and this is the system which works for me. There may be other ways of doing it.[6]

I prepare all text in AV (al'ternativnyi variant) format which corresponds to the DOS 866 code page. (There are three main types of electronic Cyrillic – KOI8, AV and in Windows – 1251). In addition it is also necessary to use a keyboard convertor to enable the keyboard to type cyrillic, for this I use a programme called Cyrill, which corresponds to the AV coding.

The stages are as follows: (1) activate the keyboard convertor; (2) go into Microconcord; (3) change the keyboard to cyrillic to enter the search word. Here it is necessary to note an annoying bug – it is impossible to enter a lower case p, since this uses an ascii code which is used for something else (this same problem affects the alpha in Ancient Greek.) Instead it is necessary to enter a ?; this does not make much difference in a long word but can be a nuisance in a short word like **рост** since the search produces a lot of garbage which has to be deleted. Note that for editing the search output the keyboard has to be returned to the Latin script.

The final product of the search is then saved. This is in the form of AV and can be loaded directly into the Wordperfect 5.1 Russian module and can be printed providing the code page has been set at 0899 (i.e. when Wordperfect is loaded with the instruction wp/cp = 0899).

Corpus

The above analysis was based on a corpus of a notional one million words – notional because in Microconcord's count it reaches a million, but the materials includes a large number of figures, proper names and initials etc all of which would be counted. In all these would probably make up 5–10% of the total.

An article in the Language Learning Journal as recently as 1995 has referred to the problem of obtaining corpora and comments: 'This of course demands large representative corpora of German to be accessible to teachers and learners. These exist but are not widely available, not least because they are costly to obtain, whereas English corpora are generally available free of charge to researchers.'[7]

This situation has now changed dramatically with the advent of the World Wide Web and it is possible to build up a large corpus of Russian materials quite quickly, mainly of newspaper sources, from a number of sites. In addition there is a useful mailing list run by Richard Paine of the University of Colorado, which circulates articles, retyped from Russian newspapers. Some Russian newspapers, for example Nezavisimaya gazeta are also available on subscription in electronic format. The only problem with this source at present is that the range of materials is rather limited.

The other alternatives available to acquire a broader range of materials are to type in your own materials (or get someone else to do this!) or to use a scanner. I have recently started to use Cuneiform 2.95 software for this and although I have not fully mastered its intricacies it seems to work quite well on reasonable photocopies and is much faster than my typing and has less mistakes . . . . This provides output which is compatible with Microconcord, though, as the material is reproduced exactly as in the original, it is necessary to edit out the hyphens.

Conclusion

My overall impression is very favourable and in my view it is certainly the best thing for the Russian specialist since the advent of cyrillic word processing. It means that what in the past would have required a major research project can be carried out in a few days on a desk top computer.

I should be pleased to hear from anyone working in this area, with a view to exchanging information and corpus materials. My e-mail address is m.j.berry.rus@ bham.ac.uk

Product details:

019 4583228 Microconcord Program Single User Licence £50 (plus VAT).

Network and Site licences are available. For further details contact Janet Caldwell, Electronic Publishing, OUP, Walton Street, Oxford OX2 6DP.

There is also a similar programme for Windows called Wordsmith, but at the time of writing its Russian capability is still being developed.

Notes

* The author is lecturer in Russian for Social Scientists in the Centre for Russian and East European Studies, University of Birmingham.

1. See David Adshead, Discovery learning techniques using a microcomputer, *Rusistika*, No. 8, December 1993, pp. 36–40.
2. The only other person I know who is using Microconcord is Mark Shuttleworth, University of Leeds, and people I spoke to about it at the BASEES conference in April 1996 had not heard of it.
3. See also Anne Wichman, Using concordances for the teaching of modern languages in higher education, *Language Learning Journal*, No.11, March 1995, p. 63.
4. А. И. Солженицын, Нужны ли «малые дела»?, *Аргументы и факты*, 1995, № 27, с. 3.
5. See Nicholas J. Brown, *Russian Learners Dictionary, 10,000 words in frequency order*, Routledge, London, 1996, p. 399.
6. Mark Shuttleworth uses a slightly different method, using materials in KOI8 and Word for Windows.
7. See Anne Wichman, op. cit., p. 63

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Доска

MAPRYAL report

The third meeting of the Presidium of MAPRYAL (*Международная ассоциация преподавателей русского языка и литературы*) was held in Washington DC on the 8–9/11–12 July 1996. The main topic of discussion was the IX Congress of MAPRYAL, to be held in Bratislava in the second half of July 1999 with the title *Русский язык, литература и культура на рубеже веков* (the next schoolchildren's Russian Olympiad has been brought forward to 1998). The UK is likely to be allocated 8–9 speakers again, since we filled all our speaker places at the Regensburg Congress in 1994. In addition to the usual sections on language, literature (probably with an emphasis on the bicentenary of Pushkin's birth) and culture there is likely to be a new section on computer technology and another on the rift that seems to have opened in some countries between practical language teachers and theoreticians.

Professor Kostomarov, President of MAPRYAL, welcomed the new status of Russian as a language bereft of the political implications which had earlier distorted its image, and said that the Russian government, through the newly-established Council for the Russian Language, had declared Russian to be a priority in the Russian Federation and beyond. Referring to the speed of change in the contemporary language, Professor Kostomarov said: На часах русского языка часовая стрелка начала двигаться так, что мы ее видим, of the politicised Russian that used to be peddled within the former Soviet bloc, that *true* Russian bore as much resemblance to it . . . как золотой рубль царской чеканки на наш бумажный рубль.

The Presidium composed and sent a letter to V. S. Chernomyrdin, Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation, requesting financial support for the journal Русский язык за рубежом, which is in danger of closure.

The Presidium endorsed the recommendation of the Russian Language Committee of ALL for the award of a Pushkin Medal to myself, bringing to seven the number of Pushkin Medals awarded to the UK for teaching and research during the thirty years of the existence of MAPRYAL.

Among documents which will be passed for the consideration of the Russian Language Committee are the programme for the development of Russian as a state and world language 1996–2000 following a presidential decree of 7 December 1995 for the establishment of a Russian-Language Council, and the provisional version of a Council of Europe document entitled *Русский язык. Пороговый уровень,* produced in the Pushkin Institute and providing learners with all that they need to survive in Russia.

Members of the Presidium participated in a conference entitled *Язык, культура и образование: статус русского языка в странах мира* at Bryn Mawr College, near Philadelphia, on 10 July 1996. The general theme of the conference was that though fewer people have been studying Russian since the collapse of the USSR the language is in a much healthier state, since all those who study it now *want* to study it. Businessmen and *émigrés* anxious to bring their Russian up to date comprise entirely new clientèles. However, Russian is enjoying mixed fortunes abroad. While in countries such as Bulgaria and Slovakia it is in a sound state, in Poland it is much stronger in universities than schools, which may be a general trend. Despite American concern about a drop in numbers and in standards among some pupils, Russian is still strong in the USA and is supported by the highly-influential American Centre of Teachers of Russian/American Council for Collaboration in Education and Language Study (ACTR/ACCELS has 39 field offices in 28 cities of the Russian Federation). The UK presentation depicted fluctuating fortunes, but also the conferences and Russian Days held by ALL, the journals produced and books published in the UK. Quotes from the new ALL leaflet *There could hardly be a better time to teach Russian* were met with enthusiasm, and MAPRYAL will be producing its own leaflet along similar lines. *Rusistika* was also well received, and the editor has been invited to write an article about the journal for MAPRYAL's own *Вестник* (if anyone is interested in this very useful 70-page journal I can supply a copy for two pounds sterling).

A number of publications encountered in Washington may be of interest. Though not all available in the UK the attention of the Russian Bookshop at 28 Denmark Street, London, will be drawn to them: Zita Dabars *et al., Russian Faces and Voices*, Kendall Hunt (communicative course, with – available from the autumn – a dramatic accompanying video); Zita Dabars, *The Russian Way. Aspects of Behavior, Attitudes and Customs of the Russians*, Passport Books (very informative); Eva Kollárová, *Встреча с Россией* (produced in Slovakia, all in Russian, an imaginative communicative course); V. G. Kostomarov, *Языковой вкус эпохи*, 2nd ed., Moscow, 1996 (forthcoming), an authoritative account of developments in modern Russian; A. Mustajoki, *Kapusta*, Helsinki, pre-beginners' course based on loan-nouns, designed to hook people on the language before they proceed to a standard course, seemingly liked by pupils, disliked by teachers, English-language version available later this year.

I will be pleased to correspond with any members who wish to know more about the activities of MAPRYAL.

TERRY WADE
Member of MAPRYAL Presidium
July 1996

Russian in Sweden

Sweden's contacts with Russia are old and various – from intermarriage such as Princess Ingegerd, daughter of King Olaf of Sweden, who was married to the Kievan Prince Yaroslav the Wise, and after his death became a nun and was canonised as Saint Anne of Novgorod shortly after her death in 1054 – the first Swedish saint, by the way – through medieval times, when the battle was fought, where Prince Alexander of Suzdal got his name Nevsky, and in the beginning of the seventeenth century, when Swedish troops hold Novgorod for some years, and even got in and out of Moscow without losses, trying to put a Swedish prince of the Vasa dynasty on the Russian throne, via the disastrous defeat of the Swedish army at Poltava, where many Swedes were taken prisoners of war and in captivity explored Siberia, making maps among other things. One of these, by the way, made the first small dictionary of words from the Yakut language. The skirmishes ended after the loss of Finland to Russia, but the contacts were not broken, for many Swedes earned their living in Russia, e.g. Alfred Nobel's father and brothers. As a matter of curiosity can be mentioned that the daughter of Carl Fredrik Örtstedt, a goldsmith, who had emigrated from Uppsala to St. Petersburg, became the maternal great-grandmother of Vladimir Lenin. After the revolution other Swedes, dedicated to the ideals of the Communist state, went there to help building a new society, but during the time of the Iron curtain contacts became scarce.

During the time of Mr Krushchev and the Thaw and the launching of spaceships, there was a boom in the interest of learning Russian. Earlier Russian was studied in very few secondary schools in Sweden, but now it could be chosen as third language and was given more time than other third languages. There was also a growing interest in studying Russian at the universities. Then came the Brezhnev era with the suppression of 'counterrevolutions' in Hungary and Czechoslovakia and interest in Russian studies declined. This subject was also given less time in schools. A new peak arose during the perestroika in order to fall again. Today Swedish secondary school students (6th formers) normally take only two foreign languages: English and one more language, and Russian, which is considered to be 'difficult' is far less popular than Spanish, when pupils choose their third language. Only students of the arts side in secondary school, who are fairly few, must have 3–4 languages, so the basis for Russian has grown less. At the university , when students are more mature, there seems to be a rather great interest in studying Russian, though.

As there is no central administration keeping register of the students of different subjects nor regional authorities, it is very hard to know the exact number of those studying Russian. Last year we found from an inquiry made for The Swedish Association of Teachers of Russian, that Russian was studied at 28 secondary schools by approximately 370 students. Every teacher of Russian is not a member of our association and, as usual, not even every member cares to answer the inquiry, so there might be more learners of Russian than indicated above. Today Russian is given 190 lessons – each lesson = 60 minutes – in secondary school. Russian is also taught at 9 universities in Sweden, a country which has got a population of slightly less than 9 million people.

LENNART MAGNUSSON
Chairman of The Swedish Association of
Teachers of Russian

Russian Teaching Materials Update

The majority of the materials listed below were readily obtainable in autumn 1996 from Grant and Cutler, 55–57 Great Marlborough Street, London. (Tel.: 0171 734 2012)

Key Stage 3/Beginners

Novaya Iskra 1 (pupil's book, cassettes and teachers book with repromasters) Nuffield Russian Project, John Murray 1996
Ruslan Russian 1 (students' book with CD or cassette; posters, computer exercises) – John Langran and Natalya Veshnyeva, Ruslan 1995
Russian Language and People – Terry Culhane and Roy Bivon, BBC Books 1995
Berlitz Russian Workbook – Natalia Walker, Berlitz 1995

Beginners to Intermediate/GCSE

Novaya Iskra 3 (pupil's book, cassettes and teachers book with repromasters) Nuffield Russian Project, John Murray 1996
Ruslan Russian 2 (students' book with CD or cassette; computer exercises) – John Langran and Natalya Veshnyeva, Ruslan, 1996
Teach Yourself Russian (Revised, book and cassette) – Daphne West, Hodder and Stoughton, 1995
Teach Yourself Business Russian (book and cassette) – Olga Bridges *et alia*, Hodder and Stoughton, 1995
Breakthrough Russian (book and cassettes) – Coynash, 1993

Intermediate to Advanced Level

Tranzit – A Bridge to Advanced Russian Language Studies – Daphne West and Michael Ransome, Bramcote Press, 1996
Perspektiva 1 – Kostina *et alia*, Zlatoust 1994
Zdravstvuyte! 3 – Osipova and Kollo, International House Budapest, 1994
Objectif Russe (recueil de documents iconographiques et de textes courts) – Arjakovsky, Hachette, 1988
Objectif Russe (Ecoute active) – Arjakovsky, Hachette, 1989
Огонёк – Новый этап истории – Marya Lekich, National Textbook Co. 1994
New Penguin Russian Course – Nicholas Brown ('beginners', designed to progress to AL standard), Penguin Books, 1996

Additional resources

Russo-file (visual materials, worksheets, games) – Talbot and Setchell
Comprehensive Russian Grammar – Terence Wade, Blackwell 1992
A Russian Grammar Workbook – Terence Wade. Blackwell 1996
Songs for the Russian Class – Ruth de Cesare, National Textbook Co. 1989
Communiquez en russe – nuances de la langue et tournures idiomatiques – Cosson

et alia – Presses Pocket, France 1992
Russian Composition and Conversation – Buxton, Passport Books 1989 (a useful topic vocabulary for advanced students)

MARK FELSTEAD
October 1996

University Russian from Scratch?

A graduate's view of the 'ab initio' *degree course in Russian for Interpreting and Translating at Heriot-Watt University.*

The 4-year honours degree at Heriot-Watt University, Languages for Interpreting and Translating (LINT), offers two languages to be studied to the same level out of German, French, Spanish and 'ab initio' Russian. This article is a subjective assessment of the *'ab initio'* Russian LINT degree and will show that the course enables a high standard of Russian to be attained in four years without having studied the language at school beforehand.

The First Two Years

I was 36 when I matriculated and had worked for many years as a joiner and musician. Having been initially accepted by Heriot-Watt to study French and German, I swapped French for Russian after one week, immediately attracted by the chance to learn a new language to professional interpreting standard in four years, by the greater variety in age of the students of Russian and by the small size of the classes.

By the end of the first two years we had covered the major points of grammar, and conference and liaison interpreting had been gently introduced. We were able to understand simple newspaper articles and to write short essays in Russian, while two years of conversation classes had enabled us to discuss a variety of topics in simple Russian. These would all be essential skills for the third year placement in Russia. Our rapid progress was partly due to the structure of the course itself. Since it had been developed initially by the staff who were teaching us, they could introduce new complexities of language according to their own well-planned programme. I remember the surprise we had, for example, when the future tense in Russian was finally revealed. Because our grammar classes had laid the foundations for a solid understanding of the logic of Russian verbs, we were able to appreciate this new revelation with delight rather than confusion. Moreover, since we had all started Russian together from scratch, our different levels of skill and commitment could be monitored accurately. This was important in an *'ab initio'* class since everything had to be covered quickly, while also catering to the needs of the slower students – such as, on occasion, myself. A resources room was available for informal meetings and for reading Russian newspapers, while Christian names were used between staff and students at all times. The relaxed atmosphere did not mean, however, that marking was not strict, nor was the work-load light. The emphasis on thematic continuity, such that topic areas were dealt with in all languages and in all classes during the same weeks, allowed language skills to be reinforced in a variety of contexts and so was particularly helpful for *'ab initio'* students. In all classes students benefited from the relatively small numbers in the Russian section.

The Year Abroad (The Third Year)

During the third year we spent five months in each of the countries whose languages we were studying and we wrote practical dissertations on topics of our own choice in these languages. I used this opportunity to make up for a certain lack of subjects of personal interest on LINT. My first placement was in Leipzig, and spending time in former East Germany was good preparation for post-Soviet Russia. I attended, for example, Russian language classes still taught in the very thorough way favoured in the GDR as model satellite-state of the Soviet Union. Interviewing the Leipzig clergy on their political views for my dissertation gave me an insight into the nature of totalitarian repression.

After living with the easy-going Leipzigers, cushioned in their transition to the market economy as part of the Federal Republic, I found life in Russia difficult. The traditional values of Russian society, the bureaucracy, and the high levels of crime and poverty were hard to cope with. I felt that the problems associated with the change to a democratic society had made many people defensive in conversation so that communication was often laboured – though immensely rewarding when the effort was made to listen intelligently to the (always surprising) Russian perspective.

Students go to Russia in February, and there is special dispensation to return to Britain before this, in order to pick up warm clothing and visas. The placement lasts until June, which can be very hot indeed. As a mature student I was not obliged to live in halls in Moscow with the other British students but chose, instead, to live in the centre of St. Petersburg with a kind couple who had been through the siege of Leningrad as children, and their computer whiz-kid son. I cooked for myself and survived well enough, although it was depressing not being able to find a relaxed social scene where I could make friends in the evenings – all bars are surrounded by a fraught atmosphere of danger and mistrust, while many Russians are simply too busy trying to survive to have the time to make real friendships with visitors. Until I learned to be more assertive with the family I lived with, it was also difficult having to account for all my movements to my hostess. I eventually found solace in the small rock clubs where I at least shared a common musical culture with the Russians and where Mafia presence was not noticeably intrusive. I wrote my dissertation on the changing relation of Russian rock lyrics to society during the 1980s and 90s, and much of my social life revolved around this interest. My biggest regret is that I could find no travelling companion in St. Petersburg and so did not visit the former republics of the Soviet Union.

Private tuition is easy to find in Russia and teachers can be encouraged to concentrate on subjects for which there has been no time at Heriot-Watt. The Soviet education system produced, for example, many literature graduates who can teach the life and works of the great Russian writers. The USSR was also well prepared for teaching Russian to visiting students from third world countries and from the republics and satellite states. There are therefore many language teachers with the necessary skills to reinforce aspects of grammar which have necessarily been dealt with quickly at Heriot-Watt. It is vital, however, that the choice of grammar topics in such tuition should be made by the student, otherwise the extra knowledge can be very confusing.

The Fourth Year

Despite the pressure of preparing for final exams there were some very enlightening aspects to the return to academic life back home. Not least of these was the consolidation of wordprocessing skills in Russian. A high point too, was studying the mystical novel by Bulgakov, 'The Master and Margarita', much loved in Russia and Eastern Europe. Russian simultaneous interpreting was sensitively and ingeniously introduced at the start of the year, and liaison interpreting became more interesting now we had improved our language fluency during the time abroad. On one memorable occasion, for example, liaison classes livened up considerably as we spent three weeks planning, carrying out and interpreting negotiations between a hypothetical Russian business advisory company and a British animal-food manufacturer. However, the high level of supervision which is the norm at British universities and which had had distinct advantages for *'ab initio'* study during the first two years, had now begun to pall. I would have liked, for instance, more choice to study topics in the fourth year which were more relevant to my own life – perhaps capitalizing on subjects I had researched for my dissertations or on which I had written essays. I now realise, too, that if it had been possible to specialise for a while in the Russian and German equivalents of areas in which I had worked before university, this would have been of great benefit when looking for work after graduation. Despite this misgiving, it should be emphasised that as well as the two foreign languages, LINT also helps develop problem-solving skills and a high standard of literacy in English.

Conclusion

The *'ab initio'* course gives students the chance to learn Russian in a good atmosphere with excellent and consistent teaching, relatively small classes and well-planned material. This supportive environment and the fact that everyone starts to learn the language together enables progress to be well monitored, and a remarkably high standard of interpreting and translating is eventually reached. The third-year placement in Russia offers the chance to study areas of personal interest through dissertations and to acquire traditional Russian academic skills. It also allows conversational ability to be improved and is an opportunity to travel within the former USSR. It thus affords LINT students both freedom and responsibility and so is a very necessary complement to and preparation for the huge work-load and tight structure of the final year. By the end of the course, however, some may find the high level of supervision has become constrictive. Skills acquired on a LINT degree can be of use in a much wider range of jobs than merely in interpreting and translating.

KIM TEBBLE

Sergei Bodrov's *A Prisoner in the Caucasus*

In the summer of 1996, Sergei Bodrov's film *A Prisoner in the Caucasus* (*Kavkazskii plennik*) was released in Russian cinemas, having already picked up prizes at film festivals in Cannes, Carlsbad and Sochi.[1] Its main star is Oleg Men'shikov, who co-starred with Nikita Mikhalkov in the recent Oscar-winner *Burnt by the Sun* (*Utomlennye solntsem*). Like Mikhalov's, this, too, is in many ways a remarkable and courageous film, and testimony to the increasing maturity and intellectual challenge of much of post-Soviet Russian cinema. It is based on the story of the same name by Lev Tolstoi, itself filmed twice before, once in 1913 and again in the late 1970s. Bodrov's film is brought forward to modern times and has introduced significant changes to the subject-matter.

It is apposite here to note Russian film-makers' attitude to works of classical Russian literature. In the Soviet past literary works by Russian writers were filmed in a faithful, almost word-for-word rendition, without any significant departures from the text. Among the most significant exemplars of this genre include Ivan Pyr'ev's *The Brothers Karamazov* and, most famously, Sergei Bondarchuk's monumental *War and Peace*. In recent times, though, directors have become bolder in their interpretation. For instance, Valerii Todorovskii's 1995 film *Katia Izmailova* is a cinematic version of Leskov's *Lady Macbeth of Mtskhensk District* (*Ledi Makbet Mtskhenskogo uezda*), which not only contains 'modern' details such as sex and blatant eroticism, but also brings the action forward to take place in Stalin's time.

A word about Bodrov's cinematic career. He first attracted attention in 1989 with his film *S.E.R.*, an acronym that stands for 'Svoboda – Eto Rai' ('Freedom is Paradise'), an anti-Stalinist fable about teenagers in an uncaring society. It was one of the emblematic films of the perestroika period. He then courted controversy in 1992 with *I Wanted to See Angels* (*Ia khotela videt' angelov*), also about the problems of youth.

Tolstoi's story concerns a Russian officer, Zhilin, who is serving with his unit in the Caucasus in the last century. He is captured by Tartars as he attempts to leave his fort to return to Russia. They keep him in a remote mountain village in order to extort a ransom for his release from his family. He is soon joined there by a fellow officer, Kostylin, also being held hostage. They are both under the charge of Abdul-Murat, who has a young daughter Dina. They try to escape and are captured, after which their Tartar captors are more brutal and uncompromising with them. One old man in the village has lost seven of his sons to the Russians, and shot his eighth son himself when he went over to the Russians. He wants Zhilin and Kostylin killed summarily. Zhilin, however, has established a tenuous relationship with Dina by making her clay dolls, and she helps him organise a second escape, this time successfully.

In Bodrov's film we are in no doubt that the action takes place during the Chechen war.[2] Zhilin is played by Bodrov's own son, and his fellow prisoner Sasha Kostylin is played by Oleg Men'shikov. They are Russian soldiers who are wounded and captured by rebels following an ambush, and then imprisoned in a remote village. Their host, also called Abdul-Murat, wishes not to ransom them, but to exchange them for his own son, who is imprisoned in the local garrison town by the occupying Russians. The rebels put the two Russians to work by clearing a minefield. They do manage to escape, but are captured. Sasha, who during the escape killed two men, one of them in cold blood, is himself killed in revenge by the rebels. Abdul-Murat's son is then killed by Russian troops as he tries to escape, and Zhilin's days seem numbered. As the son is buried, Zhilin is helped by Abdul-Murat's daughter, but he refuses to escape and so put her in jeopardy. Abdul-Murat, carrying his rifle, then takes him to a mountain slope and aims at his back, but at the last minute fires wide and allows him to return to the garrison. As Zhilin heads towards safety, four Russian helicopter gunships fly above him on their way to destroy the rebel village he has just come from.

It should be emphasised here that the Russian troops are portrayed unequivocally as occupying forces, callously shooting at local people, frequently drunk and freely trading guns for vodka. The local population is hostile to them, to such an extent that one collaborator is shot by his own father (a reworking of Tolstoi's motif). In particular, Men'shikov's Sasha is a recognisably contemporary figure, a callous and bloodthirsty professional soldier who thinks nothing of turning his machine-gun on civilians. As they languish in captivity, he vows that he will return one day to this village and kill his captors. In their abortive escape attempt, he kills an innocent shepherd solely in order to take his ancient one-shot rifle. We learn, too, that he was brought up in an orphanage, a detail that continues Bodrov's interest in the moral education of young people.[3]

Zhilin, on the other hand, is a young conscript, from a simple but good family (his mother is a schoolteacher), hates violence, and even cups his hands over his ears when the shooting starts. Throughout the film Zhilin remains kind-hearted and gentle, and, like Tolstoi's hero, makes things with his own hands to give to Dina as presents. He is also a dab hand at repairing things, again, as with Tolstoi's Zhilin.

Indeed, apart from Zhilin the positive characters are the rebels, especially Abdul-Murat, who spares Zhilin when he could have justifiably killed him in revenge for his son's death. The rebels are Muslims, but exhibit the Christian values of forgiveness and repentance more than the erstwhile Orthodox Russians. They also exhibit great pride and resilience. Here, too, Bodrov reworks the original, for Tolstoi makes no effort to portray the Tartars from within, to understand their grievance or show any sympathy for their culture. Here the Russians are the aggressors, but are incapable of solving the situation in which they find themselves. The Russian troops in the garrison have rebel prisoners, but do not know what to do with them, and even when Zhilin's mother arrives to petition for her son the commander Maslov refuses to take any positive action. Indeed, one of the film's themes is the total absence of common sense or will among the Russian soldiers, who bear arms but feel no responsibility for their actions. The final image of the helicopter gunships about to wreak havoc is a reminder, if we needed one, that the Russian military presence is as obscene as it is unwelcome.

The Caucasian theme in Russian literature is a strong one, and *A Prisoner of the Caucasus* is the title of a poem by both Pushkin and Lermontov. Indeed, Pushkin's poem serves as the model for Tolstoi's story in that it also concerns a Russian nobleman captured by the Circassians, and who strikes up a relationship with a local girl. Moreover, Pushkin's hero is full of admiration and respect for the dignity and resilience of his captors. The girl falls in love with him, and helps him to escape. The epilogue contains Pushkin's diatribe against Russian conquest and imperialism. Lermontov's poem is a rewriting of

Pushkin's, but ends tragically when the Russian is killed within sight of his camp, and the Circassian girl is drowned in the Terek river. Lermontov in particular was to write much poetry devoted to the grandeur and beauty of these mountains, and his most famous work, the novel *A Hero of Our Time*, is also set amid a military campaign in the Caucasus. Bodrov emphasises the 'literariness' of the film when Zhilin's mother reads his letter while she stands in her classroom, and the title of Tolstoi's story is written on the blackboard behind her.

A word should be reserved for the film's camera-work, as directed by Pavel Lebeshev. The Caucasian mountains provide not only a majestic but austere backdrop, but are filmed in such a way that they assume the status of dramatis personae. Sasha and Zhilin are imprisoned not only by the rebels, but also by the mountains. We should also mention here the film's symbolism. Whereas Tolstoi's hero fashions for Dina dolls made from clay, here Zhilin makes her a model of a bird, a symbol of freedom. This symbol, and the aspirations it embodies, is subverted in the film's final scenes when the twentieth century bird, the helicopter gunships, head towards the villages. Also, twice in the film the dead Sasha reappears to Zhilin to remind him he is still alive and to value his life. The motif of the dead returning to haunt the living is a popular one in Russian culture, and has its origins in folklore and the occult. This motif is a particularly popular one in nineteenth century literature, and has been treated by Pushkin in his short story 'The Coffin Maker' ('Grobovshchik'), Gogol' in his cycle 'Evenings on a Farm Near Dikanka' ('Vechera na khutore bliz Dikanki') and Odoevskii in his 'Tale of a Dead Body Whose Owner is Unknown' ('Skazka o mertvom tele, neizvestno komu prinadlezhashchem').

A Prisoner in the Caucasus shows the futility and senselessness of war, which engenders only aggression, evil and hate, and which brings in its wake suffering, tears, pain and misery. In the figure of Sasha, we see that those who wage war destroy not only others, but themselves. War destroys families, families destroy themselves. There are no victors, there are only victims. It is significant that seven different languages are used in the film, including Russian, Azerbaidjani and Ossetian, thus conveying the impression that Russia's problems are not confined to the Chechen crisis, but are of a broader, international nature. Indeed, Bodrov himself draws attention to the wider implications of the film, asserting that his initial idea was to make the film in Bosnia.[4]

The film ends in a far from conventional manner, suggesting that reconciliation and ultimately peace can only be found when the individual overcomes personal prejudice, injustice and pain. Sergei Bodrov has undoubtedly made a brave and uncompromising film. It is a film about war and its destructive aftermath, and its picture of the Russian military involvement is almost totally negative.[5] Nevertheless, it is instructive to juxtapose this Russian film with recent British films about Ireland, such as *Michael Collins* and *Nothing Personal*. Both these films have stirred up controversy, not least because it is claimed that they give a uncritical portrayal of the IRA. Similar sentiments have emerged about Bodrov's film in the Russian press, and this in itself demonstrates that modern Russian cinema is prepared to grapple with the topical and painful issues of the day without shirking the longer-term moral implications of these issues.

Notes

1. In Cannes it was not among the competition films, but received the critics' prize as well as the viewers' prize; in Carlsbad it was awarded the Crystal Globe, and in Sochi it received the Grand Prix.
2. The idea of updating the subject-matter to the Chechen war belonged to Boris Giller, the author of the screenplay. See Sergei Bodrov, 'Ne tol'ko o chechenskoi voine', *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 7 August 1996, p. 8.
3. A Russian critic comments: 'The favourite plot of our literature about the prisoner of the Caucasus presents a Russian man in a rendez-vous – a rendez-vous with Asia.

Today this Russian man is a professional soldier, raised in an orphanage without any home or family, a Lumpen unburdened by any ideology apart from the vestiges of the imperial idea, which still sounds in his heart through the tune of The Farewell of the Slavic Girl' . . . But he is still nevertheless no monster' (Natal'ia Sirivlia, " 'Kavkazskii plennik" – uspekh v Kanne', *Ogonek*, 23, 1996, p. 74).

4. Bodrov: 'We made a film about events that could have taken place in Afghanistan, Bosnia, Tadzhikistan or even in Mexico' (Sergei Bodrov, 'Ne tol'ko o chechenskoi voine).

5. In another interview Bodrov himself argues: 'We spoke not so much about war as about human lives and tragic, bloody events. People say that we have made an anti-Russian film. But I think that when we are dealing with war both sides are both right and wrong. But when a large country wages war with a small country, then the large country has a different measure of responsibility' ('Govoriat, my sdelali anti-russkuiu kartinu', *Obshchaia gazeta*, 3 July 1996, p. 8).

DAVID GILLESPIE and
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University of Bath

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Reviews

A Course in Language Teaching, by Penny Ur [Series: Cambridge Teacher Training and Development] Series Editors: Marion Williams and Tony Wright. *£12.95 ISBN 0 521 44994 4*

This is the latest title in CUP's excellent series of handbooks for language teachers and trainers. The publishers describe it as 'a complete introduction to teaching languages, for use in both pre-service or in-service settings. It can be used by groups of teachers working with a trainer, or as a self-study resource.' First impressions suggest that the book is extremely thorough in approach and covers a wide variety of topic areas such as presenting and practising new language, teaching the 'building blocks' of pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar as well as the four skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing. Syllabus design, home-made and commercially produced materials are dealt with as well as lesson planning, classroom management and even discipline. Topics relating to different types of teaching and learning situations are included, such as learner motivation, age and class size. The book ends with a chapter on teacher development and career advancement, with a final bibliography which consolidates the further reading suggestions from previous chapters.

The book is clearly laid out with a symbol ▶ indicating the 'core' modules or units, ▷ the optional ones, a useful device for inexperienced trainers or those who are short of time. An introductory section explains how to use the book, followed by a clearly defined rationale which presents some theoretical background in an easily accessible form.

Each chapter then follows a similar format in that it is divided into a number of modules, further subdivided into units, each of which includes some 'input', i.e. background information, some 'experiential work', usually practical exercises followed by discussion, and 'tasks', essentially written or spoken extension work. Possible solutions to the tasks and experiential work are given within the text itself or in notes at the end of the module. In order to prevent readers from 'cheating' by looking at the solutions before completing the tasks, the author suggests photocopying the relevant material (conveniently set out in boxes marked with a CUP copyright logo) and distributing it separately. The author really has thought of everything!

In conclusion, this is an extremely solid teacher-training manual which covers an enormous amount of material and provides plenty of opportunity for practical and experiential work. While some of the examples (particularly in the phonology sections) are based on English, the course is intended for teachers of *any* foreign language and should, in most cases, be easily adaptable. I particularly liked the clear layout, photocopiable materials, suggestions for further reading, and trainer's notes at the end of the book. I would most certainly use the book myself on initial and in-service training courses. I would not, however, recommend it for self-study by those who have never taught before as its sheer density would be off-putting. More experienced teachers could use it as a self-study resource, but, as the author herself points out, many of the tasks involve collaborative discussion and would therefore be of more value in a classroom environment.

MOIRA CALDERWOOD
University of Glasgow

The Acmeist Movement in Russian Poetry: Culture and the Word, by Justin Doherty. *Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995, ix + 316 pp. £40.00*

In many respects, Acmeism has always enjoyed a dubious status as the forgotten movement in Russian Modernism. It has largely been ignored by Western and Russian scholars alike, who have preferred the metaphysical flights of the Symbolists or the vulgar sensationalism of the Futurists to the Acmeists' self-effacing craftsmanship. This is surprising, to say the least, when one considers the 'leading role [of] Acmeism in forming the critical consciousness of a generation of poets', as Doherty justifiably claims (p. 7). This situation is all the more paradoxical, when one considers that as *individuals,* the main Acmeist poets – Anna Akhmatova, Osip Mandel'shtam and (to a lesser extent) Nikolai Gumilev – have attracted more scholarly attention than most other twentieth-century Russian poets.

Justin Doherty's new book is an attempt to redress the balance, to give Acmeism as a movement and as a set of theoretical principles the recognition which it undoubtedly deserves. This is a fluently written and painstakingly researched study which outlines the main tenets of Acmeist theory and sets it in literary and philosophical context. The opening chapter establishes this context particularly well, with a detailed exposition of Russian Symbolist theory. As Doherty points out, the crisis which affected Symbolism in 1910 led directly to the emergence of Acmeism. This chapter is particularly significant for the discussion which it contains of the poetic theories of Innokenty Annensky. As Doherty points out, by the way in which he rejected the 'theurgic' excesses of Symbolism, for example, asserted the independence of the artist from social goals, or emphasised the creative role of the reader in the communicative process, Annensky anticipated some of Acmeism's most important aesthetic principles.

Chapter 2 contains a welcome history of Acmeism as a movement, from Gumilev's collaboration on the St. Petersburg literary journal *Apollon,* which began in 1909, through the various metamorphoses of his *Tsekh poetov* ('Guild of Poets'), to his untimely death by execution in 1921. It is also in this chapter that Doherty begins to articulate what will become his main thesis, namely that 'Acmeism' can just as well be defined as a meta-literary or theoretical movement, as it can be said to have been an association of six poets: 'Acmeism may be said to exist [. . .] through a kind of symbiotic relationship between what poets did (in their general literary praxis, and not only in their literary production) and what they articulated in metapoetic statements; such a position is characteristic of Modernism in general' (p. 95).

The final three chapters of Doherty's study contain an impressive and convincing account of the theoretical underpinnings and philosophical outlook of Acmeism as a movement. Chapter 3 focuses on Gumilev's 'organic' model of poetics, with its roots in European Romanticism, and on the importance for Acmeism of the principle of 'equilibrium' ('ravnovesie'). As Doherty shows, both concepts recur with striking consistency in Acmeist theoretical pronouncements and criticism. If this chapter underlines how far Acmeism broke from Symbolism (a fact aptly illustrated by Mandel'shtam's assertion that 'the sole reality remains the work of art itself'; p. 136), then this theme is taken up in chapter 4, which examines the Acmeist 'poetic persona'. Doherty shows how in Acmeist theory and practice the lyrical 'I' is sacrificed on the altar of intertextuality: 'Acmeism tends away from a strongly individual voice representing a poet in isolation. Rather, Acmeists foregrounded the communicative function of texts, and so created a communicative poetry in which more than one voice would sound' (p. 210). Doherty's final chapter looks at the philosophical implications of Acmeist theory, with particular emphasis on Culture and the Word. His conclusion is a fascinating one: in Acmeist theory 'the Word, which stands at the centre of any culture, so guarantees, through its divine provenance, that culture's integrity, poetry, and poetic culture, are therefore no more, and no less, than a continuing re-enactment of the original Creation, and an imitation of the will to life' (p. 286).

Doherty's impressive study underlines just how important Acmeism was within Russian Modernism as a whole. His book does raise questions, however. If Acmeism is to be considered a symbiotic relationship between text (poem), context (literary activity) and meta-text (theory), then why focus so much on one to the detriment of the other two (the first Acmeist poem to be cited appears on p. 113)? Can the theoretical pronouncements of any group of writers – or any individual for that matter – be taken in isolation from the texts those writers produce? Even given the fact that Doherty is trying to move towards a definition of Acmeism as a *theoretical* movement, the relative dearth of discussion of Acmeist verse is to be regretted. Analysis of the poetry might have helped illuminate the theory, and vice-versa. As Doherty himself points out, Acmeism's ambivalent position 'between the notion of poetry as a self-enclosed system [. . .] and a Romantic notion of art as self-expression [. . .] is to some extent resolved in the poetic production of the Acmeists' (p. 118). Despite this, Doherty has produced a valuable and impressive study which should serve as the starting point for all future research into what was a key Russian literary and theoretical movement.

GRAHAM ROBERTS
University of Strathclyde, Glasgow

Nikolai Vasilyevich Gogol: Petersburg Tales, Marriage, The Government Inspector, translated by Christopher English with an introduction by Richard Peace. *Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, xxvii + 5 pp. of maps and tables + 358 pp., £6.99 and $6.95 (USA). ISBN 0 19 282881 9.*

The World's Classics Series has for many decades made a representative selection of Russian literature available to the English-speaking public. In recent times the format has become less elegant, perhaps: the once handsomely bound pocket-sized series is now in a larger format, but with a paper back. Many whose Russian is not up to tackling Gogol in the original, as well as some linguists who want to check their understanding of the text, will find this particular volume worth the relatively modest price at which it sells: especially if they happen to be American. Why do we British have to pay the higher price?!

There are considerable difficulties in translating Gogol, it must be admitted: what do you do about the names and the wordplay? How can the curious ethos and culture of Nikolaian Russia adequately be conveyed? Previous translators of Russian literature have sometimes attempted to make works accessible by modernising them, or by transposing them to another country or culture: anglicising them or setting them in Dublin – as if the original context were not acceptable. Some recent 'translations' of Chekhov plays have descended to vulgarity. There is none of this damned nonsense here. Mr English's translations are modern, but not aggressively so; the reader does not forget that it is a **Russian** nineteenth-century original which is being translated, and a bibliography, 21 pages of notes, a stimulating introduction by Richard Peace, some maps and the Table of Ranks serve to elucidate historical, linguistic and topographical points. The stories included illustrate Gogol at his best ('The Overcoat', 'Diary of a Madman') and at his most infuriating (the tedious, sententious and unnecessary moralising of 'The Portrait' which, despite a spirited defence of Gogol's sophisticated narrative techniques by Peace, comes over as a pain in the backside). The plays, especially *The Government Inspector*, are particularly effectively translated and a competent cast could surely make them very funny indeed on the stage.

What a strange man Gogol must have been! He was a great comedian – even sometimes a buffoon, a sharp moral satirist, but had that tendency to preach which almost came to destroy his reputation. Yet his power to evoke pathos – pity for the plight of Akaky Akakievich or the madman – is amazingly intense. These splendid translations do his English reputation a service.

JAMES MUCKLE
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a) Articles of about 3000 words.

b) Brief (up to 1000 words) items of information, notes on innovative practice, discussion points (including those arising from previous articles).

c) Reviews usually of about 300 to 400 words (longer reviews or articles may be accepted). The guidelines below are intended to help contributors:

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Russian text (or Russian and English mixed) is readily acceptable on Amstrad PCW 3" or Apple Macintosh disk (in the latter case depending on the Cyrillic font used) LocoScript PC files may also be acceptable.

Other permutations and formats may be accepted by arrangement with the Editor. Disks will be returned to contributors when no longer required.

b) Typewritten: Type with double spacing. Typewriters or word processors should be set at 44 characters (the equivalent of the line length), as this will help the Editor plan the arrangement of the journal. Handwritten Russian words amid predominantly English text (typewritten or word processed) are also acceptable if written in a clear hand. Please send two copies of the article and keep one for yourself. One copy of the article should be a 'clean' original (i.e. with no corrections and not a photocopy) to enable the printer to scan it. If there are any changes or corrections these should be made on the second copy.

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Give full references for all sources quoted. Journal policy is to put these at the end of the article and not at the bottom of the page.

Illustrations

Photographs are particularly welcome, as are charts, diagrams and tables where relevant. Please send these at the same time as your article.

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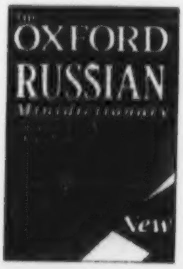
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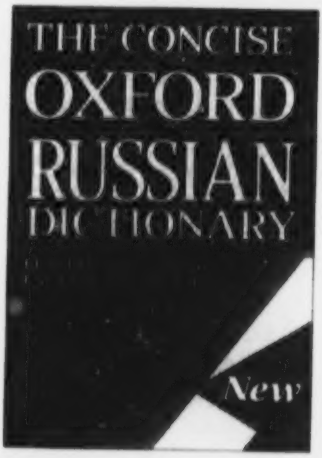
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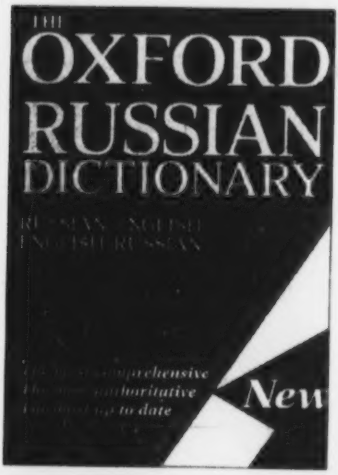
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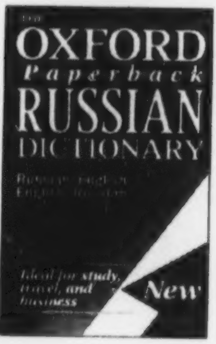
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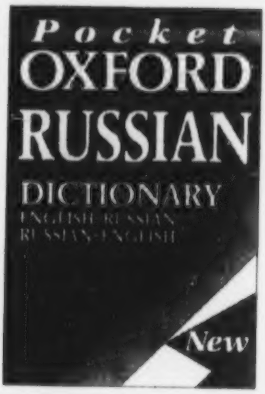
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Editorial

Spring and early summer 1997 have offered a variety of interesting events for Russianists throughout Britain. Thanks are due to ALL for the recent conference held at Keele, and places are still available for the ALL Russian Day to be held in London on June 21st. This promises to be a very worthwhile event, and includes a lecture by Professor Terry Wade on the modern Russian language. (Readers should contact the ALL office in Rugby for further details.) There was also a significant Russian input at the recent international conference 'Globalisation and the Mass Media: East-West Diaglogues', held at the University of Central Lancashire, Preston. I would like to thank John Dugmore for allowing me to attend part of this conference – he will be very happy to hear from readers who might wish to be included on his mailing list for future conferences at Preston. He can be contacted at the university (Tel: 01772 893016; fax: 01772 892908).

Readers living in the London area will have the chance to enjoy the "spectacular summer season" of the Kirov Ballet, with the orchestra of the Maryinsky Theatre (8th July to 9th August) at the Coliseum. Scottish readers should note that there will be a number of interesting Russian 'visitors' taking part in various events at the Edinburgh 'Fringe' Festival in August. The Royal Scottish National Orchestra begins its new autumn season (25th September) under the direction of Alexander Lazarev, the new Principal Conductor. Lazarev, former Artistic Director and Principal Conductor at the Bolshoi, will also lead a Prokofiev Festival in London in the autumn (please ring 0171 546 1666 for further details of this event). There is to be a special Prokofiev event for school groups on 21st November.

As always, articles, ideas for good classroom practice, new materials and reports are always welcome for publication in *Rusistika*. It is hoped that readers will enjoy both the selection of materials in this present edition, and the new format of the journal.

Rusistika, June 1997, No 15, 3–6

International and national in Russian phraseology

N. Gogolitsyna
University of Bristol

Phraseological units or idioms or set expressions are known to exist in all European languages. They form a colourful and diverse group of expressions that are not always easy to classify and analyse. However, there is a long standing tradition of attention to and interest in phraseology of different languages in Russian linguistic schools. This has produced some data of relevance not only to Russian language studies but also to general linguistics, especially semantics. Phraseology allows different ways of interpreting.

In this paper we explore national or culturally specific features in Russian phraseology, and we address international aspects of it. We shall look at common semantic models in Russian and English phraseology and related problems of translation of phraseological expressions from one language to another. Further in the text of the article we have tried to supply both literal and figurative translations of Russian idioms where possible since the nature of the meaning of idioms is twofold. Comments about the origin of some of the idioms are also supplied.

A language is not just a medium of communication but also the repository of a cultural tradition that gives a sense of identity to its native speakers. There are linguistic units in every natural language that together with conveying some meaning also contain information about the culture and mentality of the people who speak that language. These units take their roots in everyday life, customs, beliefs, geographical factors, historical events – they are called set expressions or phraseological units or idioms and they possess a national cultural element in their semantics. We shall consider expressions of the following type: делать из мухи слона (*to make a mountain out of a mole hill*, literally: *to make an elephant out of a fly*), обвести вокруг пальца (*to twist somebody round one's little finger*), ни рыба ни мясо (*neither fish nor fowl*), взять быка за рога (*to take the bull by the horns*) and such like.

There was a time when the national cultural aspect of phraseological units was overestimated, considered to be their main feature and the units themselves therefore were considered to be untranslatable. After some study and investigation this property of phraseological units was proved to be true only for part of them, and that is the part that reveals the 'national' element in phraseology. If we look at the bulk of phraseological units on the whole, we see that the primary source of these units is colloquial language, everyday speech associated with various jobs and crafts – for example, carpentry – без сучка без задоринки (*without hindrance*), топорная работа (*rough work*, literally: *axe work*); fishing – закидывать (*to cast a line, to put a line out* meaning *to try to discover something, 'to put out feelers'*), попадать на крючок (*to swallow the bait*, literally: *to get onto the hook*); physical work – гнуть спину (*to bend one's back*), мозолить руки (*to make one's hands callous*); everyday household life – не выносить сор из избы (literally: *not to take one's rubbish out of the house*; figuratively: *not to wash one's dirty linen in public*), копаться в грязном белье (*to dig around in, to rummage in dirty washing*, meaning *to enjoy going into somebody's private life or intimate relations*); food and cooking – заваривать кашу (literally: *to boil kasha*, figuratively: *to start, stir up trouble*), расхлебывать кашу (literally: *to gobble kasha*, figuratively: *to put things right, to disentangle, to get out of a mess*), мало каши ел (*about smb.young and inexperienced or weak*, literally: *he has eaten little kasha*), тертый калач (*about smb. experienced, who has knocked about the world*), не солоно хлебавши (*empty-handed*, literally: *having eaten food without salt*); bath and bathing – задать баню (*to make it hot for someone*), с легким паром! (*greeting after having a bath*, literally expressing hope that the steam in the bath was light and pleasant), пристать как банный лист (*to stick like a leech*), намылить шею (*to give someone a dressing down*, literally: *to soap someone's neck*).

In some cases folklore can be a source of metaphorical set expressions: змея подколодная (snake in the grass), сказка про белого бычка (*endless story*), Лиса Латрикеевна (about a woman: *as sly as a fox*), Кощей бессмертный (about a tall, thin, evil and greedy old man, from the evil character of Russian fairy-tales). The customs of the ancient Slavs to test people by water and fire – вывести на чистую воду (*to lead smb. out into the clean water*, meaning *to expose*; compare to English ducking stool), как в воду опущенный (*as if lowered into water*, meaning *downcast*), пройти сквозь огонь и воду и медные трубы (*to go through fire and water*). Historical events: Мамаево побоище (the battle of Mamai, a Tatar khan during Mongol-Tatar invasion – about cruel or devastating fighting), казанская сирота (Kazan orphan, used about a person with a 'hard luck story', an allusion to an episode in Russian history when Tatar chiefs used to come to the Russian tsar to ask for something), во всю Ивановскую (*with all one's might, extremely loudly*, as the custom was to announce the tsar's decrees so that all people in Ivan Square in the Kremlin in Moscow could hear), потемкинские деревни (*decorated facade, behind which there's nothing real, a fake* – the story goes back to Catherine the Great's trip to the Crimea and the fake villages she saw on her way, allegedly put up by Prince Potyomkin to please her), верста коломенская (verst-posts, leading to the village of Kolomenskoe where the tsar's residence was, were taller than the usual ones; used about a very tall person), etc. Some literary quotations also function as idiomatic expressions in Russian – окно в Европу (window into Europe, about St. Petersburg founded by Peter the Great in the north-west of Russia), шапка Мономаха (*Monomach's hat* – symbol of power), normally used in quotation from Boris Godunov: "Ох, тяжела ты, шапка Мономаха!" – А. Пушкин, compare to the quotation from Shakespeare: "uneasy lies the head that wears the crown"; горе от ума (*woe from wit*) – А. Грибоедов.

This large group of nationally coloured expressions constitutes the greater part of Russian phraseology and gives it national features which make it culturally specific, expressive and usually difficult to translate into foreign languages. These are the units which sometimes lack equivalents in other languages and very often require comments and explanations in order to be understood. All the more so, given that some idioms retain archaic words in them that are not understandable even to native speakers: бить баклуши (not to do anything serious, be idle), точить лясы (to wag one's tongue), не видно ни зги (pitch dark, impossible to see where to go), попасть впросак (to get into an embarassing or uncomfortable situation). Some of the expressions came into the modern language from Old Slavonic, retaining old lexical and grammatical forms: ничтоже сумняшеся (without a shadow of doubt), паче чаяния (contrary to expectations), сидеть сложа руки (sitting idle, with arms folded), притча во языцех (the talk of the town). Sometimes they contain historic words that have fallen into disuse, like measures of length: семи пядей во лбу (about a very clever person, literally, one with a forehead seven measures high), ростом в косую сажень (about a very tall person, literally compares height with the old measure of length), не свой аршин мерить (to measure by one's own criteria), от горшка два вершка (about somebody of little height, literally two inches above the pot). Native speakers themselves might well not know the origin of many of them and they use such expressions automatically, without thinking. Explanation of meaning and origin of strange and unknown idioms can be found in special dictionaries, some of them are mentioned in the notes to this article.

Now let us turn to the international aspect of Russian phraseology. There is a large group of phraseological units in the Russian language that came from other languages: Old Slavonic – when the Bible was translated into Church Slavonic after Christianity was introduced. Here are some examples: метать бисер перед свиньями, в поте лица, запретный плод, святая святых, хлеб насущный, блудный сын, земля обетованная. The English equivalents would be: to cast pearls before swine, by the sweat of one's brow, forbidden fruit, Holy of Holies, daily bread, prodigal son, the Promised Land. There were some borrowings translated from Latin – *modus vivendi* – образ жизни, *aurea mediocritas* – золотая середина, *O tempora, O mores!* – О времена, О нравы!, колесо Фортуны – *the wheel of Fortune*, сжечь свои корабли – *burn one's boats*. Some expressions came from ancient Greek Mythology – ахиллесова пята, дамоклов меч, яблоко раздора *Achilles' heel, sword of Damocles, apple of discord*. There are equivalents of these groups of expressions in all European languages as they have common European cultural sources – The Bible, Greek Mythology and Latin.

But the groups of expressions mentioned above are not the only ones that have equivalents in European languages – there is also a group of somatisms or somatic phraseology (related to parts of the body) that independently came into use in European languages because of similar understanding of functions of the parts of the body: кожа да кости (skin and bones), с тяжелым сердцем (with a heavy heart), с легким сердцем (lightheartedly), кровь бросилась в голову (the blood rushed into smb's head or face), (чья-) правая рука (right-hand man), обвести вокруг пальца (to twist smb. round one's little finger), etc. There is usually not much difficulty in translating somatic phraseology as there are full or partial equivalents of them in English and other European languages. Sometimes there is a slight difference in lexical composition of these expressions: the blood rushed into somebody's face or in Russian – кровь бросилась в голову кому-то, обвести кого-то вокруг пальца – to twist somebody round one's little finger, to hold one's tongue – держать язык за зубами, etc.

There are some borrowings in Russian from other European languages: from French – иметь зуб против кого-нибудь (to have it in for smb.), не в своей тарелке (to feel uneasy); from German – разбить наголову (to defeat smb. completely), соломенная вдова (grass widow); from English – синий чулок (blue stocking), летающая тарелка (flying saucer). Some literary quotations from English are used in Russian – many from Shakespeare – быть или не быть (to be or not to be); все хорошо, что хорошо кончается (all's well that ends well); много шума из ничего (much ado about nothing). There are also phraseological loan translations, calques – expressions that are translated word for word from English – время - деньги (time is money), знание - сила (knowledge is power); from German – вот, где собака зарыта (that's where the dog is buried, meaning: that's where the solution to the problem lies); from French – медовый месяц (honeymoon), черный рынок (black market), идея фикс (*idee fixe*). And there are some expressions that are used internationally without translation: *nota bene, alma mater, alter ego, status quo, terra incognita* – from Latin, *finita la commedia* – from Italian, *c'est la vie* – from French.

We have been considering above large groups of phraseological expressions in the Russian language in which 'national' in origin units constitute a greater part of them and are used in colloquial speech and can also be found in literary texts. The 'international' phraseological expressions are fewer in number but are actively used in literary and scientific texts and in the speech of educated people.

There is a special group in phraseology of two or more languages which has points of similarity and points of difference. There are phraseological expressions that have a similar semantic model but different imagery. For example, the idea of heavy rain is expressed in English by an idiom "it's raining cats and dogs", in Russian – лить, как из ведра (literally: *to pour as if from a bucket*). The idea of doing something meaningless like bringing something to a place where it is not needed is expressed in English by the idiom to take coals to Newcastle, in Russian – ездить в Тулу со своим самоваром (literally: *to go to Tula with one's own samovar*; Tula being a centre of samovar making), in Hungarian – *to bring water to the Danube*, in Czech – *to bring wood to the forest*. The idea of doing nothing is expressed in English by the expression to twiddle one's thumbs and in Russian – сидеть сложа руки (*to sit with one's arms folded*). Молоко на губах не обсохло (literally: *milk has not dried on smb's lips*), the Russian expression to describe somebody young and inexperienced, is equivalent to the English *hardly out of swaddling clothes* or, more modern, *hardly out of nappies*, another variant is "wet behind the ears". For someone born lucky there's an expression *to be born with a silver spoon in one's mouth* in English and родиться в сорочке (to be born in a cover) in Russian. Он звезд с неба не хватает (*smb. wouldn't seize stars from the sky*) to describe a mediocre person in Russian and – (someone) *will never set the Thames on fire* in English.

We can multiply examples but the question that arises here is whether these expressions can serve as equivalents when translating texts. The meaning of set expressions in two languages may be similar but the image created by the expression should be suitable in a given context; connotations, register and emotional colouring of the idiom should be taken into consideration, so the possibility of using certain idiomatic equivalents depends really on the cultural scope and professional experience of the translator. And one can find many happy examples of translating Russian idioms by English idioms and vice versa when there are appropriate equivalents. Some examples:

> Пусть я ипохондрик, - думал Вельчанинов, - и стало быть, *из мухи* готов *слона сделать*… (Ф. Достоевский. Вечный муж).

> I may be a hypochondriac, thought Velchaninov, and so I am ready *to make a mountain out of a mole-hill...* (Translation of C. Garnett).

> I can remember when I wanted *to throw my cap over the windmill. Nothing venture, nothing win*, that's how you feel... (C. P. Snow, *Time of Hope*.)

> Помню, как мне хотелось *пуститься во все тяжкие. Риск - дело благородное*, ты ведь так считаешь… (Translation by the author.)

> ...the girls I met in Australia and America seemed very *small potatoes* to me in comparison with her. (B. Shaw, *Cashel Byron's profession*).

> …девушки, которых я встречал в Австралии и Америке, *в подметки ей не годятся*. (The example is taken from an Anglo-Russian Phraseological Dictionary.)

There are also cases when an idiom in one language can be successfully translated by one emotionally coloured word in another language. For example:

> Everybody knew that "young Mont" had a "*bee in his bonnet*" about child emigration...
> (J. Galsworthy, *Swan Song*.)

> Все хорошо знали, эмиграция детей -

> „*конек*" молодого Монта". (Example from Anglo-Russian Phraseological Dictionary.)
> A man with coals and candles and a pound a week might be *in clover* here. (Ch. Dickens, *Our Mutual Friend*).

> Если иметь уголь и свечи и фунт стерлингов в неделю, то здесь можно *жить припеваючи*. (Example from Anglo-Russian Phraseological Dictionary.)

The set lexical composition of an idiom is considered to be its important feature. However, the deliberate change of lexical components in an idiom or its development can create a humorous effect and play on words, which can be translated by means of developing an idiom in the language of translation. Here is a good example of such a case. The idiom *седьмая вода на киселе* meaning distant relative is successfully translated into English in its extended form:

> Ей-богу, не знаю, Марья Александровна, как и чем я родня ему: кажется, *седьмая вода, может быть даже и не на киселе, а на чем-нибудь другом*. (Ф. Достоевский, Дядюшкин сон.)

> Upon my word, Maria Alexandrovna, I do not know how or in what way I am related to him: *it's seven times removed*, I believe, *may be even seventy times seven*. (Translation of C. Garnett.)

And the last example from one of the recent Russian newspapers demonstrates the possibility of introducing an English idiom in a descriptive way:

> Английские газеты написали тогда (есть в английском языке такая идиома), что "Лейферкус в наши дни - единственный баритон, кому не были бы тесны ботинки непревзойденного Тито Гобби".

> English newspapers wrote then (there is such an idiom in English), that "Leifercus nowadays is the only baritone, who would *fit the boots* of unsurpassed Tito Gobbi."

So, having looked at parts of Russian phraseology both international and national in origin, we can see that they function in the modern language together, adding to its expressiveness, beauty and semantic depth. The internationalisms are, naturally, easier to translate into English, as there are normally equivalents for them in the English language. In teaching Russian phraseology to English students it seems reasonable therefore to start with the international part of it, which should or could provoke necessary associations with the mother tongue and then pass on to the national part, bearing in mind that real appreciation of the latter requires sound background knowledge.

NOTES

1. Фразеологический словарь русского языка под ред. Молоткова А. И. Изд-во "Советская энциклопедия". М., 1967.
2. Кунин А. В. Англо-русский фразеологический словарь. М., "Русский язык", 1984.
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Pictures of America

K. M. Staniukovich's *Pokhozhdeniia odnogo matrosa* and V. G. Korolenko's *Bez iazyka*

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American life, or at least many aspects of it, were well known to Russian readers of the late 19th century. James Fenimore Cooper, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Poe, Emerson, Longfellow, Hawthorn, Whitman, Twaine, Bret Harte, T. Mayne Reid had all become popular writers for Russians, and there were, besides, a number of first-hand accounts of America by Russian visitors and travellers. The first Russian impression of America was provided by Pavel Svin'in in 1815. A member of the first Russian diplomatic mission to the United States in 1808, his *Experience of a Picturesque Journey through North America* (*Opyt zhivopisnogo puteshestviia po Severnoi Amerike, 1815*) noted, among other things, the Americans' obsession with machines and their preoccupation with materialistic concerns – impressions that would be confirmed by subsequent commentators. Among Russian 19th century eye-witness accounts of America pride of place must belong to Grigorii Machtet, who visited the midwest in 1872–73. His *Travel Vignettes* (*Putevye kartinki*), published in *Nedelia* in 1874–75, are a remarkably fresh and vivid account of Kansas and include a description of his visit to a Russian Populist commune – 'Frey's Commune'.[1]

The two works under examination, therefore, cannot be said to break radically new ground. They are, however, among the first fictional works in Russian literature devoted wholly to America. Moreover, they were the works of respected writers, who had experienced Tsarist imprisonment and exile[2], and they offered their readers an evaluation of the 'land of liberty' - an evaluation which inevitably reflected their view of Russia.

The Adventures of a Sailor was published in serialised form in 1899 and 1900 in *Rodnik*, a journal for younger readers[3]. It is called a story (*povest'*), but it is a very long one – 430 pages, no less[4]. Its length and its title really define it as an adventure novel. America is appraised by the initially naive Chaikin, who is of peasant origins.

There is a certain confusion in chronology. The first sentence reads: "At the end of October 185* on the broad San Francisco roads stood the Russian naval steam clipper *Nimble*." Yet the story clearly takes place during the American Civil War and its immediate aftermath. There are several references to the visit of the Russian Atlantic Squadron under Rear-Admiral Lesovsky to North American ports in the autumn of 1863. But it would be an easy matter to cite chronological inaccuracies relating to the war. This carelessness may have been the result of the writer's hurry to finish the work (he was constantly beset by financial pressure), and his deteriorating health. He may also have thought, of course, that it simply didn't matter. And perhaps it didn't!

The opening chapter contain themes which are to be found in Staniukovich's sea stories. Chapter One, for example, in its depiction of a sail-drill being carried out in a foreign port with reckless speed simply to impress foreign ships, is reminiscent of the story *A Brilliant Captain* (*Blestiashchii kapitan*, 1900). The entire second chapter with its description of the preparations made for shore leave and the sailors' activities when they get ashore calls to mind *The Missing Sailor* (*Propavshii matros*, 1893). When Chaikin gets ashore he is amazed by how well turned-out everyone is. A shipmate, who had been in San Francisco before, explains:

> "Here, friend, you can't tell who's a gentleman and who's a plain man. They all dress the same, like, and everyone's equal... Their President – their king, sort of thing – was real low-born, he was a woodcutter..."[5]

Chaikin is also impressed by the courtesy shown to women. His shipmate again explains:

> "With the Americans, my friend, the thing is, like, you've got to respect the female sex and don't dare insult a woman... You mustn't bad mouth her, let alone hit her... They're a different people, these Americans. The only thing is, they look down on negroes, as though all men are not equal before God!"[6]

These impressions of American life, and of San

Francisco in particular, had been expressed before. The story *The Fugitive* (*Beglets*, 1886) contains a detailed and admiring description of the 'Pearl of the Pacific' and draws a sharp contrast between the freedom of America and the brutal oppression and dark ignorance of Russia.

Chaikin gets lost in San Francisco and misses the boat back to his ship. Eventually, under the more American-sounding name of Mr. Chike, he becomes a sailor on the brig *Dinora* bound for Australia with a cargo of grain.

At this point the novel assumes the character of an adventure tale of the sea. The voyage of the *Dinora* is full of drama – storm, fights, attempted murder, abortive mutiny. She has a motley crew and her captain, Blake, is a man with a dark past who is hated and feared. He always carries two revolvers and he is always accompanied by a ferocious bulldog. Chike feels lost.

> But the strange thing was that however frightened he was, especially during his first days on the *Dinora*, he didn't experience that trepidation, that cowed feeling he had experienced on the *Nimble*. He felt free, all the same.[7]

Chaikin is soon respected as an excellent seaman and is befriended by an American, Boots, who teaches him English. The voyage ends with a well sustained and highly dramatic episode. The Dinora turns out to be a blockade-runner. In Sydney she'd taken on a large cargo of guns for the South and as she approaches New Orleans the federal clipper *Washington* tries to intercept her. At the very last moment, and to Blake's bewilderment, the *Washington* abandons her prey. Then Blake sees on the horizon the low silhouette of the Confederate monitor *Potomac* steaming towards the *Washington*. Thus Blake and his crew enter New Orleans as heroes.[8]

After a few days in New Orleans, where Chaikin witnesses the ill-treatment of negroes in the deep South, he journeys north. The tale now assumes the features of a Western[9], except that the hero is a Russian. Chaikin sails up the Mississippi in a big white paddle-steamer, complete with gamblers, to Baton Rouge, accompanied by Blake. Upon parting company with Chaikin, Blake tells him that if in Nevada his stagecoach is held up by outlaws, Chike is to say that he is a friend of Black Hawk and must show them a piece of paper on which Blake has written: "Gentlemen, don't touch Chike." Chaikin is making his way back to San Francisco to work on a farm – he has a letter of recommendation from the mysterious Blake, who seems to have contacts everywhere!

Upon reaching Kansas City Chaikin proceeds to Denver by stagecoach. In the course of the narrative there are reflections on the treatment of another racial minority – the Indians:

> Towards evening the stagecoach passed through an Indian settlement. These were peaceful Indians who had abandoned buffalo hunting and become farmers. Among their small houses there were the ranches of white men, who supplied the Delawares with drink, and soon all their lands would fall into the hands of the whites for next to nothing.[10]

One thing that never ceases to amaze Chaikin is how many different jobs many Americans have had. Some have been rich, then ruined, but they get up, dust themselves down and start all over again. One such man was the stagecoach-driver Brooks:

> Chaikin gaped in astonishment when he learned that Brooks had been successively a journalist, miner, gold prospector, head waiter, bank clerk, preacher, factory owner and a rich man with his own house and horses, who ten years ago would have expected to be sitting on a coach-box about as much as he now expected to be sitting in a rocking-chair on the veranda of his house in New Orleans.[11]

In Denver Chaikin transfers to a wagon driven by Old Bill for the journey to San Francisco. He is travelling with two suspicious-looking characters, almost certainly outlaws, and on Bill's advice he moves to sit alongside Bill, thus riding shotgun! In Salt Lake City another passenger boards, a hefty fellow, past forty, with a rifle and revolver. To Chaikin's delight he turns out to be Russian. He reveals himself as such when he hears the devout Chaikin reciting *Otche nash* at the camp fire before lying down to sleep. He too had been a sailor but has become fully Americanised after six years. His name is Dunaev, or Mr. Dune, as he is known. So we have the picture of the wagon travelling through the Wild West, driven by Old Bill and carrying Messrs. Chike and Dune, and two other passengers clearly up to no good! From time to time the author affectionately refers to his compatriots as "our sailors".

Dunaev is fulsome in his praise of his new country:

> Yes, my friend, it's a free country... There are all nationalities here. People come here from all countries to seek their fortunes. And the main thing is, you're not pressed down. If you live properly, all roads are open to you, no matter that you're a commoner... Anyway, they don't understand class here..."[12]

Elsewhere he says:

> "Here, my friend, it's not like it is in Russia, where a gentleman won't take an ordinary job for the life of him. Here people are cleverer, they don't look down on any work – they understand that no work can demean a man."[13]

After his return to San Francisco a year later, in the autumn of 1863, Chaikin's view of America becomes more critical. There are several occasions when he expresses his dislike of what he sees as the

American obsession with money. He is shocked, for example, by the San Francisco lawyer who charges 50 dollars for a ten-minute consultation. When told by Old Bill that there is no deceit, it is up to the public to consult him or not, Chaikin falls silent:

> Chaikin felt there was something wrong in those words, but he kept quiet since he naturally couldn't prove that in this supposed freedom of supply and demand there was constraint upon the public and excessive use of one's name and talent. Nevertheless, after a moment's thought, he observed: "There's no deceit, but not much conscience either."[14]

In the autumn of 1863 the Russian Pacific Squadron under Admiral Popov had visited San Francisco. There are muted echoes of this visit in the story. Upon his return to San Francisco Chaikin had seen the *Nimble* riding at anchor. Subsequently he had rescued a little girl from a tenement fire, suffering burns in the process which had necessitated a stay in hospital. His rescue of the girl may have been suggested by the assistance given by sailors of the Pacific Squadron in putting out a big fire in the city, for which they had become doubly welcome guests. The Commander of the Pacific Squadron also appears in the story. For some reason he is called Rear-Admiral Borozdin, but he would appear to be modelled on Popov. He reads of Chaikin's exploit and visits him in hospital. He also permits Chaikin's former shipmates to visit him. In this way Chaikin learns of the changes that have taken place – corporal punishment is to be abolished in the Navy, the brutal captain of the *Nimble* has been replaced by a progressive man, and so on.

As the tale nears its end Chaikin becomes increasingly aware that he will never make himself an American like Dunaev. He spends three years on a farm. Working conditions are excellent but he is afflicted by homesickness:

> However much Chaikin liked America, where a man could live as he wished so long as he didn't break the law, he didn't like the general mentality of Americans. It seemed to him that everyone thought only of one thing – gain – and made extraordinary efforts, displayed extraordinary energy for that alone. Furthermore, Chaikin noticed that, though everyone in America was equal, the rich nevertheless looked with contempt upon the poor and upon those who couldn't push their way up.[15]

Both Korolenko's story and Staniukovich's tale end with the appearance of a Russian intellectual. Quite by chance Chaikin meets the former student Neustroev and gets him an office job on the farm. Neustroev is not a fugitive; he has come to America on a passport to experience American life. Frail and not interested in getting rich, he plans to return to Russia, finish his course and become a zemstvo doctor. "At least I'll be treating peasants... I'll help them as much as I can... At any rate I'll know why I'm alive... And I'll be with my own people."[16] He tells Chaikin about the changes in Russia – the emancipation, the zemstvos, Justices of the Peace. "And the words of the student of the 'sixties rang with enthusiasm."[17]

Chaikin and Neustroev decide they will go home together. Chaikin goes to the Russian Consul in San Francisco who tells him he has been officially pardoned. The Admiral had asked the consul to tell Chaikin he can return to Russia and leave the navy on health grounds. Three days later he and Neustroev are on their way home.

* * *

The story reflects Staniukovich's Populist sympathies. Chaikin is "a seeker after truth".[18] He clearly embodies the virtues of the Russian people, as Staniukovich understood them. He possesses a natural goodness, an unselfishness, compassion for the sufferings of others and a readiness for self-sacrifice which stand in sharp contrast to the selfish materialism he meets in his travels. So although this great-hearted, abstemious and devout peasant-sailor is a far from convincing figure, he serves the author's purpose well enough.

Staniukovich's experience of America was limited to his visit to San Francisco aboard the clipper-corvette *Abrek* in 1862 and his experience of the navy ended the following year. Since his hero is a sailor and part of the novel is an adventure tale of the sea, it was natural that it should be set in the 1860s and that San Francisco should figure prominently in it. But the 1860s were also the era of the 'Great Reforms'. Chaikin and Neustroev return to Russia with high hopes. Things are changing for the better – the serfs have been emancipated, the zemstvos have been established, a new judicial system has been created, corporal punishment has been abolished in the navy, and so on. Staniukovich's readers would know that Neustroev's and Chaikin's expectations had not been realised. Russia at the end of the century had not advanced along the road of enlightenment, but had regressed into reactionary conservatism. No doubt Staniukovich hoped to kindle and keep alive in the hearts and minds of his young readers the ideals of the 'sixties.

His picture of America is relevant to this purpose. In America all citizens are equal under the law, they enjoy freedom of speech, freedom of conscience. There is no class system. Staniukovich clearly applauds the energy, enterprise and industriousness of Americans. These are all admirable things which Russia sorely needed. But there is also a negative side to the picture. Staniukovich refers to the plight of the negroes and the Indians. He points to what he sees as the crass materialism of American society – the single-minded striving after money and the general indifference to the plight of the poor and the weak. Underlying the work is a warm patriotism rooted in belief in the essential goodness and generosity of spirit of the ordinary Russian, and in the vision of a free and just Russia which the era of the Great reforms had seemed briefly to promise but which, of course, it still remained to create.

* * *

Korolenko was forty before he went abroad. The ostensible purpose of his journey was to visit the World's Colombian Exposition in Chicago as a correspondent of *Russkie vedomosti*. He did not know English and was accompanied for most of the time by his friend S. D. Protopopov, who acted as interpreter. He left Petersburg on 2 July 1893 and was away from Russia for three and a half months. The novella *Without Language*, which Korolenko had begun in Chicago, is the only literary work inspired by his visit to America. It was first published in four installments in *Russkoe bogatstvo* in 1895, and in 1902 an extended version appeared as a book.

Staniukovich's *Adventures* relies on the author's personal experience only to very limited extent. Korolenko's story, however, is based closely on the writer's own experience of the voyage to America and of America itself. Like his hero Matvei, Korolenko often felt helpless in America because of his lack of English. He spent a week in New York, visiting the Statue of Liberty, Central Park, and Brooklyn Bridge – all of which figure prominently in the story. He also had a memorable experience of the American Press. He gave a few harmless interviews, only to find himself described as "one of the Tsar's victims", who wanted to apply for asylum in the United States.[19] Knowing that he was under the surveillance of the Russian police, he hastened his departure to Chicago in an effort to escape from this sort of sensationalism. It is no accident that the most amusing chapters of *Without Language* depict the antics of the American press.

Korolenko arrived in Chicago on 8 August, and stayed there until the 28th. On 30 August a big rally of the unemployed took place in the city. It was described at length in the *Chicago Herald*. Korolenko had the articles translated for him and he used them as the basis for the meeting of the unemployed described in *Without Language*. On his way back Korolenko stopped off in New York again and visited the Woodbine Agricultural Colony founded by Russian Jews in New Jersey. He wrote in a letter: "You know that the Jews in general are my weak point. I nevertheless admit I was sceptical and thought I'd find here a caricature of a colony, not a serious enterprise. The two days that I spent here convinced me that I was mistaken".[20] This, too, is reflected in the pages of the story. Matvei finally gains employment in a Jewish colony in Minnesota!

Korolenko wrote: "My acquaintance with America was of short duration and insufficient. Consequently I preferred to put at the centre the figure of my fellow-countryman. This book is not about America, but about how America initially appears to a simple man from Russia."[21] At the centre of the story is the Volhynian peasant Matvei Dyshlo, a giant of a man – "a real bear from the forest depths" – but peaceable and naive. Enticed by the glowing description of a farm-worker's life in Minnesota contained in a letter sent, along with a ticket, to his sister by her husband, he decides to go to America with her. So does his friend, Ivan Dyma, who in contrast to Matvei is of slight build, talkative and sharp-witted. In Hamburg the two friends get separated from Matvei's sister, who sails to America on her own.

Matvei is presented as someone known to the author. The impressions of the Atlantic voyage, of course, and of so much in America, are Korolenko's own. This explains the romantic and lyrical colouring of so many pages, and the warmth with which Matvei is drawn.

The story also reflects Korolenko's affection and respect for the Jewish people. Matvei and Dyma share, albeit in a fairly mild form, the traditional anti-semitic prejudices of the Ukrainian peasantry. The first person they meet upon landing in New York is a Russian Jew – his name had been Borukh, but he is now Mr. Bork. He had come to America to escape the *pogroms*. He takes them, and the Russian girl Anna, whose father had died on the voyage, to his house as lodgers. Bork is a man who tries to keep to the faith of his forefathers, but his two children, Roza and John, are americanised. It is a Friday evening and Bork calls his children to the traditional supper, but only he is concerned to give meaning to it. It is described through Matvei's eyes, the eyes of a silent observer, and the movingly nostalgic quality is supplied by the observer's awareness of a bond of loss that he shares with the lonely Bork. In America, Bork tells Matvei, Jews and Gentiles marry. America "grinds people like a good mill". His daughter works in a factory on Saturdays, otherwise she'd lose her job. "America is a crafty country. It doesn't touch anyone's faith. God forbid! It takes a man to itself. And when a man becomes different, so does his faith."

After they arrive in New York Matvei and Dyma begin to grow apart. Dyma is quickly attracted to New York life. He makes friends with his fellow-boarder Paddy, buys new clothes and goes to a barber's, where he acquires a more American look. Matvei, however, refuses to adapt. He makes no attempt to learn English words, refuses to abandon his peasant clothes and boots, and disapproves of the new-look Dyma with his Tammany Hall friends. Out of solicitude for the moral welfare of Anna, he tells her that he will get John Bork to take them to the old Russian noblewoman who is looking for a Russian servant-girl. That evening the old lady's guests discuss the new servant-girl. "She must be from our parts," says one. "Such fine submissive eyes. Oh, our people is not yet spoiled." "Yes!" says another. "A really pleasant girl: there isn't that provocative impudence, that... how can I say... Well, in a word, it's nice to see people occupying their proper place."[22]

Matvei, who does not even know his address, loses John Bork and finds himself helpless and alone in New York. In the chapters devoted to the wanderings of the lost Matvei in what seems an urban jungle there is an effective mixture of humour and pathos. Korolenko conveys superbly the acute sense of isolation and alienation experienced by his defenceless hero, while much of the humour derives from his description of the antics of American reporters and the press. After aimless but eventful wanderings through New York Matvei ends up late at night in Central Park. He is disturbed by someone who, Korolenko suggests, was doubtlessly as unfortunate as he – maybe a poor Italian who knew no English, one of those who come to America in droves, poor and ignorant, and with the same heartache for their abandoned homeland. The two men look at each other with mutual suspicion and fear. The stranger moves off:

> He [Matvei] listened as the footsteps died away. Only the trees were whispering in the deep darkness before dawn. Then a dark cloud approached from the sea and a soft rain began to fall, warm and brief, covering the whole park with the rustling of raindrops upon leaves.
>
> To start with, two men heard this rustling in Central Park, then only one. The early dawn found the other hanging on one of the whispering trees, with a terrible blue face and frozen, glassy eyes.[23]

That morning there is to be a meeting of the unemployed in Central Park. A large crowd gradually assembles, waiting to be addressed by Charlie Gompers. The name obviously suggests Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labour, who had addressed the Chicago rally on 30 August, and who remains among the most important figures in the history of the American labour movement. Matvei finds himself surrounded by Italians. Gompers starts speaking and, though Matvei cannot understand a word of what is being said, he feels caught up in a general wave of emotion, uplifted, united with these men. He moves towards the platform, towards Gompers, wishing somehow to express his appreciation and gratitude. He is suddenly confronted by the tall figure of the ex-boxer Policeman Hopkins, with whom he had had a fleeting encounter the previous day. He bends down and tries to kiss Hopkins' hand. The policeman jumps back in alarm and strikes him with his truncheon. This seemingly unprovoked attack rouses the gentle giant to blind fury: he knocks Hopkins to the ground, then the policeman next to him, and in no time at all a line of policeman has been floored, to the great delight of the Italians. There ensues a riot, during which Gompers shouts in vain for order, pointing to one of the banners on which is written: "Order, Dignity, Discipline!"

Korolenko now proceeds to an amusing and well-sustained examination of newspaper reports, reactions and interviews. Various suggestions come in as the origins of the wild man who, it has been erroneously reported, killed Policeman Hopkins. The first to come near the truth was a certain Mr. Atkinson, who had taken as his starting-point "the stranger's destructive tendencies and boundless hatred for civilisation and culture". On this basis he thought he must belong to the Slav family. Unfortunately his case was weakened by his numbering among the members of the Slav family "Caucasian Circassians and the Samoyeds, living in the depths of snowy Siberia".[24]

When the rioting subsided and Matvei sees Hopkins lying motionless on the ground, he takes fright. He suddenly becomes once more a helpless child and obediently runs off behind a lanky Italian who had seized his hand and pulled him away. The Italians can only get three words out of him – Minnesota, Dyma, Lozinskii – so they conclude that there is nothing left but to give him different clothes, get him a haircut and put him on a train to Minnesota.

As the train passes over fields and through forests Matvei's heart begins to melt:

> Now he felt that he too would have found a place in that life, if he hadn't immediately turned away from that country, from its people, its city, if he had paid more attention to its language and customs, if he hadn't immediately condemned out of hand the good along with the bad. But now between him and that life there loomed vagrancy and, possibly, crime.[25]

At a small station a Russian, Nilov, boards the train. He and Judge Dickinson of Dabletown, at whose sawmill Nilov works, discuss the case of the New York 'wild man', whom the newspapers now think was a Russian, and are intrigued by the strange figure seated near them. Eventually, after further misunderstandings, everything becomes clear through Nilov's good offices.

Korolenko ties the end of the story to the beginning. Matvei recognises Nilov as the young man who had inherited the landowner's estate back home and had immediately settled to the peasants' advantage a long-standing dispute over land. He had then disappeared. They talk, and Nilov asks Matvei why he had come to America. Matvei can give no coherent answer. He too is working at Judge Dickinson's sawmill and just wants to save enough money to go home. Nilov understands this. He has been back once himself and is preparing to return again, because of "the latest events".[26] He explains:

> I don't know if you'll understand me, but... for the mere fact that you and I... and others have met here as equals... as brothers, and not as enemies... For that alone I shall forever be grateful to this country. . . And if I still go back, well, you

> see.... There is a lot here that I was seeking, but... you can't take it with you... I've already been away once and come back... It's a kind of illness... But never mind. I don't know if you'll understand me now. Perhaps you will one day. When I'm home I want what is here... Freedom, my own, you understand? Not somebody else's. And here... Here I want my home...[27]

Matvei becomes a farmworker and gets to know agricultural machinery. Before Nilov leaves for Russia he gets him a job as an instructor in a colony of Russian Jews near Dabletown. Two years after his abrupt departure from New York he returns for Anna. He is a changed man. The old Russian noblewoman hardly recognises him as the deferential peasant who had brought a servant-girl to her door. The stubborn traditionalist has developed a sense of his own dignity and become a free man. He does not go back to Russia.

* * *

Soviet commentators were at pains to underline what they saw as Korolenko's negative attitude to America. They based this view largely upon scattered comments in letters Korolenko wrote home from abroad and cited *Without Language* as further evidence. Thus G. A. Bialyi wrote: "The inner contradictions and overpowering coldness of the American bourgeois system were also widely reflected in the story *Without Language*[28].

Korolenko, it is true, was highly critical of certain aspects of American life and history, notably the treatment of the negroes and the Indians. He also felt a natural aversion to industrialised society and believed that his countrymen, more particularly the peasants, possessed great spiritual potential. Knowing no English, he often felt lost and extremely homesick in America, and this goes far in explanation of the occasionally astringent and dismissive comments that one finds in some of his letters home. However, if one reads *Without Language* with an open mind, one will fail to find hostility in it. Korolenko was well aware of political corruption in New York – hence the amusing references to Paddy and his Tammany Hall friends; he was also aware of the large numbers of the poor and unemployed in industrial America and of how hard life was for them. America, for Korolenko, was no promised land, but it did possess things that he prized above all else because without them, he believed, a truly civilised society was impossible. These were the individual freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution of a democratic state. It is surely significant that his deferential peasant hero, once in rural America, is transformed into a free man and that he chooses not to go home.

In 1906 Gor'kii published his *V Amerike* (*In America*) – three crude anti-American pieces that were to set the tone for much subsequent Russian writing about America. The days of honest appraisal were over.

NOTES

1. This is translated in an excellent collection of first-hand Russian accounts of America: *America though Russian Eyes 1874–1926*, edited and translated by Olga Peters Hasty and Susanne Fusso, Yale University Press, 1988.
2. Staniukovich was arrested in April 1884 and spent a year in the Peter-Paul Fortress. In May 1885 he was sentenced to three years' administrative exile in Siberia. Korolenko was arrested and exiled in 1874 but released in 1880. In 1881 he was sentenced to three years' administrative exile in Siberia.
3. This publication was founded in 1882 by E. A. Sysoeva in association with her nephew, A. N. Al'medingen, who remained its editor for more than a quarter of a century.
4. K. M. Staniukovich, *Sobranie sochinenii*, Moscow, 1954, Vol. VI, pp. 253–679.
5. K. M. Staniukovich, *op. cit.*, p. 262.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*, p. 293.
8. In fact New Orleans had fallen to the Union as early as April 1862.
9. Staniukovich made extensive use of Russian translations of the works of William Hepworth Dixon about the USA in the 1860s and 1870s.
10. Staniukovich, *op. cit.*, p. 394.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 396.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 441.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 496.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 562.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 672.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 676.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 677.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 575.
19. *New York Times*, 17 August 1893.
20. Letter to E. T. Korolenko. (Cited in Maurice Comtet, *Vladimir Galaktionovich Korolenko (1853–1921). L'homme et l'oeuvre*, Paris, 1975, Vol. I, p. 315.)
21. Written in 1904 in connection with the third edition of the story. (Quoted by S. V. Korolenko in V. G. Korolenko, *Sobranie sochinenii*, Moscow, 1956, Vol. IV, p. 484.)
22. *Sobranie sochinenii*, 1956, Vol. IV, p. 46.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 140. Perhaps a reference to the agrarian and industrial unrest that was sweeping Russia.
27. *op. cit.*, p. 149.
28. G. A. Bialyi, *V. G. Korolenko*, Leningrad, 1983, p. 214.

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V. E. Meyerhold (1874–1940) and his 'biomechanics'

Some techniques for language teachers and language learners?

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PART I: AN INTRODUCTION TO MEYERHOLD'S 'BIOMECHANICS'

> "[T]he essence of what Meyerhold did was genuinely original, and it suggests that we should view him less as a theatre director and more as a pedagogue. The word is chosen carefully, for a pedagogue is a teacher, a researcher and a practitioner in one, and that is what Meyerhold was."[1]

In September 1996, Professor G. N. Bogdanov of the Russian Academy of Theatre Arts (GITIS), Moscow, was invited to the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama (Glasgow) to give a week-long intensive course to a group of British drama students. Professor Bogdanov's method of training actors is based on Vsevolod Meyerhold's system of 'theatre mechanics' (also known as 'biomechanics') and the course at Glasgow centred on this methodology. A group of 15 students participated in this British 'biomechanics workshop' and Professor Bogdanov worked through two British interpreters: Mr. Jim Halliday of Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh, conducted the first part of the training sessions and I was Professor Bogdanov's interpreter during the second and concluding part of his course. Professor Bogdanov has given many international workshops based on Meyerhold's biomechanics and he also runs two biomechanics courses in Moscow each year for theatre students. (Some of the Glasgow participants travelled to Moscow in January 1997 to continue with their study of this acting method.) It is not, of course, the purpose of this short report to propose that all language students and teachers should take an active part in the extremely demanding and strenuous physical (and mental) exercises which are included in Professor Bogdanov's training courses – however beneficial and fascinating that might prove to be! On the other hand, teachers and learners of languages might find some of the innovative strategies which Meyerhold introduced into the training of actors through the methodology of his system of biomechanics to be both useful and productive. In the first part of this work a brief outline of Meyerhold's system will be presented. In the second (and concluding) part, some suggestions will be presented as to how language teachers and learners might make good use of some of Meyerhold's training concepts taken from his system of biomechanics.

Meyerhold, born in Penza, was the eighth son of a wealthy German businessman and he had been christened Karl Theodore Kazimir[2]. In 1895 he opted for Russian citizenship and conversion to the Orthodox faith, adopting the Christian name of his favourite Russian writer, Vsevolod Garshin. In 1898 he was awarded the gold medal for best actor on graduation from the Moscow Philharmonic School; at that same graduation Chekhov's future wife, Olga Knipper, received the gold medal for best actress. (Both gold medallists were subsequently invited by their teacher, Nemirovich-Danchenko, to join the new Moscow Art Theatre.) In 1905–1906 Meyerhold spent part of the theatre season in St. Petersburg; he was recognised even at that time by both Blok and Bely as being a practical man of the theatre who would be capable of putting innovative ideas into practice on the stage[3]. During 1906 and part of 1907 Meyerhold also collaborated with Vera Komissarzhevskaya, directing several important productions for her. Meyerhold began his pedagogical work in earnest at the new State Theatrical School in 1921. There he organised his first directing course in his own theatre workshops and began to teach his new science of movement and technique for stage communication to future directors such as Eisenstein. From 1922 onwards his new training method for actors was known as 'biomechanics' and the term was popularised by Meyerhold throughout his subsequent courses. In its original meaning the term biomechanics is the subdivision of physiology which deals with the movement of humans and animals; Leonardo da Vinci, for example, had been a pioneer in this field of study. Meyerhold adopted the term for his system of training the actor in movement and, as Professor Bogdanov pointed out, Meyerhold "clearly distinguished the actor's conscious will, which dictates the task to be executed in space and time, from the physical instrument at his disposal, his body, which must be schooled in routines for executing the assignment"[4]. The actor's 'reflex sensitivity', that is his apprehension of the task and his capacity for its execution, is both heightened and quickened by the biomechanical exercises Meyerhold used for this purpose[5]. (Meyerhold had, in fact, made certain preparations for this new system in the movement courses which he presented at his Petersburg studio from 1914–1916.) Little, however, was published about the system of biomechanics during Meyerhold's lifetime. Certain details about this system appeared in Meyerhold's review of A. Ya. Tairov's book *Notes of a Director* (1921) and also in a 'brochure' which Meyerhold co-authored, *The Set Roles of the Actor's Art* (this work had been commisioned by the research department of GVYRM).[6] Professor Bogdanov pointed out that in the latter work Meyerhold had stressed that:

> "The indispensable qualification of the actor is a capacity for sensitivity of the reflexes. A person lacking this capacity cannot be an actor"[7].

(Another important source for the term 'biomechanics' derived, of course, from the controversial Taylorist programme of A. K. Gastiev [1881–1941] for scientific management, which in the years after the Civil War provided a model for the theoreticians of production art.)[8] Through his biomechanical system of training actors Meyerhold was striving, above all, to achieve striking effects of synchronisation and counterpoint; his actors should display perfect control of bodies, objects and situations and they should possess, as a result of their meticulous training, dynamics, swift reflexes and an acrobatic agility.

Professor Bogdanov divided his course in Glasgow between theory and practice. The students listened to short theoretical explanations concerning the exercises they were about to perform. It was pointed out to the students that at all times an actor "must be ready to improvise, to change direction suddenly..." and much time was spent exploring this idea and then trying to put it into practice[9]. Professor Bogdanov presented Meyerhold's biomechanics as a method of training actors which is designed to develop their sensitivity to the specific demands and possibilities of space and time in the theatre. Equally important, he noted, is the search for a form of expressive gesture which can often draw on the vocabulary of dance. Actors communicate, for the most part, by gesture and "biomechanics offers a unique way of developing their expressive range."[10] Meyerhold believed, we were told, that the gesture of the actor is "the visible manifestation of an invisible, internal intention" and he regarded the gesture as a "splash of life realised throught he actor's movements."[11] One of the key issues addressed by biomechanics is how to make the actor's work seem more natural. Meyerhold believed, according to Professor Bogdanov, that it was essential to have

> "an understanding of the natural physical-mechanical laws which govern movement, as well as the psycho-physical interrelation between inner intention and outward action. The actor's task is to generate a spontaneous 'inner' response to a stimulus or instruction which comes from the outside (i.e. given by the author, director, or even the actor him/herself); this can be a response to a feeling, a gesture or an exercise. It is only through such a physical expressiveness and mental focus that communication with an audience can take place."[12]

The students were told that it would be impossible to master the biomechanical system of training without first "freeing themselves from everyday or professional habits in movement."[13] (Many amusing examples were given by Professor Bogdanov to illustrate this point!) The course, therefore, involved a series of demanding exercises which had been designed by Meyerhold to develop both mental and physical flexibility. Although most of these exercises were carried out with partners or in small groups, there were certain very strenuous individual tasks to be done too. Some exercises involved acrobatics and working with objects, sticks, balls, rings etc. and these tasks prepared the students for work on Meyerhold's études. Among the aims and objectives of the course were the following:

1. Efficient and economic use of energy.*
2. Neuro-muscular control.
3. Understanding the intention behind actions and movements.*
4. Avoiding muscular and nervous tension and strain.*
5. Developing a sensitivity to rhythm and musicality.*
6. Timing and pacing.
7. Learning how to play pauses.*
8. Balance.
9. The theory and practice of movement and counter-movement (counterpoint)[14].

(An asterisk has been placed beside the aims and objectives which will be developed more fully in the concluding part of this report, since they could be of special interest for language teachers and learners.)

In the concluding sessions of Professor Bogdanov's course he stressed to the students that "in order to understand their own work and that of their colleagues, actors need a common language."[15] A detailed study and practice of the above aims and objectives would provide them with an important and enlightening way of understanding the actor's profession. A thorough grounding in these subjects would give them

> "a spatial awareness and a mastery of poise and balance; their movement will achieve a suppleness and life; they will also learn how to impart the subtlest nuances of meaning in the smallest of gestures."[16]

Participants on the course also learned some of the key terms of biomechanics. Time, however, did not allow for a detailed study of the 22 exercises (or études) which Meyerhold used in his training workshops. The students did, nevertheless, have the opportunity to prepare a few of these, the most complicated and physically demanding being Meyerhold's exercise 9, "Throwing a stone". This exercise involved 20 separate 'phases' of movement, including preparation for movement, the phase of judging distances, the lifting of the imaginary stone, the departure phase and the arrival at goal.

From 1923–1938 Meyerhold directed many outstanding productions in the former Soviet Union and in 1930 he took his theatre on its only tour to the West (Berlin and Paris), although with a repertory of plays all four or more years old. On January 8th 1938 his theatre was closed by a government order and on June 20th 1939 he was arrested after his public refusal to accept the doctrine of Socialist Realism in the arts. One week later his second wife, the actress Zinaida Raikh, was found dead in their flat from stab wounds, her eyes having been gouged out. New details of Meyerhold's own torture and death are revealed in the recent work by Vitaly Shentalinsky[17]. Meyerhold's interrogative records and case file had been preserved 'by chance', including the letter which he had written from prison to Molotov. In this letter he reveals how 'truthful confessions' were obtained from the prisoners:

> "...The investigators began to use force on me, a sick 65-year-old man...[18]

Meyerhold also comments on his 'psychological condition' in prison:

> "...There was one other terrible circumstance that contributed to my collapse, and total loss of control over myself... Immediately after my arrest I was cast into the deepest depression by the obsessive thought, 'This is what I deserve!'"[19]

It is now known, without any doubt, that Meyerhold was shot on February 2nd 1940. His ashes were later tipped into a pit at the Donskoi cemetery in Moscow[20].

NOTES

1. Leach, Robert, *Vsevolod Meyerhold*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989, p. xiii.
2. For a detailed account of Meyerhold's life see, for example, Рудницкий, *Мейерхольдл*, "Искусство" Москва, 1989.
3. See, for example, Ситковецкая, М. *Мейерхольл репетирует*, "АРТ", Москва, 1993.
4. From materials given on the course by Professor Bogdanov.
5. *Idem.*
6. For a discussion of this work see Hoover, Marjorie, *Meyerhold: The Art of Conscious Theatre*, University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst, 1974, pp. 297-310.
7. From materials given on the course by Professor Bogdanov.
8. See, for example, Leach, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–38.
9. From materials given on the course by Professor Bogdanov.
10. *Idem.*
11. *Idem.*
12. *Idem.*
13. *Idem.*
14. *Idem.*
15. *Idem.*
16. *Idem.*
17. Shentalinsky, Vitaly, *The KGB's Literary Archive*, Harvill Press, London, 1997, p. 25, 26, 36, 53, 70.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

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Игра слов(ами) в анекдотах о новых русских

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Изменения в социальной жизни бывшего СССР второй половины 80-х – начала 90-х гг. вызвало появление новой прослойки общества, которую сразу же "окрестили" как *новые русские*. Еще в 1994 г. это выражение осторожно брали в кавычки. Вот как оно воспето в стихотворении Романа Ромова:

> Время прежнее минуло,
> мысль расширена, узкая (!),
> светят новые идолы,
> ходят "*новые русские*".

Потребовалось не так уж много времени, чтобы снять кавычки с этого выражения: стремительно заявившая о себе прослойка превратилась в элиту экономической и социальной жизни России. Тем не менее и в кавычках, и без них под *новыми русскими* в основном понимают тот социальный слой, который буквально на глазах оказался собственником фантастического капитала. Отсюда к нему и соответствующее отношение. Сразу же о *новых русских* стали говорить и создавать анекдоты. Число их стремительно растет. В последние годы появляются и сборники анекдотов о *новых русских*. Анекдот о *новых русских* становится приметой времени, активно вовлекается в разговор, он звучит по радио и телевидению.

Поскольку анекдот такого содержания стал фактором живой диалогической речи, естественным образом встает вопрос о необходимости использования его при обучении русскому языку как иностранному. Понятно, что введение в процесс обучения материала анекдотов не может быть самоцелью. Это всего лишь фрагмент учебной работы, цель которого – разрядить на занятии обстановку и стимулировать проникновение в смысловые и структурные особенности русского языка. Опираясь на свой скромный опыт в этом плане, попытаемся показать, как можно использовать анекдоты в иностранной аудитории.

Для обучающих целей наиболее удачны, на наш взгляд, анекдоты, основанные на игре слов. В литературе понятие "игра слов(ами)" подразумевает остроумную шутку, в которой одно слово употребляется вместо другого или одно значение подменяется другим значением того же самого слова. "Словарь русского языка" (том 1, издание 2-е, Москва, 1981, с. 628) сближает это понятие с каламбуром. Итак, какие же виды игры слов(ами) наблюдаются в нашем материале?

1. В числе рапространенных анекдотов есть немало таких, в которых игра слов построена на *лексической и грамматической омонимии*, срав., например:

звать (зовут) "приглашать (гостей)" – *звать (зовут)* "называть (по имени)":

– Как *зовут* вашего налогового инспектора?
– Его *не зовут*, этот гад сам приходит.

предлог "повод (к чему-либо)" – *предлог* "грамматическая категория служебного слова (существительное с предлогом)":

– Петя, разбери предложение, – говорит учительница сыну нового русского. – "Папа ушел в офис".
– Папа – подлежащее, ушел – сказуемое, в офис – *предлог*.

Срав. также глагольную форму *смог* (от "суметь", но в данном случае в жаргонном значении "смочь / суметь совершить половые сношения") – существительное *смог* "загрязненный воздух над городами":

Приехал стареющий новый русский из

Англии. Ходит задумчивый, под впечатлением от поездки. Молодая жена спрашивает:

– Ну, и как там, в Лондоне?
– Что в Лондоне? В Лондоне *смог*.

А жена ему на это:

– Лучше бы ты дома *смог*.

Встречаются и случаи чисто грамматической омонимии:

Даром (от *дар*, творительный падеж) – *Даром* (напрасно):

Новый русский беседует с кандидаткой на место секретарши:

– Вы владеете *Даром* очаровывать клиентов?
– *Даром*? Еще чего не хватало!

2. В основе анекдотов может лежать также *многозначность слов:*

попасть (во что-либо, в кого-либо; о пуле, снаряде и т.д.) – *попасть* "добраться, прийти"/*попадать* "добираться, проходить":

Стоит на Тверской [центральная улица в Москве] весь такой из себя новый русский. Подходит к нему негр и с жутким акцентом спрашивает:

– Как *попасть* в американское посольство?
– А чего здесь *попадать-то*? Ты, главное, получше прицелься...

подъехать "приблизиться (на машине и т.д.)" – *подъехать* "найти ключ к сердцу":

– Дорогая, как *подъехать* к вашему сердцу?
– На "мерседесе", дорогой, на "мерседесе".

3. На *паронимической основе* построен *анекдот*, в котором обыгрывается созвучие нарицательного и собственного слова – *сервант* "низкий буфет для хранения посуды или белья" – *Сервантес* (испанский писатель):

Один новый русский говорит другому:

– А моя жена только вчера узнала, что *сервант* и *Сервантес* продаются в разных магазинах…

Пример, опирающийся на созвучие слова *бизнесмен* и слов *бизнес* и *мент* "жаргонное название милиционера"; контаминацией создается слово-гибрид *бизнесмент*:

– Может ли *милиционер* [= *мент*] заниматься *бизнесом*?
– Сейчас все им занимаются.
– Ну, и как же тогда его называть?
– *Бизнесмент*.

4. *Метонимический прием* (предмет – изделие из него) можно увидеть в таком анекдоте:

Новый русский – жене:

– Дорогая, ты хотела на день рождения *норку*? Я ее тебе купил. Но только кормить и выгуливать ее ты будешь сама!

Здесь обыгрывается слово *норка* в прямом значении как животное и изделие из ее шкуры – "шуба из шкуры норки".

5. *Своеобразное понимание значений слов* отражено в таких анекдотах:

бизнесмены / предприниматели – барыги "проходимцы, спекулянт и т.д.":

На уроке русского языка изучали темы "Синонимы". Во время объяснения темы учительница привела пример: *бизнесмены = предприниматели*. Потом она спросила сына рэкетира:

– Что же такое синонимы?
– Это такие *барыги*.

презентация "торжественное представление (чего-либо) [в среде новых русских – обязательно с буфетом]":

Сын нового русского пошел в новую гимназию. Возвращается домой и разочарованно говорит:

– Я думал, сегодня там будет *презентация*, и они сразу начали уроки.

недвижимость "имущество в виде строений, земельных участков" – при обыгрывании в это слово вкладывается новое (окказиональное!) значение "импотенция":

Встречаются две подружки. Одна говорит:

– Поздравляю! Я слышала, ты вышла *замуж* за нового русского?
– Ох, и не поздравляй – он оказался *импотентом*.
– Какой кошмар! И он не сказал тебе об этом до свадьбы?
– Да нет, он что-то говорил о *недвижимости*, но я-то думала, что он имеет в виду совершенно другую!

"мерседес-600" (марка машины; в разговоре *"мерседес шестисотый)* – *шестисотый* (порядковое числительное):

У нового русского спрашивает:

– У вас “*мерседес*” какой? *Шестисотый?*

– Даже и не знаю. Минутку… – набирает номер по радиотелефону. – Алло, Федотыч! Пройди по гаражу, посчитай – сколько у меня “*мерседесов*”?

Приведенный выше материал составляет лишь того, который апробирован нами на занятиях по русскому языку с иностранцами. Следует сказать, что студенты достаточно быстро запоминают такие анекдоты, а в их контексте и легко улавлиыют нюансы значений слов, а также грамматических форм.

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Soviet cinema – war revisited
Part 1

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of the present article is to reassess Soviet Russian war films from the 1940s to the present day. Films for detailed discussion have been selected that are both representative and, more importantly, available in this country. Other films not currently available to the public will be considered, where necessary, in order to give a fuller picture.

I shall begin by contextualizing the War and discussing Soviet cinema's initial response. After a brief survey of Soviet war films made during the Second World War: The Vasilievs' *The Front* (1943), Ermler's *She Defends the Motherland* (1943), Donskoi's *The Rainbow* (1944) and Arnstam's *Zoya* (1944), I shall use Peter Kenez's typology of Soviet war films to provide a close reading of Donskoi's film. I shall then pass on to the period known as the Thaw. Close readings of Chukhrai's *Ballad of a Soldier* (1959) and Tarkovsky's *Ivan's Childhood* (1962) will be offered. In the 1970s German's *Trial on the Road* (1971, released 1986) and Shepitko's *The Ascent* (1977) stand out against other war films and deserve close attention. The 1980s, as is well known, were a turning point in the history of the Soviet Union, the period of glasnost and perestroika. Cinema took up the challenge. Elem Klimov played a leading role. His *Come and See* (1985) will be examined in detail.

In a postscript I shall briefly consider Maliukov's disappointing *A Russian Soldier* (1995, and based on Boris Vasil'ev's *He was not Listed*) before looking at two conflicts in which the Russians were involved, Afghanistan (1979–1 989) and Chechnya (1994–1 996). Neither could possibly have achieved the same 'mythological' status as World War II, yet their documentary and filmic representations, however sparse, need to be considered in the light of changing attitudes to war. For the Russians, Afghanistan was, to some extent, what Vietnam was for the Americans. Chechnya, on the other hand, may be likened to Northern Ireland.

THE 1940s

War broke out at 4.a.m. June 22 1941 when the German army invaded the Soviet Union without warning and in breach of the Nazi–Soviet Pact, the non-aggression treaty that had been signed by Molotov and Ribbentrop in Moscow 23 August 1939. Operation Barbarossa, the invasion plan, was bold. It was to advance swiftly on Leningrad, Moscow and Ukraine. Geoffrey Hosking eloquently points out the significance of the Second World War for the Soviets.

> "...The sheer scale of the war, the extent of the sacrifices it demanded of the Soviet peoples daunts our imagination because we in the West have never experienced anything like it, even during that same war. This becomes clear even if we merely consider the stark fact that Soviet losses were probably some forty times those suffered by Britain or some seventy times those suffered by the United States. And this is without taking into account the immeasurably greater cruelty with which the Germans treated the Russians, the catastrophic shortages of housing, food and basic services with which the ordinary people had to cope. To understand what the Soviet peoples lived through, and how they achieved their victory, we have to make a special effort of the imagination, especially since the leadership which directed their efforts had only just inflicted horrifying sufferings on those same peoples".[1]

For many Westerners the heroic endurance of the inhabitants of Leningrad during the siege of the city between August 1941 and January 1944 is a powerful symbol for the general suffering of the Soviet people. And one final point: we shall have to bear in mind that at that time the Soviet propaganda machine ensured that Stalin's role in the war remained that of great leader and even greater military leader.

Not surprisingly, cinema's propaganda potential had always been acknowledged by the Soviets. It had a crucial role to play in the war effort. "The Soviet cinema...declared war" is how Leyda put it. Film makers immediately set about making inspirational shorts. These developed into the monthly Fighting Film Albums, of which twelve appeared between 1941 and 1942. The first included Gerasimov's *Meeting with Maxim*, Nekrasov's *Dream in the Hand* and Mutanov and Oleinin's *Three in a Shell-hole*. Humour was not entirely absent. In Kozintsev's *Incident at a Telegraph Office* Napoleon sends a message to Hitler: "I've tried it and I don't recommend it!" Newsreels became important sources of information about action at the various fronts. Many cameramen perished. As the Germans got closer to Moscow, the Soviet Government evacuated major offices. The film studios followed suit. Mosfilm and Lenfilm moved to Alma-Ata. The Kiev studio had already been transferred to Ashkhabad and Tashkent.

Feature-documentary films were popular. For example, Varlamov and Kopalin's *The Defeat of the German Armies Near Moscow*, and Karmen, Komarevtsev, Solovtsov and Uchitel's *Leningrad in Combat* (both 1942), Varlamov's *Stalingrad*, Solntseva and Avdeyenko's *The Fight for Our Soviet Ukraine* (all 1943) and Raizman and Svilova's *Berlin* (1945).[2]

Feature films concentrated less on front-line action and more on partisan warfare. An example of front-line action can be seen in the Vasiliev's *The Front* (1943) based on the play by Alexander Korchneichuk. Leyda refers to the play as "a seriously unpleasant drama of old versus young commanders".[3] Whereas Kinoslovar' describes the film version thus: "В этом фильме осрто ставилась проблема борьбы с военной ритуиной, самоуспокоенностью, зазнайством; в нем сочетались тонкий психологизм, высокая патетика и гневная сатира".[4] Peter Kenez singles out its didacticism as it predictably sides with the younger and more daring Soviet commanders.[5] Ivan Gorlov, the older commander, was portrayed as a relic of the Civil War, whereas his opponent, General Ognev, was fully conversant with the demands of modern warfare. The siding with the younger generation is hardly surprising in that the original play belonged to the so-called 'lightning-conductor' plays written at Stalin's command in order to attempt "to shift the blame onto the military commanders he'd shot".[6] The play had been published in August 1942, a difficult time for the Red Army which had seen itself frequently in retreat. The situation, of course, had changed during the filming and the battle of Stalingrad had taken place before the film was released in 1943. No matter, Stalin's view had to prevail.

The most memorable partisan films were Ermler's *She Defends the Motherland* (1943), Donskoi's *The Rainbow* and Amshtam's *Zoya* (both 1944). The first film begins by enacting 'happy families' before the outbreak of war. This happy family consists of Praskov'ya, her husband and son. On the first day of the war, the Germans kill her husband and her son is run over by a tank and killed. Praskov'ya's conversion is sudden. She realizes where her duty lies. She changes almost immediately from simple kolkhoz peasant to heroic partisan fighter. She metes out to the German tank driver the same treatment as her son had received from him. It is time for another display of courage and duty. It is rumoured that Moscow has fallen. She returns to the village to warn them not to believe the rumour. Alas she is captured by the Germans. But help is at hand, the partisans arrive in the nick of time, rescue her and liberate the village. *The Rainbow*'s plot is equally disarmingly simple: Olyona, a partisan, returns to her village to give birth to her child. Although captured and tortured, she refuses to betray her partisan comrades. Zoya is based on a true story, that of a young partisan, Zoya Kosmodem'yanskaya, who, like Olyona, preferred to die rather than betray her comrades.

Kenez examines this trilogy in order to provide a typology of the Soviet war film:

- the chief protagonist is often a woman (in view of the enormous losses of menfolk), a positive heroine, a human being without flaws, her suffering an inspiration to the menfolk;
- the necessity for vengeance;
- stereo-typical portrayal of Germans;
- the more brutal the German atrocities, the more attractive the heroine, the more heroic her resistance;
- life before the war was better.[7]

A close reading of Donskoi's "The Rainbow"

Donskoi's film, which is based on the eponymous novel by Wanda Wasilewska, was, surprisingly, shot in the merciless heat of Ashkhabad using naphtalene to create the ice and snow of a Ukrainian winter. The actors in their attempts to give the impression that they were cold and freezing actually suffered from heat exhaustion. And yet the film has an unmistakably authentic ring to it. Donskoi drew on his own experience of seeing villages liberated from the Germans near Moscow and two of the actors drew on personal tragedies in their portrayals: one had recently lost a son at the front, another's family had been deported to Germany.[8]

The film opens with the title and credits against a picturesque background: a village, a snow-clad hillock, wooden cottages covered with snow and dripping icicles in the centre, and to the right of the screen, a tree on the left. A beautiful rainbow forms an arc over the snow-bound village. The viewer is struck by the presence of the rainbow, an unusual phenomenon at that time of the year. In the background we hear the words of an old Ukrainian song: 'He who lives in honour must fight for truth.' A signpost reveals that this is Novaya Lebedevka. The symbolism of the rainbow and the song will become clear only later. The beauty of the scene is brutally shattered when the camera picks out a gallows from which corpses are hanging. German soldiers march across the screen to the accompaniment of 'Deutschland, Deutschland über alles!' We then get a view of the German headquarters, high up as if to emphasise the superiority of its inhabitants. The soldiers continue marching. The insistent 'eins, zwei, drei, vier, links, links, links' forces home the truth – this is an occupied village. And the consequences of any form of disobedience are spelled out when the camera alights on a sign: 'Closed Zone. Any civilian found in the zone will be shot!'. We are confronted by a pair of feet dangling from the gallows, then by an old peasant woman, a certain Fedosiya, as she leans over the body of her dead son. Snow and ice cover him. 'Oh, my boy, my son!' she cries, stroking his hair tenderly. He has been killed by the Germans and left where he fell as a warning to others. The villagers are not allowed to bury the fallen. Fedosiya wearily makes her way back to the village carrying her pails of water. In the street she is prodded in the back by a German soldier with a bayonet. Thus the scene is set for this story of courage and fortitude. As the exposition makes clear, the film is built around a series of contrasts. There are the overarching contrasted themes of resistance and collaboration, justice and injustice, which are exemplified by characters who are the embodiment of contrasting and contrasted values.

Resistance: Fedosiya, Olyona Kostiuk, Maliuchikha and children, Olga, Grandpa Okhabka, the villagers as a collective and the partisans.

Collaboration: Pusya, the mistress of the German commandant Werner and sister of Olga, and Gaplik, the puppet village elder.

Justice: the trial of Gaplik and the death of Werner and Pusya.

Injustice: the interrogation and death of Olyona and her new-born son, the death of Misha, Maliuchkikha's son, and the villagers as hostages.

Let's look at these contrasts in more detail as the plot unfolds. We begin with an interior scene between Fedosiya and Pusya. The German commandant's mistress's real name is Masha, Pusya being a rather derogatory name for a German shepherd dog. We immediately notice that Fedosiya is wearing a tag: No. 324. The Germans treated Slavs as non-human, just numbers on lists. Pusya lies in bed playing with a toy monkey suspended in a noose from the bed-curtains. Is Pusya like the monkey, a mere plaything? And is she trapped in this relationship with Werner as the noose suggests? We notice the way she is dressed – western-fashion, with dressing gown, make-up and earrings, a stark contrast with Fedosiya's simple peasant dress. Pusya threatens to complain to her husband about Fedosiya's attitude. Fedosiya merely questions the use of the word 'husband', from which we realise what the relationship is in reality. Kurt Werner enters. He is played by Hans Klering, a German, anti-Nazi actor. He wears a regulation moustache and his hair is closely shaven three inches above the ears. His reply to Pusya's complaints is: 'You're the mistress here now, just give orders!' She pleads with him to take her away from that place. He promises to take her to Dresden after the war. He gives her a pair of stockings. The implication is that he knows she can be bought for the price of a pair of silk stockings. He turns the conversation round to Pusya's sister, Olga. Is she a school teacher? Why did she come back to the village? As he asks his questions, he chops up meat for a sandwich. Is she a Bolshevik? he asks. Pusya's replies are evasive. Fedosiya brings in the samovar. Pusya tells Kurt that the old hag will poison them. Kurt matter-of-factly and callously replies that there is no need to worry, they will hang her one of these days. A close up of Kurt follows, a sandwich stuffed in his mouth. Kurt then opens his mouth to share a piece of the meat with Pusya.

Outside, of course, the villagers are starving. This disgusting behaviour is inadvertently witnessed by Gaplik, the collaborator, imposed on the village as the elder by the Germans. He retreats quickly to Werner's house. After making a show of politely knocking on the door, he enters. He brings the news that a partisan woman who has blown up the bridge has been detained. This news is of no interest to Pusya, who once again complains about being abandoned by Kurt. His words speak volumes for the relationship: 'There's a war on. Play the gramophone!' She obeys and sings along to the tune of 'Gori, gori', a popular song of the time. The camera cuts to Fedosiya peeling potatoes. Pusya is totally unaware of reality, of the deprivations endured by the other villagers. 'How tiny they are? Are they usually like this?' she enquires. Fedosiya remains silent, though occasionally she looks up with an expression bordering on contempt. The exchange that takes place reveals two diametrically opposed attitudes. 'Why don't you answer me?' Pusya demands. 'You look at me as if I wasn't human. I've done nothing wrong. You treat me like a leper.' Fedosiya lashes out: 'You are worse than a leper. And you'll die a worse death.' 'But what could I do? Did you want me to starve?' And then, a little more sure of herself, Pusya adds: 'The Germans are here to stay.' This is too much for Fedosiya: 'To hear that from a Russian, the wife of an officer, too!' Pusya counters: 'Sergei is probably dead. And after all, Kurt isn't a bad man. He's going to take me to Dresden where life is better. Here you can't even get a pair of decent stockings.' Fedosiya puts things in perspective: 'That's you all over, a pair of stockings. Kurt will probably ditch you before long. He won't take you to Dresden. And what's more, you sleep with him in my bed!' [Fedosiya's house has been commandeered by the Germans]. Pusya then reveals her true colours:

'Watch it or I'll tell Kurt where you go every day!' Fedosiya, full face to the camera, her eyes brimming with anger, approaches Pusya threateningly. Pusya tries to shield herself. 'How do you know?' Fedosiya demands. Pusya escapes over to the window and hammers on it to attract the attention of the sentry. 'I know what I need to know,' she exclaims. The viewer's sympathies lie with Fedosiya.

To sum up: let's note the contrasts: Fedosiya wears a tag, Pusya doesn't; Pusya is a derogatory name; Fedosiya is a traditional peasant name; Pusya is dressed in a foreign style, Fedosiya in traditional peasant style; Pusya has access to good food, Fedosiya does not; Pusya's values are superficial (stockings), Fedosiya's are not – she wouldn't have betrayed her husband. Pusya and Gaplik are collaborators, Gaplik has betrayed his country and his fellow citizens, Pusya her country and her husband. Fedosiya is loyal to her country and to the memory of her dead son. And Kurt's moral superiority is questionable.

The scene changes to Werner's office where Olyona Kostiuk, a partisan, is being interrogated. Olyona is dressed in simple peasant style, a traditional scarf covering her head. Olyona displays courage throughout.

> 'A partisan?'
> 'Yes. I was in the partisan detachment.'
> 'Why did you leave the detachment to come here? Who sent you?'
> 'No one. I came of my own accord. I had no choice' [Я сама пришла. Я не могла больше]
> 'Things getting worse, are they? Is the commandant dead?'
> 'I came of my own accord. I've come home.'
> 'You didn't want to go on fighting then?'
> 'I couldn't.'
> 'Why?'

A side shot outlines Olyona's body revealing her pregnancy. The camera rests on Werner and Olyona in turn. She is ordered to remove her coat. She obliges and also removes the scarf which she drapes over her shoulders and chest, the bottom part covers her stomach. She places her hand over the bulge, a gesture of protection and yet a sign of vulnerability. Werner ignores this and turns to face the window in front of which stands a machine gun.

> 'Who told you to come here?'

Looking through the window he catches sight of a woman by the well.

> 'Who's that?'
> 'I don't know.'

We see that this woman is approached by Pusya. It turns out to be Olga, Pusya's sister about whom Kurt had asked so many questions in the opening sequence. She is straining to draw water, a difficult task, since the well is iced-over. The contrast between the two sisters is expressed vividly through their features and the manner of dress. Pusya has a sluttish face, heavily made-up, an expensive coat with a fur-trimmed collar. Olga's face is plain, natural, without make-up, a long peasant shawl covers her head and shoulders. Pusya tells her that she is aware that Olga's child is sick and that she and Kurt could help. She offers the sister some chocolate, a luxury item, of course. Olga's reaction is to the point: 'Tell that Fritz of yours that I loathe and detest him and you, too, you bitch!' she angrily yells, as she throws the chocolate into the snow and departs. Pusya's reaction is typical: 'Fool!' She retrieves the chocolate and leaves. This scene helps the audience to draw parallels between Olyona and Olga – both share the same toughness and sense of right and wrong.

Pusya now enters the room in which Olyona is being interrogated. She is totally selfish and self-absorbed. Still wrapped up in her coat with its fur collar, she merely complains that she is bored. She even interrupts the interrogation with the naive observation that Werner shouldn't waste his time on this peasant woman, who, because of her pregnancy can't possibly be a partisan. Werner smiles and blows pipe-smoke in Pusya's face. That Pusya is irritated by his action passes unnoticed by him. Pusya asks if she may stay for a while, a sign of insensitivity or indifference to the situation. The interrogation continues:

> 'So, you want to have your baby in peace.'
> 'Yes.'
> 'Yet you blew up the bridge.'
> 'Yes'.

At this reply Pusya is visibly startled.

> 'Who helped you?'
> 'I did it alone.'
> 'Where is the detachment?'

Olyona begins to feel pain in her stomach.

> 'You are a mother.'

Werner reminds her. We see Olyona's face in close-up. The word 'mother' is emotive, it has a resonance for both Olyona and the audience – *mother* of and to children, sons, daughters, partisans; *protector* of the motherland, *embodiment* of the motherland. We are going to notice several other instances of the use of this emotive word in the course of the film. 'I don't know anything. The detachment has gone away, I've no idea where.' 'Are you a communist?' 'I haven't done enough to have the right to call myself a communist.' [Нет я еще малосознательна]. Maybe not, but we know what she is made of. Werner orders her to be put in a barn nearby. 'The cold might clear her head.' The sentry manhandles her roughly. As she leaves she sees a rainbow. The villagers see it, too. Stirring music accompanies Fedosiya's comment that this must be a good omen. In folklore the appearance of a rainbow at such a time of year as this is such an extraordinary phenomenon that it is said to bring hope and happiness. We are left with a picture of a tree, snow and wind and a broken telegraph pole, which is perhaps the work of partisans. The snow and wind, on the other hand, may with some justification be regarded as a purificatory sign, the land will be cleansed of the invaders, this is the hope signalled by the rainbow.

The next set of episodes heightens the pathos and underlines the need for solidarity in resistance. A stark contrast is offered immediately. Although the toy monkey dangles down, its head in the noose above the bed (we have already noted its possible sinister significance), Pusya nonetheless lies tucked up in the warm bed with Kurt. They are safe – Kurt's pistol is positioned within easy reach above the bedrest.

A noise awakens Fedosiya who goes to look out of the window. She is horrified by what she sees: Olyona, barefoot and dressed only in a nightshift, being prodded with bayonets by the sentries as they force her to struggle in the deep snow up towards the hillock. This same act of extreme cruelty on the part of the German occupiers is also witnessed by other villagers including the four children of Maliuchikha whose husband is with the partisans. Misha tells his mother that it's Auntie Olyona. Maliuchikha mentions that Olyona served in dad's regiment. The sentries continue their taunting and prodding: 'Komm mal her', 'weiter' and so on. One sentry even pushes Olyona back down the hill. Olga, Pusya's sister,who is also a witness, makes a telling remark: 'That German soldier has no idea that he is actually teaching us a lesson, he's making us realise what our country [родина] means. No one can remain indifferent to Soviet power.' As Olyona is shoved into the barn, Misha suggests that they should take her some potatoes. This suggestion terrifies the mother. Misha is sure he won't be seen. His mother kisses him. Here we have the contrast between the hated enemy and the villagers; between disregard for a human being and collective concern for the same human being. Furthermore our sense of horror is heightened by the fact that Olyona is pregnant. The connection is established between Olyona as the embodiment of the maternal and Olyona as the symbolic representation of the motherland [родина]. It is worth pointing out that this word is feminine in Russian. Vaterland is a German compound noun (Vater (masculine: 'father') and Land (neuter: 'land'). It does, however, embody a sense of a masculine ideal of protection, and yet the German sentry, through his action, perverts that ideal.

Cut to Olyona as she lies on the straw in the barn. One small point, her hair is in a long plait – a sign of her national identity. Cut to Misha, the flaps of his fur cap down against the bitter wind. He crawls through the snow, negotiates the barbed wire. Cut to his mother rocking the cradle. Cut to the boots of the sentries as seen from Misha's angle. Cut to Misha as he reaches the window of the wooden barn. 'Auntie, it's me, Misha!' he whispers. Olyona with difficulty crawls towards the window. Cut to the sentries. Back to Olyona. Cut to a single shot of Misha's face framed by the window. 'I'm Misha, Maliuchikha's son!' His broad smile fills the frame. 'I've brought you some bread.' Olyona's face is framed by the window. Misha looks around, anxiously. Shots ring out. We see Olyona's horrified expression as she slumps against the wall. Misha falls backwards, gets up, struggles on, reaches the barbed wire fence and tries to get over it, his throat actually resting on the barbed wire. 'Mum!' he cries. He staggers on through the snow but eventually falls. His body is splayed out as if crucified. We see his sister as she looks through the window of their house. She cannot comprehend, she thinks he has just fallen down. The camera focuses on the group portrait – the mother and the children, the smallest in her arms. The sentries find Misha still alive and kick him in the head. As the blood trickles out from his mouth, he spits out contemptuously: 'Bloody Fritzes!' One sentry coolly takes out his pistol and shoots him with the words 'Du Hund' ['You dog !'].

The next scene concerns Misha's burial. The family group. The candle in close-up. The baby in the cradle. They all look at the body. One of the children is too young to understand and cannot work out what the hole in Misha's head is. Another matter-of-factly says that that is where the bullet went in. A sister says they shouldn't have let him go. The mother replies tearfully: 'I don't know, I don't know, perhaps it wasn't necessary.' She pulls herself together and adds with quiet confidence: 'It was necessary!' ['Надо было!'] The impersonal construction is telling. It has a universal quality: It was duty. Anyone would have done the same. The family decide to bury Misha inside the house under the earth floor so that he will remain with them, so to speak. The winds ruffles Misha's hair, the candle is blown out. The mother digs. A typical Ukrainian cloth is placed over Misha's body to keep the soil out of his eyes. The floor is levelled. Close-up of a child crying. Then of the mother and another child. The small family group tramples the soil under foot. They do not weep. The death of Misha is poignant. That he is a child is significant. One of the worst, the most barbaric acts, particularly for a Russian, is the murder of a child. It will need to be avenged.

Gaplik, the puppet village elder, summons everyone to attend a meeting.

> 'All here?' he asks.
>
> 'All here,' they grudgingly reply. They stand up, the camera picking out each face in turn.
>
> 'Forgotten the rules, have we?'

Gaplik forces them to show their tags. For him, as for the Germans, these people are numbers, not human beings. In a later scene a curious twist is added: a peasant is ordered by Gaplik to remove the tag which the peasant has given to his cow. Gaplik informs him that only humans can have tags. Gaplik now issues an order, the villagers are to hand over the grain quotas in three days' time. A close up of Olga's face which expresses a mixture of horror and contempt is accompanied by his words: 'We need to help the country and the German army'. An old peasant man who refuses to identify himself by name asks ironically which country Gaplik has in mind. Germany, of course, is the reply.

> 'Oh, I see,' says the peasant.
> 'Do you all understand?'
> 'We understand correctly,' observes one of the women.

Gaplik reveals a list of the names of villagers to be held hostage until Misha's body is found. Misha's mother almost faints. She is immediately supported by Fedosiya who then steps in front of her to prevent her being seen by Gaplik. Olga's face appears in close-up, the same expression as before. As the names of the men and women are read out, each horrified face is shown. A husband is comforted by his wife. His remark that it's all right, he's not the only one, points eloquently to the sense of collective suffering. These hostages are to be hanged. Village solidarity becomes even clearer when the womenfolk who remain behind hasten to assure the women among the hostages that they will take care of their children. A child cries as his mother is dragged off.

The next few episodes reinforce the anti-German feeling. The pathos is heightened with each scene. We begin with the cuckoo-clock on the wall in Maliuchikha's house. Sasha stands in front of the clock adjusting the hands so that as the clock strikes, the cuckoo will emerge in answer to his questions: 'Will the partisans come?' and 'Will dad come home?' Suddenly a German soldier enters. The camera comes to rest on his menacing, big snow shoes, boots and his bayonet and rifle as seen from Sasha's point of view. The soldier who has missing teeth scares the children. The baby crawls over and rests its head innocently on one of his boots. We see the rifle standing between the soldier's legs. He yells: 'Zurück!' ['Get back!'] The baby starts to cry. Sasha runs over to protect him. Another child shouts: 'Go away, Fritz.' It appears that the soldier has come in search of milk. Sasha eventually understands and tells him that they have no milk because the Fritzes have confiscated their cow. The soldier is annoyed and points his rifle at each child in turn. Sasha again intervenes and receives a slap across the face for his trouble. The cuckoo-clock chimes. The soldier destroys it with a bullet. He gives a hollow laugh and leaves.

Cut to the barn where Olyona, lying on the straw, is about to give birth. On the left two soldiers stand guard, their bayonets glinting. Their armed presence is totally unnecessary, she is unlikely to escape. A close-up of her anxious face. She closes her eyes. One soldier asks the other: 'Mensch, die kriegt denn was?' If we translate this loosely as 'Is she having the thing then?' we have some idea of the soldier's insensitivity to both the situation and the individual. Choral music accompanies shots of the village (natural surroundings), a pause, then the hostages (unnatural predicament), then the bayonets and Olyona (unnatural situation). As the birth proceeds there are shots of birch trees, the sun rising in the sky snow, more birch trees, We hear a baby's cries. A close-up of Olyona's face with tears of happiness running down her cheeks. Through her tears she says: 'Ivan, this is what we've been waiting for!' Rockets flash through the sky and we see Ivan in the camp. 'I think it's going to be a boy,' he says as he shows his mates a picture of Olyona. They comment on her attractiveness. Her photograph fills the screen and we are immediately struck by the fact that she is wearing a traditional Ukrainian dress. 'A son or a daughter?' Ivan wonders.

The naturalness of the preceding section (mother-father-wife-husband) is shattered by the next. Werner takes up Ivan's words: 'A son or a daughter?' The orderly tells him that she has had a son. Werner, armed with this information, turns abruptly and begins to interrogate Olyona. The tension mounts with each question.

> 'Who was who brought you the bread?'
> 'A child of about ten or eleven. Everyone has children.' She is not going to implicate any one.
> 'Where is Comrade Kudryavy?'
> 'Comrade Kudryavy?' She is startled by the fact that Werner knows his name.
> 'I don't know....er... er...in the woods.' Her answer is calculated. It's the countryside, there are lots of woods. She is also playing for time.
> 'Which woods?'
> 'I don't know.'

Werner, realising that Olyona is desperate for something to drink and wishing to use this to his own advantage, orders the guard to give her a glass of water. She is given only a little – a cruel tactic. A close-up of her tortured face is followed by a close-up of the glass on the table. The water is still tantalizingly sloshing from side to side, the glass having been roughly placed on the table by the guard.

> 'Are you a Bolshevik bitch or a mother?' The logic is perverted.
> 'A mother,' she answers with feeling.
> 'You have a son. Do you want him to grow up? You can save him. The Red Army is beaten. Save your child and yourself. You have no right to deny him his life. Unless you give me the answers I want, you will both die!'

Olyona shakes her head slowly but with conviction.

> 'I treat you like a human being and... You'll pay for this!' The soldiers wrench the child from her. Olyona receives a slap in the face. The child is deposited on Werner's desk.
> 'This is your last chance!'
> 'I refuse to answer!'

A close-up of the child. A pistol is pointed at its head. Olyona cries out.

> 'Is this your only child?'
> 'No.'
> 'Do you have sons and daughters?'
> 'No, only sons. Kudryavy and many more in the woods!' she states defiantly.

A shot rings out, followed by a close-up of Olyona screaming with horror at this brutal murder of her child.

As if the murder of an innocent child is not enough to insense the audience, Donskoi has the camera follow Olyona as with difficulty she carries her dead son through the village. The bombastic strains of 'Deutschland, Deutschland über alles' with its idea of domination and superiority are heard as the guards push her forward. Cut to villagers' faces at the windows. As if to emphasise the difference, plaintive, Ukrainian folk music is heard, full of sorrow and suffering. We recall that Olyona had been marched up a hill and tormented by the guards some days before. Now she is struggling up the same hill, this time Werner, too, is present. She is given one last chance, but refuses to comply. She is then shot. Her body and that of her child fall into the river. The camera lingers over the ripples on the surface as stirring Soviet music rises to a crescendo.

It is now time for justice to prevail. We hear shots ringing out in the background as Gaplik returns home. He slips on the ice. Is this symbolic of his imminent fall? He crosses himself, enters the house, lights the oil lamp and hums a tune to himself as he contemplates preparing a meal. He smells a loaf of bread, there is a basket of eggs on the table – thirty pieces of silver, so to speak. He utters a long, drawn-out cry as he suddenly catches sight of the partisans. He tries unsuccessfully to escape. His trial takes place. When he sees Kudryavy, he realises the gravity of his situation. The questions are to the point.

> 'What did you do before the War?' 'How was Olyona tortured?' 'What were you up to at the school?' [Olga teaches at the school] 'Why are you silent?' 'Have you forgotten how to speak Russian?' [as opposed to German, of course].

Gaplik's guilt is confirmed by each member of the group in turn. Gaplik begs for mercy, banging his head on the table. He says he'll never collaborate again, he never wanted to, he was forced to. With each remark he digs his own grave. Stupidly he asks to be spared in the name of their children. This elicits a swift reply from one of the women: 'It's because of you that children are dying!' Gaplik crosses himself. Grandpa Okhapka orders: 'Don't you dare cross yourself!' and, pointing to the icon on the wall, adds: 'He's not your God, he's ours. He'll have no truck with Fascists!' In the name of the Revolutionary Court, Kudryavy sentences Gaplik to immediate death for high treason. Gaplik rolls about on the floor, scrunching himself up into a fetal position and pleads again for mercy. He clings to the legs of the partisans as they leave the room. Others step over him. A rifle is pointed at him. We hear the shot. Collective justice.

The strength of collective solidarity characterises the next episode. Throughout this section folk music is played. Village children are sure that the partisans are returning to the village. It turns out that they are actually prisoners of war. Children, wives, mothers and sweethearts rush towards them, immediately noticing that many are wounded and that their feet are bleeding. One man tries to give a lad a smoke. The lad replies that they need bread not cigarettes. The man is beaten back by the German guards. The womenfolk's efforts to distribute bread are met with gun fire. Panic sets in. Sasha, Maliuchikha's son, is told to gather other boys together and drop the bread in the valley further up the road. They crawl through the snow but they are too late. The column has passed by. One old partisan, who has difficulty in keeping up, is coldbloodedly shot by a German. Back in the village two Germans fire at random, many are killed. The news of this massacre reaches the hostages. The leader insists that whatever happens they must not give in under interrogation.

A close-up of the toy monkey with the noose. As we had suspected at the beginning of the film, Pusya, like the monkey, is both a pet, a plaything and she is trapped by her actions. Werner, having failed to get information from Olyona, demands that Pusya speak to her sister, Olga. Pusya says that Olga won't speak to her. 'Then she'll be hanged,' Werner replies, even though she's Pusya's sister. Pusya claims that she is indifferent to her sister's fate. Werner places his fingers on her cheek as if about to hurt her. Instead he pats her on the cheek. Changing his mind, he begins to squeeze her face until it distorts with pain. She is terrified. He releases his grip and pats her again.

The confrontation between Pusya and Olga now takes place at Olga's. Olga enters to find Pusya in her house. Olga's pure, Slav face appears in close-up. Pusya tells Olga that she and her child, Nina, are in danger. She wants to help them, after all they are sisters. Her appeal to this emotional tie has little effect, indeed, when Pusya moves towards her in an attempt to embrace her, Olga swiftly steps aside in disgust. Pusya offers her Danish meats, Dutch cheese, French biscuits, sugar, condensed milk and chocolate – all unheard of luxuries. And all foreign. She will even get her German medicine. Olga makes her position clear and Pusya's, too: 'Do we have the same mother? *You* can't have *a Russian mother*!' Pusya pleads with her to tell her where the partisans are and who killed Gaplik. Her use of the affectionate names 'Olya' and 'Olyonka' only serves to incense Olga even more. She moves slowly and threateningly towards Pusya and slaps her face over and over again. 'Get out, you fascist bitch!'

The next episode give Fedosiya the courage to confront Pusya. She is secretly visited by two of her sons who are partisans. She gives them the information they need about German positions and numbers. Later Pusya orders Fedosiya to make the bed.

or she will complain to Werner. Fedosiya almost smiles. 'I'll tell him myself,' she says. Pusya's threat to tell Werner that Fedosiya visits her dead son in the fields has no effect this time. There is a close-up of Pusya, her face covered in beauty cream. It is a hideous sight. 'You drove me out of my home. My Vasya is dead, and the others. But you'll soon wish that you were in their place. The people will never forgive you!'

Liberation is at hand. Planes are seen flying over the village. Leaflets are being dropped. Werner orders the troops to open fire. The shooting is indiscriminate. One hostage recalls that the shooting is worse than in 1918. An old man remarks that they can't kill everyone, there'll be enough people left to sow, reap and build. Tanks appear. Partisans on skis sweep down into the village. The Germans are slaughtered. Werner falls face down in the snow, gets up again and manages to struggle to the cemetery where he is finished off by Fedosiya's sons. The hostages are released.

Cut to Pusya's room where she lies in bed. Two partisans stride in. She calls for Kurt. One of the partisans is Sergei, her husband and one of Fedosiya's sons. 'Strange,' he says, 'I thought your last word would be mother.' He shoots her, turns round and goes back into the entrance hall where the other partisans are waiting. 'That was my wife,' he simply states. Fedosiya embraces him.

The rest of the Germans are rounded up by the womenfolk with spades and pitch forks. The women want revenge because they killed their children. The partisans try to stop this lynch mob. Fedosiya intervenes with a plea for solidarity and justice. 'Stop, sisters! Why would you want to kill them so quickly? Is two minutes' suffering worth the deaths of Olena, my Vasya and all the others? To kill them now would be to let them off too lightly. Let them be judged for every drop of blood they have shed! Let them come face to face with their own wives and children. "They are no longer our husbands and fathers!" they will say. Let them be judged by the People! And let their curse fall on them and the earth refuse to shelter them!' Radiant faces fill the screen.

Victory music resounds. A rainbow appears over the village. And Fedosiya once again declares this phenomenon to be a good omen. Cut to the faces of three children, a fitting reminder that in Russian eyes the worst crime is the killing of a child. Our final view is of a little house to the right of the screen and the rainbow and the words of the Ukrainian song that began the film: 'He who would live in honour should fight for truth.' The truth of these words has been borne out in the film. Olyona's self-sacrifice, the death of her infant son, the losses of Fedosiya and Maliuchikha have not been in vain. They have been avenged.

THE THAW

It is axiomatic that during the Thaw both literature and cinema celebrated personal themes. It should be remembered, however, that changes in aesthetics do not occur immediately. I want to argue that in spite of the lavish praise heaped upon it both in the Soviet Union and abroad, Georgii Chukhrai's *Ballad of a Soldier* (1959) is a transitional film. Although it is, as Denise Youngblood points out, one of 'a series of quiet war films',[9] in my opinion it lacks the psychological depth of, say, Tarkovsky's seminal film *Ivan's Childhood*. *Ballad of a Soldier* is also anchored firmly in a Soviet moral framework. A recent interview with Chukhrai is revealing. Elizaveta Chernyavskaya had just noted that despite the popularity of *Ballad of a Soldier* amongst the general public right from the first screenings, the film had run into trouble with the authorities. Chukhrai takes up the story:

> "*Ballad of a Soldier* did not conform to the usual scheme of things, it ran counter to the generally approved manner of depicting war on screen. Then it was the done thing to make films in which soldiers go to war and die... I'd been through the whole war, I'd seen lots of men die and one thing I'm sure of is this: death is shocking. Heroism I admire, but to feast your eyes on death is a sin. I have never liked films that do that. I could have been in that line of soldiers myself: and as you lounge about in your armchair, would you really enjoy watching us die? My God, no! That won't do. I decided to make a film that would be the opposite of this false vogue. I decided to speak about how much is lost when one good man dies. That is what they wouldn't forgive me for. Petty bureaucratic squabbles broke out. They accused me of bringing the Soviet Army into disrepute and I was expelled from the Party. The film wasn't allowed to go on general release, it was shown in the suburbs and in workers' clubs. Then, when it was allowed, we showed it at the House of Writers and some one said during the discussion afterwards: 'It's spot on.' Whereupon Valentin Ivanovich Yezhov – the splendid script-writer with whom I'd written the screen version – replied: 'It's spot on because we didn't go in for lots of guns'. That's exactly the point. We made the sort of film we wanted, and said what we wanted to say, without trying to please or to curry favour."

Chernyavskaya mentions that the film won a prize at the Cannes Film Festival and a Lenin Prize. Chukhrai comments:

> "But not straightaway. To some extent there was an element of chance here. It just so happens that Khrushchev was shown the film. After the screening he said 'Send it to Cannes'. So Khrushchev really saved the film."[10]

Ballad of a Soldier tells a simple story. Alyosha Skvortsov is a nineteen-year old soldier who manages to destroy two enemy tanks. His commanding officer wishes to recommend him for a medal. Instead Alyosha asks to be given leave of absence to visit his mother and effect some repairs at home. His journey home by jeep, train, raft and lorry is presented as a sort of Bildungsroman. He has only four days for travel and two days to help mend his mother's roof. Circumstances conspire to delay Alyosha. His odyssey begins with an encounter with another detachment of soldiers. He agrees to call on the wife of one of the soldiers by the name of Sergei to tell her that he is alive and well. Alyosha transfers to the train and on arrival at the station he helps a disabled soldier by guarding his suitcase whilst the soldier goes off to send a telegram to his wife informing her that he is never coming home. The telegram is eventually withdrawn and the couple are later reunited. But Alyosha has already lost time. A guard relieves him of two tins of corned beef so that he may stow away on a military train. Later another stowaway, so to speak, climbs aboard, a girl called Shura. Hostility between them is slowly replaced by trust and the tentative awakening of love. At one point Alyosha suddenly remembers the message he has to deliver for Sergei. He and Shura visit the soldier's wife only to discover that she has betrayed her husband and is living with or having an affair with someone else. Eventually Shura and Alyosha part. Alyosha just manages to get home in time to see his mother. Almost immediately he has to set off again back to the front where he perishes.

One could argue that *Ballad of a Soldier* is essentially a love story. In fact 40 minutes of this 83-minute film are devoted to the love interest. It is also a love story that has a universal resonance and appeal. Its title is revealing: *Ballad of a Soldier*. A ballad 'is a song that tells a story. The theme is often tragic, such as a taie of personal misfortune or it can recall a public event such as a battle.. It is an oral form. The ballad represents an attempt to come to terms with the catastrophe. The tale is told with little comment.'[11] This definition is of a traditional literary ballad. Nonetheless, there are similarities with *Ballad of a Soldier*. The film begins with a prologue. The setting is a village. It is a domestic setting. Chicken and geese appear bottom left and middle. The road in the centre disappears into the top distance. There are trees to the right. A group of girls walks along the road. A woman passes the girls and is acknowledged by a young couple. The wife, who is holding a baby, turns to follow her sympathetically with her eyes. Close-up of the wife. The woman continues along the road towards the fields. Plaintive music begins. Close-up of the woman: a scarf covers her head; her hands are folded over her abdomen. Clouds scud over the sky, the wind blows. And the narrator begins: 'This road leads to the town. All who leave our village [наше село] and return home [родные места] must take this road.' Profile shot of the woman with the scarf. The narrator continues: 'She is not waiting for anyone. Her son, Alyosha, whom she did wait for, never came back'. The woman looks troubled. She turns to the right as the camera moves to track across the open expanse. The narrator continues: 'He is buried far from his native land, one that doesn't have a Russian name. Strangers put flowers on his grave. They call him the Russian soldier, the hero, the liberator.' The woman continues along the road. 'But for her he was just her son, the boy about whom she'd known everything from the day of his birth to the day he left for the front.' She turns to face the camera. 'He's our friend and we are going to tell you his story about which not even his mother knows everything.' The narrator is anonymous. We know that he is a member of the village community who has survived the war because he is relating the story and because he speaks of 'our village' and refers to Alyosha as 'our friend'.

It is also interesting that Alyosha's name doesn't appear in the title. Although he has to be named for the purposes of the narration, he is three times referred to by others in the film as 'the hero'. That is, by the General after his successful knocking out of the two enemy tanks, by the crippled Vasya as he is reunited with his wife, and by the lieutenant on the train who takes sides with Alyosha and Shura against the corrupt train guard. Alyosha bears the hallmark of a simple character in the best sense of the word. He is a type. The story is one of a love that will never be. We witness the tentative awakening of feelings between Alyosha and Shura. This does not develop because they part and he dies in the war. The moral perhaps is that we should accept that we cannot know the future, our fate, our destiny, we should accept the good things life offers as and when it does, and that despite misfortune life has to go on. There are parallels between the significance of the narrator's words 'Strangers put flowers on his grave... they call him the Russian soldier' and Rupert Brooke's line '..there's some corner of a foreign field that is for ever England.'

Let's now consider the narrator's final words:[12]

> 'That's all we wanted to tell you about our friend, Alyosha Skvortsov. He might have become a remarkable citizen...'

A 'remarkable citizen', too, is a type. Just what sort of qualities does Alyosha reveal in the film? Many of them are general, almost universal qualities, as it were:

honesty:

- Alyosha describes to his superior officer what happened during the incident with the tanks and admits that he was 'scared stiff'.
- he keeps his promise to the General to return from his visit to his mother in time.
- he refuses to bribe the guard on the train. Slyly, the guard had suggested that Alyosha might be carrying inflammable material in his bag. Alyosha has nothing to hide. He opens the bag, saying that he only has tinned meat in it. He shows it to the guard. When the latter suggests that he is trying to bribe him, Alyosha tries to snatch back the tin – he is outraged at this insult.

altruism:

- he prefers to tell Sergei's father a white lie. Although Alyosha had met Sergei for only a few seconds and can know nothing of him, he tells his father what a splendid soldier he is and how he would never let his comrades down. He does this because he has been shocked by Sergei's wife's betrayal.

selflessness:

- he manages to knock out two enemy tanks without heed for his own person.

willingness to help others:

- he agrees to take Sergei's message to his wife and deliver the present of soap from the other comrades.
- he shares out paper and tobacco with the soldiers in the train.
- he shares bread and lard with Shura.
- he protects Shura.
- he helps Vasya.
- he cranks up the engine of the lorry driven by the old woman who has offered him a lift. He also struggles to disengage the lorry from the mud.
- he helps rescue the Ukrainians from the bombed train.

loyalty:

- to the detachment: he stays at his observation post until the last possible moment. He doesn't want to let the side down. 'I'd rather die than be late back', he tells the General who grants him leave. His absence would put a further burden on his comrades-in-arms.
- to his country and his village.

sense of justice:

- his moral outrage at the train guard over the allegation of bribery.
- his moral outrage at the suggestion by the train guard that he and Shura have been 'making hay'.
- his moral outrage at the the discovery that Sergei's wife has betrayed him. He even returns to the flat to retrieve both bars of soap, which he gives to Sergei''s father and the children.

genuineness of feeling:

- towards comrades in arms and the Ukrainian refugees.
- towards the crippled soldier.
- towards his mother.
- towards Shura.

After referring to the fact that Alyosha could have become a remarkable citizen, the narrator finally observes 'Он мог бы строить и украшать земли с садами [pause] но он был и вечно останется в нашей памяти солдатом [pause] русским солдатом.' ['He could have built new communities and adorned them with gardens... but he was and will always remain in our memory a soldier... a Russian soldier.'] These lines suggest to me certain political attitudes that are specifically Soviet. They invite us to view Alyosha in a different light. As has been suggested before, Alyosha has his own individuality. His actions are to be evaluated now in a wider context, that of the collective.

Clearly defined gender roles

Men fight, women wait at home, suffer and yet still do their bit.

Alyosha's father had fought and perished at the front. Alyosha had joined up. The mother worked in the fields, possibly doing her husband's work. She tells Alyosha that it is hard now without the menfolk. At the end of the film, as he bids farewell to his mother, Alyosha says: 'Я вернусь' ['I'll return'] to which his mother replies with tears in her eyes: 'Я всё выдержу, переживу, а тебя дождусь. Отца не дождалась, а тебя дождусь' ['I'll bear everything, I'll endure it all but I shall wait until the day you come home. Your father didn't make it home, but I shall wait for you']. A Russian would immediately think of Simonov's 1941 poem 'Жди меня, и я вернусь'. Alyosha had also taken over the dead father's role. It was now his responsibility to repair the roof.

Vasya's wife waited for him. In his absence she had gone to work at the local factory as part of the war-effort. She was not used to this sort of rough work – her hand is bandaged as a result of cutting it on some shavings. We recall the outburst of the post office clerk as Vasya had been about to send his telegram. 'What a low-down trick. You should be ashamed of yourself. She's waiting for you! She's suffering. It's shameful to talk like that. She's suffering. It's a disgrace'. And Vasya lowers his gaze. There are then four close-ups. Alyosha and Vasya in left profile. Then both in right profile. Alyosha's expression is resolute. Vasya is torn. But he comes to realise that the girl and Alyosha are right and crumples up the telegram.

Sense of loss

Alyosha's death is one amongst many. We see soldiers being killed in the opening sequences. And there are deaths during the bombing of the train on which Alyosha is travelling. We even share the sorrow of the refugees as they stand beside the dead body of the young Ukrainian woman. One of the older soldiers had told Alyosha earlier that his daughter had hardly been married before she became a widow. Everyone is acutely aware of the losses. On two occasions, during the visits to Sergei's father at the institute and to Alyosha's home village, the womenfolk immediately seek information about their loved ones. The female peasant truck driver mentions that her son is at the front field PO139 and her voice catches as she asks whether Alyosha knows it. Most enquiries or replies concerning loved ones involve the words 'жив' or 'живой'.

Moral outrage

Alyosha had promised Sergei that he would visit his wife. It seems strange that Sergei's son is playing in the stairwell rather than inside. He tells Alyosha that the doorbell isn't working. The door is opened by a lady. 'Liza Pavlova?' enquires Alyosha.. 'Yes. Come in.' Liza is very quiet. 'I've brought something from the front', says Alyosha. Liza shows Alyosha and Shura into the parlour. As they hang up their coats, Liza asks whether they have come from Pavlov [her husband]. Embarrassed, she removes a jacket from an armchair. 'Please wait a minute.' Alyosha and Shura look at each other, then at the table. The camera lingers over the elegantly set table with its plates, expensive cutlery and wine glasses. Whispering is overheard from the adjacent room. 'They are from Pavlov. What shall I do?' The camera picks out a pipe resting in an ashtray. Close-up of Alyosha and Shura. 'Tell him the truth. Let him know.' Liza returns. 'Excuse me, this is all so unexpected. You are from the front then?' She clearly feels uncomfortable. Alyosha's face wears a stern expression. 'Your *husband* asked me to give you this.' He drops the soap on the table and looks in the direction of the adjacent room. 'What is it?' 'Soap.' 'Oh, soap. Thank you. Would you like some tea?' 'No, no time.' Alyosha and Shura leave the room to get their coats. Liza anxiously asks Alyosha how Sergei is. Alyosha's reply is matter-of-fact: 'Вполне здоров'. He doesn't use the word 'жив'. It is almost as if Alyosha wants to draw attention to the fact that Sergei is healthy in spite of the poor rations at the front compared with the wife and her lover's banquet. There is also the hint of 'mens sana in corpore sano', he hasn't polluted his relationship with his wife. He is still pure in mind and body. Alyosha adds: 'He worries about you.' Liza lowers her eyes and thanks him. In the doorway as Alyosha and Shura are about to depart, Liza looks up with the words: 'Yet the truth is best.... Don't look at me like that. You are very young.' Alyosha ignores her and starts going down the stairs. Liza closes the door. Alyosha suddenly stops, turns round and, leaving his coat on the banisters, rushes back to the flat. He hammers on the door, goes in and retrieves the soap. He ignores the shame-faced Liza and leaves. Alyosha's views are clear – any form of betrayal is an odious and a punishable offense. By removing the soap he is in fact meting out a sort of punishment. This scene has a parallel. In the train the guard had waited for Alyosha to leave in search of water and had climbed in to confront Shura. 'You'll see what you get for boarding a military train.' Shura begins to cry. Alyosha returns. He and the guard argue. 'Leave her alone!' 'How dare you take on extra passengers?' 'What's one more, for heaven's sake?' The guard makes as if to grab Shura. Alyosha resolutely intervenes. The guard accuses them of 'making hay'. Alyosha immediately thumps him. The guard falls, knocking over a pail of water. The camera focuses on the water as it sloshes from side to side. A close-up of Alyosha and Shura is followed by one of the guard. 'OK. Assaulting a sentry on duty...You know the punishment.' 'You rat!' exclaims Alyosha. 'How dare you call me a rat?' retorts the guard. He examines his face in a mirror. He raises his rifle and orders both Alyosha and Shura to leave. 'We are really terrified!' says Alyosha mockingly. 'Wait until you see the lieutenant!' wails the guard. He is about to fire into the air to summon the lieutenant. Alyosha tries to diffuse the situation. 'Come on. Have a heart..' To no avail. 'Get out, you and the girl.' He guzzles on the tin of meat that he had extorted from Alyosha. He then kicks the bag so that another tin rolls out. Alyosha: 'So you want another tin, do you?' The guard tries to put a value on the insult and eventually takes two tins and stuffs them under his tunic. At this moment the lieutenant arrives. He is very mild mannered. He enquires what the matter is. The guard informs him that Alyosha and Shura had boarded the train illegally. Alyosha salutes the lieutenant, gives his name, explains that he is on his way home and hands over his documents. The guard hovers sheepishly in the background. Alyosha is in the process of mentioning that he is already late just when the lieutenant who is reading the documents remarks: 'Oh, a hero...' He returns the documents and asks whether the girl is with Alyosha. Alyosha says yes, the girl says no. The lieutenant laughs. 'She's lost her food and her money,' offers Alyosha. 'That's fine' says the lieutenant, 'Just be careful with matches.' He notices the tin of corned beef in the guard's hand and demands to know where he had got it from. 'Give it back to them!' 'But they gave it willingly.' The lieutenant's punishment is summary – two days' arrest and five days confined to barracks. 'Repeat my order!' 'Five days' mumbles the guard. 'What a disgrace!' are the lieutenant's last words. The guard's behaviour has been just as much a betrayal as Liza's, only in his case he has betrayed the principles of the regiment – the relationship between soldier and regiment is also a sort of marriage. Alyosha, Sergei and the lieutenant share the same values as soldiers and as Soviet citizens. The implication is that this is the norm, the example to be followed.

Altruism

I mentioned in the previous section how Alyosha had told Sergei's father what he wanted to hear. It was an act of compassion. This is another virtue to be emulated. In fact the father also tells a white lie. His final words to Alyosha are: 'Tell Sergei that I'm proud of him. Our life here is good. Tell him not to worry. Tell him, too, that Liza...his wife...is working now. She sends her love and is waiting for him. Compassion, above all.

Mutual, collective support

Just as Alyosha helps others, others help him or their fellow human beings or come to realise that it is their duty to help others, especially during war time: the soldiers insist on a present for Sergei's wife; the bluff sergeant mellows and eventually agrees to give two bars of soap; the peasant woman who has been driving for two days without sleep immediately agrees to give Alyosha a lift; the driver of the last truck at first refuses, then turns his truck round, goes back for Alyosha and picks him up. Not only does he take him home but he even agrees to wait for him whilst he is in the fields with his mother.

Appreciation of hardship

Alyosha's appreciates the plight of the Ukrainian refugees. He also appreciates the situation of Sergei's father and the others who are housed at the institute because they have been bombed out. When the soldiers agree to make a present of the soap to Sergei's wife, one of them remarks: 'Yes, everybody needs soap now.' Soap is hard to come by. Of course Liza doesn't need the soap, she is involved with someone else and judging by the contents of the table she has access to all sorts of items that are difficult to obtain. Yet the children at the institute are delighted with the soap. The contrast could not be greater.

Love of the mother

Alyosha was prepared to forego the award of a bravery medal, preferring to visit his mother to whom, he says, he had not said a proper goodbye. Presumably he had immediately answered the call to join up and defend the motherland. I have already mentioned the embodiment of the maternal in the discussion of *The Rainbow*. Elsewhere I have written about the association in the Soviet collective consciousness of mother, earth and country[13] and there is no need to rehearse the arguments. Suffice it to point out that in *Ballad of a Soldier* the figure of Alyosha's mother has a similar function. Firstly, she lives not in the city but in the country, the real Russia, so to speak. She wears a traditional peasant smock and shawl. We note, too, that Alyosha's present for her is a traditional embroidered scarf. He appreciates the significance of the scarf. He even takes it out of the bag to examine it again whilst he is waiting for Vasya at the post office. Alyosha the son loves his mother, his mother loves him just as the soldier in him has to love and defend his motherland. And he must condemn anyone who falls short of his high standards.

Yet, as we have seen, some of those standards, some of those attitudes are firmly based in a Soviet tradition. And this leads me to the moral of the narrative and the significance of the narrator. The emphasis is laid squarely on collective responsibility. Who is the narrator? We don't know for sure, but we can hazard a guess. The narrator calls Alyosha '*our* friend'. He clearly knows Alyosha's mother, and he knows much about Alyosha and his conduct that even his mother remains ignorant of, as he tells us at the beginning of the film. He gives the impression of being an official of some sort from the village, perhaps a party member or leader who would have access to all the information necessary for him to be able to tell the story. His words have a sort of political rhetoric about them. 'Alyosha could have built new communities and adorned them with gardens', he says. The verb 'to build' in Russian has certain associations: строить, строитель, строитель коммунизма. Had Alyosha lived he would probably have continued to do good for the general weal, to work for others as a good Soviet and therefore communist citizen. The narrator's juxtaposition of Alyosha's and other individuals' behaviour invites us to accept as correct their shared view of the world, their values, their example. Some of the qualities are universal, others are more in line with Soviet/Communist-inspired behavioural patterns.

'BALLAD OF A SOLDIER' AND THE THAW

The film shows characteristic features of the Thaw:

- *plot:* the love story of the two young individuals is foregrounded.
- *the depiction of war:* actual war scenes take up only 15 of the 83 minutes of screen time. The episode in which Alyosha knocks out the two tanks takes 4 minutes 20 seconds. The scene with the General (2 minutes, 50 seconds). Alyosha's travels through the war zone including shots of the devastated villages (3 minutes, 42 seconds). News of the progress of the war from a loudspeaker announcement at a station (1 minute 8 seconds). The blitzed Chekhov Street where Sergei and Liza used to live (1 minute). Ukrainian refugees (2 minutes). The hero is Alyosha Skvortsov, not Audie Murphy. At one stage he thinks he is going to die and tries to protect his head as he lies in the dug-out. His fear and vulnerability are stressed as the tank stalks him. And he comes across the anti-tank gun by accident. His is not a carefully planned act. We do not witness his death either.
- *camera techniques:* the face of Alyosha's mother 'dissolves' into the tank that is coming towards her son. The camera looks down on the field as the tank stalks Alyosha. The camera confronts the tank as it comes straight for him, suddenly turns 360 degrees and the tank is viewed upside down. Close-ups play a predominant role in the film; where effective, they heighten the pathos. And finally, there is the powerful use of superimposition. As Alyosha is trying to come to terms with his feelings for Shura he looks out of the train window and sees a birch forest over which Shura's face is superimposed. The image of her washing and drying her hair at the pump appears, too.
- *symbolism*

  (a) When Alyosha and Vasya find themselves in the company of fellow soldiers on the train, Alyosha gives strips of paper to them to make cigarettes. They tease him about being a hero. He snatches back one of the cigarettes, extinguishes it with his fingers and unfolds it. He joins this to another piece of paper. It is a newspaper cutting with his picture on it. We can see only part of the heading: 'своих rep' ['its own her']. We assume that it means something like: 'Army Head Quarters mentions its heroes in dispatches.' The point is, however, that the picture is torn in two. It is disfigured, destroyed. Alyosha's life, too, will be destroyed by the war. His love for Shura will never run its full course. The soldiers ask him why he tore up this paper for cigarettes. He grins: 'I've got another copy.' This is even more poignant. He is alive, whole and doesn't know that death awaits him.

(b) After Vasya and his wife have been reunited, we see them walking down the platform. He is on crutches; he has lost a leg during the war. She tries to help him and stumbles when one of the crutches gets in the way. Two people, one an invalid, the other healthy. The Russian woman as supporter, carer and perhaps bread winner.

(c) When Alyosha and Shura visit Sergei's wife, Sergei's son is playing in the stairwell. He is blowing bubbles. Symbolically they carry the hopes and dreams of the individual. But all too often the bubbles burst – for Alyosha, Shura, Sergei, Alyosha's mother.

- *music*. The music by and large effectively heightens the pathos. However, *Ballad of a Soldier* exhibits certain features that prevent it from being a classic film of the Thaw:
- many of the minor characters remain one-dimensional. They are types: for example, the avuncular general, the gruff sergeant with a soft heart, the grumpy official, the corrupt guard.
- although the close-up is rightly regarded as one of the chief features of the cinema of the Thaw, close-ups in this film are not always effective. For example: big eyes, radiant smiles, stern/tearful/jolly expressions. There is a tendency to stereotyping of expression. Even when the close-ups involve the mother or Alyosha and Shura, they become sort of framed icons 'mater dolorosa' and 'star-crossed lovers'. And on these occasions, the accompanying music jars.
- at times the sentimentality is unbearable. Two examples stand out. Vasya's wife kisses him repeatedly at the station. She almost smothers him. Alyosha's mother acts in the same way in the field. The depiction of the tentatively developing relationship between Alyosha and Shura is well handled – the shyness, the nervousness, the uncertainty. But it is marred by too many radiant smiles, big eyes and contrived dialogue. Here is an example of the dialogue: Alyosha and Shura are on the train, safe now that the guard has been confined to barracks. They both sit there, their knees drawn up under their chins. Shura is positioned higher than Alyosha. They look upwards through the door – trees and sky. Shura looks down.

Shura: 'Alyosha, do you believe in friendship?
Alyosha: 'Of course, at the front you can't live without it.'
Shura: 'I mean between a boy and a girl.'
Alyosha: 'Why not, some girls are even better than boys.' He turns towards her, She smiles.
Shura: 'Some people think that it has to be love or nothing.'
Alyosha: 'Nonsense. I used to be friends with a girl.'

The camera takes up Shura's point of view and looks down on Alyosha. Shura then appears on the right of the screen.

Shura: 'May be you loved her and didn't know it.' Alyosha is seen in shadow on the left.
Alyosha: 'With Zoya, she was just the girl next door.' Shura settles down on a bail of straw.
Alyosha: 'Love is different in my view.'
Shura rests her chin on her hands. A view of the countryside passes by: houses, a church.
Shura: 'Don't you sometimes think that you would like to meet someone who would be your friend for life?'
Alyosha nods almost imperceptibly.

Overall, the lack of psychological depth, the use of stereotypes, the exaggerated emotionality, the rigid Soviet morality detract from the film's quality. I am not saying that it is a poor film, far from it. However, I think we have to turn to Tarkovsky's *Ivan's Childhood* as the exemplar of the cinema of the Thaw.[14]

IVAN'S CHILDHOOD (1962)

Ivan's Willow
by Arseny Tarkovsky

Before the war Ivan would stroll beside a stream
Where grew a mysterious willow tree.
It did not know why it o'erhung the stream
But it was Ivan's tree.
Killed in action, wrapped in a ground sheet,
Ivan came home to his tree.
Ivan's willow,
Ivan's willow,
floats over the stream, like a white boat.[15]

The first point to make concerns the generation gap. Chukhrai was born in 1921. One year older than the fictional Alyosha Skvortsov when war broke out, he fought bravely, taking part in many battles including the battle of Stalingrad. He was wounded five times and highly decorated. Bogomolov, upon whose novel *Ivan's Childhood*, was based was born in 1926. Three years older than the fictional Ivan Bondarev, he also served as a scout in the war. Tarkovsky's father, Arseny, was born in 1905 and volunteered for the front in 1941 aged 36. Tarkovsky, on the other hand, born in 1932 was only nine years old at the outbreak of war. Chukhrai and Bogomolov were of the same generation, a generation that would still have shared the reaction to the war of Arseny Tarkovsky's generation: enthusiasm, duty and patriotism. Maya Turovskaya lends support here:

> 'The generation to which both Tarkovsky and the hero of his film belong was hit by the war in a different way from that of their fathers and elder brothers... The corresponding reaction in the heart of Ivan is an emotional dislocation.'[16]

It is not surprising that Tarkovsky and Bogomolov disagreed over the way the war was to be treated in *Ivan's Childhood*.[17] Bogomolov insisted on foregrounding the actual military exploits as in his novella. Tarkovsky wished to downplay them. By insisting on adding the word 'childhood' to the film's title and introducing the now famous dream sequences he made Ivan's psychological state of mind the focus of attention.

We are first introduced to Ivan as a lad of about twelve with a child's wide-eyed wonderment at the natural landscape. He eagerly drinks from a bucket of water that his mother has been carrying. Suddenly we hear gun shots off-screen. The mother has been shot. This opening sequence turns out to have been a dream. Ivan in reality had been hiding in a broken-down windmill. He wades through the swamp to try to re-establish contact with his superiors. At the local military post, Galtsev, the senior lieutenant, is not sure who Ivan is. Ivan insists that Galtsev telephone headquarters. Colonel Gryazanov confirms Ivan's identity. Ivan is a scout. He has been on a mission to find out enemy positions. When Ivan has provided the information, he has a bath, and forces himself to have something to eat, but he is physically exhausted. He falls asleep. In this second dream he relives his mother's death.

He wakes up to discover that Captain Kholin has arrived. A warm reunion follows. The scene changes to headquarters: they try to persuade him to go to the Sovorov Military Academy. Ivan refuses. He would rather run away. Outside he encounters a demented old man who has lost his wife in the war. The officers arrive and force Ivan to get into their car.

In the next sequence Galtsev expresses his dissatisfaction with Masha, a young nurse at the field hospital. Kholin, after later flirting with her, tells her to go away. She is nonetheless attracted to Kholin.

The next few episodes concern the mission to rescue the bodies of two scouts who have been hanged by the Germans, their bodies left as an example to the Russians. From a conversation between Kholin, Katasonov and Galtsev we learn that Ivan's father had been killed in action, and his mother and sister had been shot by the Germans. Ivan, still in the bunker, takes hold of the knife which Galtsev had lent him and pretends to track down and kill some German soldiers. At the end of the sequence Ivan breaks down in sobs.

Another dream sequence concerns Ivan, a girl and a lorry full of apples. When the lorry reaches a beach, the apples spill out and a horse is seen munching them.

The rescue mission is successful, though we discover that Katasonov had been killed earlier. Masha leaves, having been transferred elsewhere by Galtsev who had also been attracted to her. Newsreel footage fills the screen – the entry of Soviet troops into Berlin, the German surrender and the suicide of the Goebbels' family. Galtsev is among the Soviet troops. He discovers Ivan's file in Gestapo headquarters. We witness Ivan's execution.

In a final dream sequence Ivan is seen playing with his friends and his sister. He runs out into the water. The final image we have of Ivan is his outstretched arm. He seems to be running into a dead tree. Blackness fills the screen.

What I propose now is to analyse the opening and closing of the film, and two scenes, the first at the local military post which incorporates the second dream sequence and the second, the scene in which Ivan 'plays at war'. Finally I'll try to draw some conclusions about the overall meaning of the film.

The opening and closing sequences

The film opens in bright sunlight. Ivan's angelic face appears slightly to the right of the screen against a background of trees, especially silver birches. On the left we can just make out a large spider's web. The sound of a cuckoo is heard. Ivan, wearing shorts, his torso bare, so that he may feel the benefit of the sun, moves left. The camera gradually follows the trunk of the tree until it reaches the top. We then look down on Ivan on the ground. A close-up of a goat's face appears. Ivan moves slowly to the right and then, smiling, he begins to run. He has spotted a butterfly. He chases it as it flits across the screen. He begins to laugh. The camera is placed below Ivan and looks up at him. It is almost as if he is King of the Castle. It then seems to lift him up as if he were flying. From a great height (the cameraman was actually in a helicopter) the camera swoops down towards the road. We see a well and a woman walking along the road carrying a bucket of water. The camera pans across the roots of the trees in the soil. The sound of the cuckoo is heard again. That sound continues as Ivan to the right of the screen becomes mesmerised by a shaft of light which appears in the centre. He turns. A wonderfully evocative lyrical waltz begins. We follow behind him along the road towards the woman with the bucket. She waves – it is his mother. He kneels down and takes a drink of water from the bucket. He looks up, wipes his mouth and brow and, with wide-eyed joy, exclaims: "Mum, there's a cuckoo!" A close-up of the mother's smiling face. The tone is just right, there is no room here for exaggerated sentimentality. She wipes her brow, looks up and seems puzzled. A shot is heard off-screen. Ivan screams: "Mum" but the scene has changed abruptly. Ivan has woken up with a start. His is the face of a frightened child. Reality is now an abandoned wooden building in which he has been hiding. He listens carefully, puts his battered, military hat on, makes a last check and leaves. The door from which he leaves is filmed at a forty-five degree angle, Ivan, too – an eloquent symbol of dislocation. We then see him left of screen, in the centre a delapidated windmill and to the right an abandoned plough. Ivan looks around. Ominous music conveys the idea of war, drums and alarms. Ivan in the darkness of the screen centre bottom looks towards a destroyed combined harvester. We can see the harsh light of the sun beneath its wheels. His face has a haggard, tense expression, there are dark circles beneath his eyes. Ivan runs up to the top of the hill. In the next episode tall, thin trees create an eerie atmosphere. Flares occasionally light up the sky. Shots are heard. Ivan is seen wading stealthily through the water. The spider's web we saw in the dream sequence is replaced by the lattice work of barbed wire. The sun disappears from the blackening sky. Ivan crawls through the reeds.

The opening sets up a series of contrasts: light in the dream sequence and dark in the war sequence. Nature and childhood go hand in hand: the sun, trees, water, earth and sky, animals, birds and insects all have their appointed place in the natural world. The sun reminds us of warmth, the trees perhaps of the tree of life, of shelter, of fire wood. Water refreshes both humans, nature and her creatures, great and small. The first appearance of the cuckoo is an annual ritual and stresses the continuity of life. Ivan's reaction to nature is one of spontaneous, wide-eyed joy. Even the spider's web entraps only insects and helps to maintain the balance of nature. War has invaded this natural world and destroyed it. Now everything is dark. Gone are the animals, birds and insects. The trees have become blackened. Behind them lurk the enemy and death. Water has transformed itself into a sort of River Styx. The associative cycle – earth-plough-combine-harvester-windmill-flour-bread – has been broken. The bright sunlight has become transformed into a harsh, burning sunset – behind the combine-harvester and in the sky. Maya Turovskaya goes so far as to suggest that

> "[t]his conflagration of the sunset is also a metaphor – one which stands firmly in a cultural tradition that includes Urusevsky's 'evil sun', Sholokhov's 'black sun' and the eclipse which 'barred the way' to the troops in *The Lay of Igor's Campaign*, as well as Blok's
>
> *Above the ice, that sphere is harsh and red*
> *As anger, vengeance, and as blood*".[18]

The replacement of the spider's web, which was natural by the barbed wire, which is man-made, represents too the real danger of entrapment for human beings. Ivan is no longer a spontaneous child, he has become a grown-up, trapped in a child's body. Spontaneity has turned into cold-blooded calculation. The changes mentioned here are underlined by the music, too: the lyrical waltz has become ominous martial music. What we have here is that which Ivan once had and lost – his childhood.

At the beginning of the film we do not know that Ivan is dead. The closing episodes of the film concern the manner of his death. Galtsev has survived the war, though not without suffering: his face is scarred and his hand is bandaged. His comrades-in-arms, Katasonov and Kholin, are dead. As he walks through the darkly lit, bombed-out headquarters of the Gestapo in Berlin, we hear the voice of a Russian soldier who is sorting through prisoners' files: 'Shot... hanged... shot... hanged... shot... shot... hanged... hanged... shot... hanged.' Galtsev crouches beside him. He recognises the name on one of the files which falls off the pile and drops down into a hole below. He retrieves it. A close-up of Galtsev's scarred face is replaced by a harrowing photograph of Ivan's face. Cut to a corridor, full of rubble. In the background we hear a German voice: 'Wo steckt denn hier das Kleine? Hast du Schlüssel?' ['Where is the little brat hiding? Have you got any keys?'] The camera stalks through the room as if searching him out. A door opens. 'Ah, da ist er! Heraus mit dir, kleines Teufelchen! Gleich werden wir dir 'was beibringen...Dreckiger Partisan...Wir arbeiten noch ein bißchen mit dem Kleinen...' ['Oh, there he is. Out you come, you little devil! We'll soon teach you a lesson...Dirty little partisan. We'll work on this little devil for a bit longer.'] The camera swings up to reveal two storeys of a prison wing, the guard rails are still intact. Galtsev's face appears in close-up behind stray barbed wire. The camera zooms in on a large metal door with a spy-hole. It appears to pass straight through it to reveal a row of wire nooses. Galtsev looks at them, takes off his hat and wipes his brow with his bandaged hand. He sees a guillotine. The camera zooms in on it. The music playing throughout has been both eerie and mournful, it now seems to imitate the sound of the guillotine blade hurtling down on its victim. The camera swishes back and forth uncontrollably. Suddenly Ivan's head rolls from left to right and comes to rest upside down before our eyes. Cut to Ivan's mother's face as she smiles down on him. She wipes her brow. We then see the sea. Ivan kneels over a bucket of water. He looks up, wipes his mouth and brow. His mother smiles. This is a repetition of the set of movements and gestures of the opening sequence of the film. She then picks up the bucket and walks away, though her face is still turned towards him. She faces him and waves. It is all so normal. Dissolve to preparations for a game of hide and seek on the beach with Ivan and some of his friends. Ivan goes to a tree and begins to count. Cut to the little girl who had appeared in the apple sequence as she hides behind a log. Ivan is still seen beside the tree. Dissolve: he moves away to begin his search. Eventually he spots the girl, they run into the sea laughing to the accompaniment of lyrical music. He overtakes her and keeps running. The music introduces an insistent beat, like a drum. Ivan runs, as if driven by the beat, he stretches out his left arm towards the black tree. The black tree fills the screen until the screen itself become black.

As I said earlier, we know now that Ivan is dead. If the opening scene showed what Ivan once had and then lost through the war, the ending makes another point. Deprived of a normal childhood, deprived of normal relationship (no parents, no sister, and no friends – the latter disappear altogether in the game of hide and seek) he has not only never had, but never will have, the chance to grow up normally and live a full life.[19]

We now have to examine carefully what sort of a person Ivan has turned into in the course of the narrative. Between the opening and closing of the film all the episodes serve to comment on the theme of dislocation and the warping of Ivan's personality. By way of illustration I shall discuss in detail two sections.

NOTES

1. Geoffrey Hosking: *The History of the Soviet Union*, London 1990, pp. 261–262. Chapter 10 is a useful, concise account of the progress of the war.
2. For details of the Fighting Film Albums and newsreels see Jay Leyda: *Kino*, London, 1983, pp. 365–397. Neya Zorkaya has a helpful chapter on war films in *An Illustrated History of Soviet Cinema*, New York, 1991, pp. 163–193.
3. Leyda: *op. cit.* p. 375.
4. *Kinoslovar' v dvukh tomax*, Moscow, 1966, p. 269.
5. Peter Kenez: 'Films of the Second World War' in *The Red Screen, politics, society and art in Soviet cinema*, edited by Anna Lawton, London, 1992, p. 160.
6. Grigory Svirsky: *A History of Post-War Soviet Writing*, Ann Arbor, 1981, p. 19. Svirsky also accuses Korneichuk of 'juggling with figures.' p. 208.
7. Kenez: *op. cit.* p. 162.
8. Zorkaya: *op. cit.* 'When... Tyapkina, who played Fedosya, mourned over the body of her killed son, she was both actress and mother, for Tyapkina had recently learned that her son had been killed at the front. When Dunaisky, who played grandpa Okhapka, spoke at the trial of the village elder, a fascist, it was not an actor but citizen Dunaisky whose family had been carted off to Germany.' p. 188.
9. Denise J. Youngblood: 'Post-Stalinist Cinema and the Myth of World War II: Tarkovskii's *Ivan's Childhood* (1962) and Klimov's *Come and See* (1985)' in *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, vol. 14, No. 4, 1994, p. 414.
10. *Argumenty i fakty*, 12 March 1996, p. 16. This is a paraphrase of a quotation given by T. Iensen in 'Chetyre dnya bez voiny' in *Iskusstvo kino*, No. 5, 1995, p. 13. '*The Ballad of a Soldier* was a sort of protest against the semi-official aesthetic. I had to break the norms. At that time there were masses of films about the war, in which it was fashionable to depict death as heroic, to show hundreds of men going into the attack and dying beautifully. But I could have been in that line. Was the viewer to admire my death? I took part in the war and I didn't see a single beautiful death. It's life that is beautiful.' This issue of *Iskusstvo kino* includes the following retrospective reviews of *The Cranes are Flying* (Zorkaya), *Ballad of a Soldier* (Iensen), *A Man's Destiny* and *Peace to the New-Born* (V. Troyanovsky), *Ivan's Childhood* (N. Sirivlya) and *Twenty Days without War* (P. Shepotinnik), pp. 4–22.
11. John Peck and Martin Coyle: *Literary Terms and Criticism*, London, 1984, p. 27.
12. Zorkaya speaks of 'the immense tragedy of the loss of one life, an irretrievable human life.' She quotes the final words of the author's off-screen text: 'He could have become a good father and a wonderful citizen. He could have become a worker, an engineer or a scientist. He could have grown wheat and adorned the earth with gardens. But all he managed in his short life was to become a soldier.' Unfortunately, these lines in the full version do not appear in the film.
13. See 'Women – icons or individuals?' in *Rusistika* Nos. 9, 10 and 11.
14. The following sources contain useful information. Vida T. Johnson and Graham Petrie: *The Films of Andrei Tarkovsky*, Indiana, Bloomington, 1994, pp. 66–78. Marcel Martin: *Le cinéma soviétique*, Lausanne, 1993, pp. 32–35. Ivor Montagu: 'Man and Experience. Tarkovsky's World', *Sight and Sound*, Spring 1973, pp. 89–94. Jean-Paul Sartre: 'Discussions sur la critique à propos de l'Enfance d'Ivan' in *Situations VII*, Gallimard, Paris, 1965, pp. 332–342. N. Sirivlya: 'Detskaya travma', *Iskusstvo kino*, No. 5, 1995, pp. 14–16. M. Turovskaya: *Tarkovsky, Cinema as Poetry*, London, 1989, pp. 29–35. N. Zorkaya: 'Nachalo', in *Mir i filmy Andreya Tarkovskogo*, Moscow, 1991, pp. 22–35.
15. For the original version, see *Mir i filmy Andreya Tarkovskogo*, p. 330.
16. M. Turovskaya: *op. cit.* p. 6.
17. Originally the film had been entrusted to E. Abalov. Vadim Yusov, Tarkovsky's camera man, told him that Abalov had been removed and gave him a copy of Bogomolov's novel. Mikhail Papava, who had co-scripted the film, had suggested a happy ending for the film. Ivan would survive, marry and be on the point of becoming a father. It was suggested that the title be changed to *A Second Life*. Bogomolov disagreed. Tarkovsky's team took over the film on June 16 1961 and completed filming a year later and 24,000 roubles under budget. Although Papava and Bogomolov were credited as script-writers, the real script-writers were Andrei Mikhalkov-Konchalovsky and Tarkovsky. The completed film had to pass through 13 artistic councils. Romm, Tarkovsky's former teacher, was very supportive. These details are to be found in Johnson and Petrie: *op. cit.* pp. 67–68. A photograph on page 331 of *Mir i filmy Andreya Tarkovskogo* shows Tarkovsky at a screen test for the part of the soldier, Masha's former classmate in the film, the part that was eventually to be played by Andrei Mikhalkov-Konchalovsky.
18. M. Turovskaya: *op. cit.* p. 3.
19. Ivor Montagu argues that... 'we know Ivan cannot survive... Ivan is not a real boy, he can never be a natural man. Peace would finish him off as surely as a bullet.' Ivor Montagu: *op. cit.*

Part 2 of this article will appear in the December issue of 'Rusistika'

Rusistika, June 1997, No 15, 35–39

Доска

Dynamo project

The Development Officer, Naomi Martin, has been working with colleagues in the British Council in Moscow and with the Foreign Office to develop the quantity and quality of school partnerships with the Russian Federation. As a result, under the Dynamo Project, 29 school partnerships with Russia, covering the primary and secondary phases and two special education institutions, are receiving support to develop direct communication by electronic mail. In its current phase, the Project is providing modems, installation and IT and project management training to the Russian partners in Moscow, Murmansk, Nizhnii Novgorod, Omsk, Perm, St Petersburg and Volgograd.

Pending a successful bid for further funding and possible sponsorship, the Project is set to expand. Interested UK schools, with or without partners in Russia, should contact the Directorate. This initiative operates in addition to the Bureau's partner finding, school linking visit, teacher exchange, curriculum development and other opportunities for working with partners in Central and Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union. Education Authorities wishing to establish or develop area or regional links with partners in particular in the Russian Federation, Belarus and Ukraine may also wish to discuss this with a member of staff in the Directorate. Kent, Gloucestershire and the London Borough of Southwark have already received support to develop such partnerships.

The Project aims to enhance the curricula of schools and colleges, whether or not the Russian language is taught. A copy of the table indicating newly established partnerships is available from the Directorate: schools may wish to consult this in order to find out what other experience of working with Russia exists in the area.

For further information, please call 0171 389 4119.

Russian Language Assistants – visa applications

The Assistants Department co-operates with the Ministry of General and Professional Education in Moscow to recruit Russian Language Assistants to serve for one academic year in schools, colleges and universities in the UK. Institutions interested in employing a Russian language assistant under this programme should contact Helen Radford in the Bureau's Assistants Department (0171 389 4764) for further information.

It is now not unusual for UK educational institutions to recruit language assistants directly, as a result of their own regional or local partnerships. There has recently been some confusion with regard to the visitor status of Russian language assistants. The British Embassy in Moscow has confirmed that ***only those language assistants recruited and/or endorsed under the Central Bureau-Ministry of GPE agreement*** will receive visas enabling them to take up their responsibilities as assistants in the UK. Schools and/or colleges anticipating or experiencing difficulties in the light of this regulation should contact the Directorate (*not* the Assistants Department) with details of the partnership and arrangements envisaged. In these cases, it is possible that a letter of support from the Directorate would assist, although the UK school or college would maintain responsibility for the paperwork and direct liaison with the British Embassy Consular Department and the assistant involved. (The Directorate is not in a position to place individual teachers from Russia seeking work experience or employment in UK educational institutions.)

Пословицы

Victoria Morris, Birmingham

Эта статья включает в себя подборку ряда пословиц и поговорок на тему семейных взаимоотношений в России. Пословицы были собраны и записаны в деревнях Ярославской, Тверской и Московской областей.

Тема взаимоотношений между мужем и женой всегда являлось одной из ведущих в народном фольклоре. В настоящее время чуть ли не половина браков распадается, а вот раньше... "Поп обвенчает – сам архиерей не развенчает". Жениться более одного раза считалось большим грехом "Дай-то бог раз жениться, раз креститься да раз умирать".

С началом супружеской жизни на семейную пару обрушивается куча забот. Молодой жене "покроют головушку – наложат заботушку", мужу – "женился - к дому привязался". Теперь он глава

семьи, наставник жены. В народе говорилось "Муж - глава, а жена - душа", впрочем, острословы, признавая супруга главой, добавляли "Муж - голова, жена - шея, куда шея - туда и голова". Но чтобы ни говорили шутники, а жена всегда находилась в подчинении своего богданного. "Он для нее пастырь, а она пластырь, муж жене отец, а она ему венец". И уж никак ей не было положено считать себя важнее его. "Се петь курице петухом, не владеть бабе мужиком". Власть главы семьи считалась непререкаемой, иначе - "горе тому дому, в котором жена хозяйка".

Впрочем, эта заповедь всегда нарушалась на практике. "Волен Бог да жена, коль волы взяла". Шло время и женщина постепенно обретала все большие права, свободу действий в семье, и по-иному заговорили бывшие подневольные мужьям жены "Жена мужу не прислуга, а подруга". "Теща для привета, а жена для совета". Теперь женщина приобретает статус советчицы, а бывало, "Знай, сверчок, свой шесток", "Бей шубу - будет теплее, бей жену - будет добрее", "Люби жену, как душу, тряси ее как грушу"... и обоснование этому находилось куда как веское "Жену не бить - и милу не быть".

А ведь любовь и согласие - что может быть важнее в супружеской жизни? Вот уж справедливо говорили: "На что и клад, коли у мужа с женою лад". И еще убедительнее: "Где любовь и совет, там и в пост - мясоед".

Важнейший долг обоих супругов - поддерживать благополучие в семье, особенно домашнее хозяйство. Считалось, что муж обязан 'кормить' жену: "Жена-не коза, травой не накормишь", обувать-одевать ее, и притом получше, а не кое-как, но при это было существенное дополнение: "Поп, корми, одевай да на работу посылай". Конечно, работала русская женщина от зари до зари, ну, бывали среди них и нерадивые, и ленивые, конечно: "Муж принесет, а хозяйка растрясет", что некоторые из них "из дома больше вынесут горшком, чем муж мешком", а про хорошую хозяйку говорили, что "у нее дом - полая чаша".

Обычно хорошую хозяйку сравнивали с лопатой, а плохую с метлой: "Добрая жена - лопата, а худая - метла: одна в дом, а другая - из дома". Ну а уж если оба супруга бережливые, то "Муж тяни гуж, жена шей рубашки - и проживешь безбедно".

Представители сильного пола должны заботится своих женах, вот как говорили сами слабые существа: "За мужнюю спину схоронюсь – никого не боюсь". Даже неказистый на вид мужичок ценился довольно "Мужичок с ноготок, а за него завалюсь – самой смерти не побоюсь". Доброе отношение мужа к жене возвышало ее в глазах других женщин: "Красна пава перьем, а жена - мужем", "Жена по муже честна", "Из-за мужа и жена хороша". В связи с этим несколько слов о ревности, портящей жизнь супругам. Народные обычаи дружно осуждают ее как большой порок. Хотя иные и утверждают, что без ревности нет любви, но наиболее распространенное мнение, что "ревность как ржа губит сердца", особенно женщинам. Они говорят: "За ревнивым мужем жить – не в корысти молодость свою износить". Впрочем, в фольклоре и им достается: "Ревнивая жена будто на то создана, чтобы другим наскучить и мужа и себя измучить".

Брак прекращается, как правило, с уходом из жизни одного из супругов. "Повенчает поп, а развенчает гроб", говорили издревле на Руси. Вдовство – это великое горе для любого человека. Вдоветь всегда было великим несчастьем на Руси, но все равно: "Лучше семь раз гореть, чем один вдоветь". Особенно плохо остаться одинокой женщине: "Быть вдовой – сиротское дело, для нее овдоветь – беды терпеть". У мужчин со вдовством было проще: "Не плачь по жене – будет другая".

Миновали годы, столетия, а обычаи глубокой старины относительно супружеской жизни помнятся современниками и во многом не утратили своей значимости и теперь.

IX Congress of MAPRYAL Bratislava, Slovakia July 1999

In this issue of *Rusistika* you will find an invitation for you to participate in or speak at the IX Congress of MAPRYAL (see page XX). The performance of the British contingent made a good impression at the last Congress, which was held in Regensburg, and the UK had more speakers than any other Western European country, except for the host country, Germany. We have again been allocated slots for eight or nine speakers at the Bratislava Congress. If you are interested, even provisionally, please complete the tear-off slip and return it to me.

The Congress programme is divided into five thematic sections: language, literature, methodology, cultural (area) studies and, to mark the 100th anniversary of the poet's birth, the works of Pushkin. Further details will be sent to you on request or on return of the completed tear-off slip. Papers at the MAPRYAL Congress tend to occupy from 10–20 minutes, in order to allow as many speakers as possible to take part.

There is always a lively social life at the Congresses, with parties and get-togethers, and plenty of opportunities to speak Russian and mix with colleagues from other countries. It is hoped that some financial assistance may be available, as on earlier occasions, to participants and especially speakers at the Congress, whose basic theme is *Русский язык, литература и культура на рубеже веков*. Further details will be available after the meeting of the MAPRYAL Presidium, which is to be held in Moscow in October.

Meanwhile, if you are interested in receiving more information about the Congress or participating in it, please let me know as soon as possible.

Terry Wade (Member of MAPRYAL Presidium), 1 Cleveden Crescent, Glasgow G12 0PD (Tel 0141 339 3947)

The Scotland-Russia Society, Glasgow

The Scotland-Russia Society, formerly the Scotland-USSR Society, has embarked on a new round of activities. The Society, which is situated in a spacious and attractive Victorian house

NINTH MAPRYAL CONGRESS
BRATISLAVA, JULY 1999

The Ninth Congress of MAPRYAL (Международная ассоциация преподавателей русского языка и литературы) will be held in Bratislava, Slovakia, in July 1999 (dates to be confirmed later this year).

At the Eighth Congress, held in Regensburg, Germany, the number of British speakers was the largest in Western Europe outside the host nation, confirming ALL's reputation as an organisation capable of fielding a strong team. We would like to have a similar turn-out in 1999, and have been allotted eight or nine places at the Congress.

If you would like to participate, please complete the tear-off slip below and return it as soon as possible. Please indicate which of the five sections of the Congress you are interested in and, where appropriate, the provisional title of your talk. As in Regensburg, there may be some financial support for participants, in particular speakers.

Please return the tear-off slip to Terry Wade, MAPRYAL Representative, 1 Cleveden Crescent, Glasgow G12 0PD (Tel: 0141 339 3947) as soon as possible.

I wish to particpiate in the 9th MAPRYAL Congress in Bratislava in July 1999. I am interested in the following section(s) of the Congress (please circle one or more):

1. Linguistic
2. Literary
3. Methodological
4. Cultural
5. Pushkin (a special section to mark the 200th anniversary of the poet's birth)

The provisional title of my talk (if relevant) is:

Name:

Address:

Tel. and Fax no.:

Signature:

in the West end of Glasgow, sees its role first and foremost as social and educational.

Following an extremely successful bi-lingual Burns and Pushkin night on 7 February 1997, which was attended by over sixty guests, including visitors from Ekaterinburg, the Society has embarked on a series of introductory lectures on contemporary Russian themes, from film and music to literature, politics and language, given by the staff of city universities and Dr Colleen Batey, Curator of Archaeology, Glasgow Museums, who spoke to the Society on the Russian Gold Exhibition *Treasures of the Warrior Tombs*, which has been on loan to the Burrell Collection from Glasgow's twin city, Rostov-on-Don.

There has also been a lively question-and-answer session with Mr Igor Bulay, newly-appointed Consul General of the Russian Federation, from the Consulate General in Edinburgh. The Society hopes to cooperate with the Consulate General in promoting Russian culture in Scotland. Other plans include greater contact with the Britain-Russian Centre in Edinburgh, with Glasgow City Council Education Department and with the many Russians living in the West of Scotland, who will have access to a Russian library, Russian newspapers and in due course Russian satellite television. It is planned to offer support services to Glasgow schools interested in Russian afffairs and English and Russian classes in the Society for those who are interested, with get-togethers for Russian children and their parents.

Since Russian is no longer taught in a single state school in Glasgow, the Society also plans to assume the mantle of the former ATR/ALL local *kruzhki* in trying to reintroduce the language in city schools. Talks have already begun with education authorities at City Chambers and targets identified. Initial tasks are to contact schools likely to be favourably disposed to Russian teaching, and establish the whereabouts of suitably-qualified teachers and the availability of appropiate teaching materials (this has already been done, with the assistance of Mark Felstead, Materials Secretary to the Russian Language Council of ALL). *The Annan Report on the Teaching of Russian* (1962) has been consulted and has been found to contain statements as true now as they were thirty-five years ago:

> *... our commercial and industrial interests will need Russian to establish closer trading relations; more of our civil sewants, social scientists and publicists will have to study [Russian] affairs closely.*

The UK never came within touching distance of fulfilling the recommendations of the Annan Report. Now older and hopefully wiser, perhaps we can now raise Russian teaching from its present oblivion in Glasgow schools?

Terry Wade

Promoting Russian via Local Media

This is to be a topic for a short presentation at the ALL Russian Teachers' Day in London on June 21st. While economists predict that by the year 2010 Russia will have the fastest growing economy in the world, it is still often a struggle to get viable beginners groups in schools and Adult Education. The presentation will demonstrate how local newspapers and TV will respond to news about Russia. By keeping them supplied with stories about local business and cultural contacts with Russia it may well be possible to have an effect on recruitment and boost enrolments.

John Langran

Kruzhki reports

The news this time starts in Sussex, where an already flourishing kruzhok has agreed to join our ranks and share news with us. Members meet once a month in Lewes or Burgess Hill; attendance varies between 12 and 25, though when parties or musical events are held it has been considerably more, and there are Russians present at almost all meetings. The programme, as reported by the convenor Colin Bearne, is very varied, and the first event he mentions was in April of last year, when Andrew Spira, from the Temple Galleries, London, gave a fascinating talk on Russian icons; this was followed in May by an excellent recital of Russian music for the harp, by Helen Arnold. A video film of Stalin's Russia, made at Sussex University by the convenor and Beryl Williams, brought the year to an end. The autumn started with two splendid events: a reading of Russian poetry by Professor Robin Milner-Gulland from the University of Sussex, then in October Dr Martin Macauley spoke on the subject of the situation facing Russian political leaders today. In February of this year members heard Professor David Dyker from Sussex speak on the current state of Eastern European economies – a gloomy subject, says the convenor, but a good speaker! March brought Natasha Crosswell, a former ballet dancer with the Maly, and later defence worker in the former Soviet Union; now resident in the UK, she spoke about her experiences. It is good to welcome Sussex, and we look forward to further news from them.

I always get a full and fascinating report from Liverpool, and this year is no exception. 'Strana v perekhode' was the title of a talk given in April of last year by one of the members, Father Francis Marsden, a priest who had recently spent some months in the Ukraine, lecturing to seminary students. Esenin featured at the May meeting, when the former President, Dr. Jesse Davies, a distinguished authority on Esenin, spoke on his poetic mastery. She had been in Moscow, Ryazan and Konstantinova in 1995 for the Esenin Centenary celebrations. The talk was illustrated by readings of his poems in her own translations and in the original by a Russian member. The summer programme included an account of a round-the-world tour by Nina Vinogradova, one of the society's longest-standing friends, and also a piano recital by her, which was in aid of Chernobyl children. The concert raised enough money to bring an extra five children to Britain this April for a beneficiary holiday stay. In the autumn members heard a talk entitled 'Sistema obrazovaniya i izmeneniya v ney v svyazi s raspadom SSSR', given by Rogneda Avdeeva, who was an Inspector of Schools and head of a school in Azerbaijan until three years ago. She also gave an account of the dramatic and unnerving events which led to her departure. December brought a talk in Russian by Svetlana Cooke, about her return to St Petersburg in the summer; this was entitled 'Desyats dney v Peterburge posle vyborov', and included comments on recent changes in the city. After a celebration of the New Year at the Russian restaurant in January, the February meeting provided an informative and very interesting account of a famous General and his doings, 'Lebed: nastoyashchee i proshloye'.

For Exeter's Russian Week in March the first event was a concert by 'The Liria Group', a professional group of both Russian and Welsh members, who performed pieces by Tchaikovsky, Shostakovich, Mussorgsky and Glinka. On the following day Alla Bolshakova from the Gorky Literary Institute in Moscow spoke on 'The Image of Russia in English Literature'. Russian literature was represented by one of Russia's leading poets, Olga Sedakova, who read some of her own poems. The Russian Ball provided an evening of Russian entertainment and culinary delights, followed by performances by the Exeter Balalaika group and the Russian Choir. A talk on 'Andrei Platonov – The construction of Paradise and the Pit of Despair' was presented by Robert Chandler, who recently translated 'The Foundation Pit' by Platonov. The final guest speaker was Timur Zulfikarov, who was nominated for the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1993 and won the Collets prize for literature in that year for the prose poem 'The Earthly and Heavenly Wanderings of the Poet'. The last event of the week was a performance of three short parodies by B. F. Geyer in the style of Chekhov, Gogol and Ostrovskii, acted by both Russian and English students.

In Leicester a small but faithful band of enthusiasts still continue to meet on a social basis to share their love of Russian by reading, translating and, thanks to the generosity of their two Russian members, watching Russian-produced videos to test their aural comprehension; works by Pushkin and Bulgakov have featured recently in their meetings.

The autumn meeting in London was immensely enjoyable: Gregg Yeoman came to talk on the 'Trans-Siberian Cycle Expedition of 1993' in which he took part. He had some really wonderful slides to support this talk, and also hilarious anecdotes! The audience had a hard job not to collapse from exhaustion when hearing about their adventures, especially as most of us had not actually envisaged a cycle trip across Siberia, and the problems to be faced when the road gave out and the only place to cycle was on the railway line...

From Northern Ireland I can report on the meeting in March 1996 which just missed last year's *Rusistika*. This was a talk by Marina Frolova-Walker, formerly Lecturer at Moscow Conservatoire, on 'Pushkin, Glinka and the Russian Soul', with musical illustrations. Our convenor reports that a subtle change is occurring in the 'orientation' of the kruzhok: with the increased numbers of Russians resident in Northern Ireland it is taking on more the character of a club for Russians, and he wonders whether this could be a problem if the Communists should regain power and therefore visiting speakers from Russia might receive a rather hostile reception. Do other kruzhki, he asks, have similar concerns?

The November meeting was a talk entitled 'Primary health care in Post-Soviet Russia', given by Dr Ian McDonald, a GP temporarily attached to NICARE. He showed slides made during a visit in September to the new General Practice centres in the Russian Federation; then five doctors from some of these centres, St. Petersburg, Ekaterinburg and Samara, answered questions about the development of General Practice in Russia. In February, members heard Dr Jan Pawel Jedrzejewski, from the University of Ulster at Coleraine, speak on 'Borders, histories, traditions – Slavonic reflections on the Causeway Coast'; this was an investigation of the notational parallel between Polish-Russian relations and Irish-British relations. Later in the same month Joe Camplisson, a Conflict

Resolution specialist, and Chief Mediator of the Moldova/Transdnestria conflict, gave a talk on 'Relationships within the Russian Federation and the C.I.S.', which actually, reports our Convenor, turns out to be entirely devoted to the Moldova-Transdnestria conflict. In March the Convenor himself, Professor Marcus Wheeler (ex-QUB), spoke on the topic 'From Donaghadee to Shannon – some Irish-Russian links'. He explains, for the benefit of some of us Anglocentrics, that this meant 'From Peter the Great to Boris Yeltsin!' All credit to the kruzhok for keeping going when the university department of Russian has been liquidated.

The Thames Valley kruzhok provides a meeting place for students and teachers of Russian, and also welcomes native Russian speakers. Over the past year there have been several conversation and social evenings, where often food plays a large part! On one occasion members were asked to bring a sample of their favourite Russian dish, and on another, to join a family celebration of the traditional Russian 'Maslenitsa', and to bring their own pancake fillings. Our convenor reports: 'Hundreds of pancakes!' In January Robert Burns was celebrated in Scots and Russian, and it is stated that members understood the Marshak Russian translations better than the original poems in Scots.

Thanks to all the convenors, and a happy summer to all!

JOAN SMITH

Reviews

Philip Hood
Reviews Editor

Да нет!

Michael Clark and Malcolm Gardner
Available direct from Westcliff High School for Boys, Kenilworth Gardens, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex SS0 0BP, £2.50 per copy or £25 for full photocopying rights. (Cheques payable to Westcliff High School for Boys.)

Да нет! is a desk-top published booklet of 37 different signs, notices and advertisements recently photographed in Russia with accompanying tasks in Russian. The Russian-language tasks are designed to reflect the requirement of the 1998 GCSE syllabus that reading comprehension should be tested by questions mainly in the target language. The texts are limited to what a visitor to Russia would be likely to see on the street: shop signs, direction signs and public information in a variety of settings such as Red Square, a sports stadium, the Moscow metro and schools.

Some tasks make use of clip art pictures in a multiple choice exercise, and other tasks require understanding of Russian sentences of varying levels of difficulty, mainly in multiple choice or true-false task types. Frequently the real challenge of the task is not in the comprehension of the authentic text in the photograph, but in the comprehension of the target language-based exercise accompanying it. Some tasks require previous knowledge gained from background studies or a visit to Russia. In one or two of the photographs the text is not clearly legible, but the overall production quality of the booklet is excellent. I would personally prefer to use it as a teaching rather than as an assessment resource, and can envisage its usefulness as a stimulus for oral discussion as well.

The busy teacher will always welcome the ready availability of materials which respond to the latest examination requirements and which will save them hours of preparation. While Да нет! does not pretend to meet all the requirements of the new GCSE Reading papers, it is a most helpful contribution and represents good value for money.
MARK FELSTEAD

BOOKS

Readers may be interested in the following books:

Gor, Kira S. and Inna A. Hardmann, *Russian Stage 1: Live From Moscow*.

A two-volume programme based on a videotape story line of young people in contemporary Moscow. $45 per volume. Contact Emmett E. Dingley, Executive Director, Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, National Office, 7223 Lee Highway, Suite 302, Falls Church, VA 22046, USA. Tel: 1 703 237 1907, Fax: 1 703 237 1984.

Kostomarov, V. G., *Языковой вкус эпохи*, Moscow 1996.

The book describes the Russian language in a transitional period, not bound by established norms. It abounds in examples and deals with style, loans, reinterpretations, phraseology, word formation, grammar and phonetics, orthography and punctuation. Contact Россия, 1258867, ГСП, Москва, А-137, ул. "Правды", 24. Tel: 257 3743, Fax: 200 2291.

Mustajoki, Arto, *Капуста*. CD-ROM.

Said to be the easiest course ever, based on recognisable Russian words, consisting of four parts: Alphabet, *Kapusta*-games, Speaking Dictionary and the adventure game *Kapustograd*. Recommended price $60 +VAT (wholesale $40). Full English version available from October 1996. National associations and firms contact TTT-kayttotuki, Tuure Tuuanen, Joupinmaki 5 C 60, FIN-02760 Espoo, Finland. Fax: 358 9863 1065.

Wade, Terence, *Russian Etymological Dictionary*, Duckworths, 1996, £14.95.

Describes the etymology of 1500 central words in the Russian language, analyses word derivations and helps in learning vocabulary and raising students' language awareness. Contact Duckworth, The Old Piano Factory, 48 Hoxton Square, London N1 6PB. Tel: 0171 729 5986, Fax: 0171 729 0015.

James, Vaughan, *A Reasonable Man*, Book Guild Ltd, Temple House, 25 High Street, Lewes, East Sussex BN7 2LU

Written by one of the founders and former President of the Association of Teachers of Russian. The novel is set in post perestroika Russia and follows the adventures of a former Soviet functionary in Moscow, Cuba, Canada and New York.

Notes for Contributors

Contributions

The Editorial Committee welcomes previously unpublished articles, reports and other contributions, which will further the cause of the learning and teaching of Russian. Contributions are expected to fall into one of these categories:

(a) Articles of about 3000 words.

(b) Brief (up to 1000 words) items of information, notes on innovative practice, discussion points (including those arising from previous articles).

(c) Reviews usually of about 300 to 400 words (but longer reviews or review articles may also be accepted). Please send your contributions direct to the Reviews Editor.

The guidelines below are intended to help contributors:

Presentation

Type with double spacing.

Please give your article one title only, not a title and a sub-title, and divide it up with (short) sub-headings. An abstract of about 50 words should be provided.

Give full references for all sources quoted, using the Harvard system. In the text the author's name, year of publication and page number where relevant should be quoted in brackets, e.g.: (Jones,1993, 27).

Please send three copies of the article and keep another for yourself.

Clean copy and articles supplied with IBM or Macintosh compatible disc (MS Word preferred) are of great assistance in reducing printing costs. Graphs, pie charts and other diagrams should be supplied as camera ready, hard copy. If prepared on a computer, graphics files on disk are also of use, presented as TIF or postscript files.

Illustrations

Photographs are particularly welcome, as are charts, diagrams and tables where relevant. Please send these at the same time as your typescript.

Timing

In order to be considered for inclusion in the following issue, articles should normally be sent in by lst March and lst September. Where topicality is of the essence, shorter deadlines are possible by negotiation with the Editor.

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JUNE 1997 No 15

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ASSOCIATION for
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РУСИСТИКА

The Russian Journal of the Association for Language Learning

Russian in Estonia

Hints for role play

Soviet cinema – Part 2

DECEMBER 1997
No 16

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Русистика

December 1997 · No. 16

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Rusistika, December 1997, No 16, 2

Editorial

Margaret Tejerizo

As always, it is hoped that the present issue of *Rusistika* offers a good selection of interesting items for readers, and sincere thanks are due to all contributors.

I am, however, especially grateful to Professor Terry Wade for the important information which he has passed on for publication. It should be noted that in the previous edition of the journal there was a misprint in his report on page 36. The reference, of course, should have been to Pushkin's 200th anniversary.

Rusistika will now appear in March and September. Items for inclusion in the September issue should reach me by June 1998 at latest.

ALL RUSSIAN COMMITTEE

As chairperson of the new Russian committee of ALL I would like to say a big "thank you" to the members of the last Committee who finished their term of office this summer, especially to Daphne West who chaired the group so capably in difficult times, and to Joan Smith, who has been looking after the 'kruzhki' for longer than she or anyone else can remember!

The Committee is elected every three years and the Association has a rule that limits service on languages committees to six years. This means that it is 'all change' regularly, and new people are needed every three years to maintain the continuity. This year there were not enough candidates for an election to take place. So we are here on sufferance. It is more difficult for Russian than, for example, French to cope with the six year rule as we simply do not have so many active members to draw on. If you want to know what goes on at meetings (only twice a year), telephone the ALL office for a copy of the last minutes.

As for the 'kruzhki', these are not a formal part of the ALL structure. But it is essential for Russianists to know what is going on locally in all sectors. We need to find a way to keep this contact going.

As the Russian economy slowly starts to pull itself together and more and more business contact is established, teachers of Russian in the UK can look forward to happier times. There are already significant signposts to a revival. The AE sector is usually the first to react to change, and in spite of all the problems in this sector has had financially, new Russian classes have sprung up in towns as small as Chepstow and Kidderminster. And Eton College have a very large rise in their sixth form option this year.

So I hope that things go well for you in the next three years. If you need support with any aspect of Russian teaching in your school or college this year, please contact whichever of the committee you think appropriate, and we will try to help.

John Langran
Chair, ALL Russian Committee

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Rusistika, December 1997, No 16, 3–7

О русском языке в Эстонии

I. Kiul’moia and S. Mel’tser

Появление русского населения в Эстонии относят к XVII веку. Сначала это были купцы, поселявшиеся в таких торговых центрах, как Нарва и Тарту, затем в восточной Эстонии появляется довольно значительное число русских крестьян, рыбаков и ремесленников, а в конце века на северном и западном побережье Чудского озера возникают целые деревни русских старообрядцев, бежавших из России от преследований официальной православной церкви. В 1710 г., после подписания мирного договора между Россией и Швецией, Эстония вошла в состав Российской империи. Однако население сохранило лютеранское вероисповедание. Местному же дворянству, состоявшему из шведов и немцев, были оставлены прежние привилегии и самоуправление. Языком делопроизводства остался немецкий. Сложилась довольно своеобразная ситуация, когда делопроизводство велось не на государственном языке. По окончании Северной войны в Эстонии возникают мануфактуры, к этому же времени относится первый случай ввоза рабочей силы из России: на бумажную мануфактуру в Ряпина, основанную в 1734 году, привезли крестьян с семьями из центральной России. В школах в то время русский язык не стремится его изучать, считая варварским. Лишь в 1784 г. после ревизии остзейских губерний Екатерина II, недовольная уровнем знания русского языка, издает указ, “чтоб в училищах тамошних преподаваем был российский язык”. Выполнить такой указ, однако, было непросто, т.к. не было ни учителей, ни какой бы то ни было методики, ни учебников.

Тем не менее, русские власти довольно долго относились к этому положению спокойно, ситуация начинает меняться лишь после утверждения нового устава Дерптского (Тартуского) университета и подведомственных ему учебных заведений в 1820 г. Русский язык становится обязательным предметом в гимназии и уездных училищах. В 1836 г. вводится обязательный экзамен по русскому языку для всех оканчивающих Тартуский университет, кроме студентов теологического факультета. Однако отношение к этому экзамену как со стороны студентов, так и преподавателей не было особенно серьезным. Рассказывают анекдот о лекторе русского языка Михаиле Розберге, к которому несколько раз приходил один студент, под разными именами сдававший экзамен за своих друзей. Либеральный Розберг долго делал вид, что верит, что перед ним разные студенты, однако наконец, не выдержал и сказал: “В прошлый раз, когда Вы были Шмидтом, Вы знали русский язык лучше, господин Шульц!” В соответствии с утвержденным в 1849 г. планом гимназического курса русский язык преподавался 5–6 часов в неделю в течение 5 лет. Кроме традиционных языковых курсов (“разговорный язык по живописным изображениям”, грамматика с письменными упражнеиями и др.), в него входила также география России, история России от Петра Великого до новейшего времени, переводы с немецкого языка на русский, несколько позже и русской словесности.

Наиболее рапространенными пособиями по русскому языку в первой трети XIX века были грамматики и хрестоматии Й. С. Фатера и А. В. Таппе, ориентированные на немцев. В начале 30-х годов было рекомендовано использовать “Начальные правила русской грамматики” Н. И. Греча, переведенные и на немецкий язык, а также грамматику А. Х. Востокова, хотя обе книги предназначались для русских школ.

Учебники, специально предназначенные для эстонцев, были малочисленны, некоторые очень неудачны. Так, 26 страниц из 32 в учебнике Й. Швелле (1844) занимал русско-эстонский словарь, включающий далеко не всегда самую употребительную лексику. Несравненно лучше была "Новая русско-эстонско-славянская азбука" (1856) для эстонских православных школ, в которой большое место занимали молитвы, тексты же были снабжены переводом на эстонский язык.

Средний житель Эстонии в это время не имел возможности изучать русский язык, в сельских школах его почти не преподавали, делались лишь первые робкие попытки ввести изучение русского языка в приходских школах, в училища и гимназии из эстонцев попадали очень немногие. Более образованные эстонцы знали немецкий язык и находились под влиянием немецкой культуры. Местное немецкое дворянство старалось сохранить свое влияние в Прибалтике и не было заинтересовано в распространении русского языка. Поэтому даже самые умеренные меры по повышению роли русского языка встречали энергичное сопротивление. Несколько позже, в 70-е годы, министерство народного просвещения обращает особое внимание на положение русского языка в народных школах, предназначенных для эстонцев и латышей, для этих школ стали готовить учителей в русскоязычной Прибалтийской учительской семинарии в Риге, была заложена юридическая и финансовая основа существования православных школ. В программе этих школ значительное место занимал русский язык.

В 80-е годы царь Александр III начинает проводить русификацию окраин империи. Русский язык становится официальным языком делопроизводства. С середины 80-х годов вводится обучение на русском языке сначала в гимназиях, а затем и в начальных школах со второго класса. Все школы были подчинены Российскому министерству просвещения. Это првлекло за собой увольнение многих учителей, инспекторов, чиновников, не знавших русского языка. В начале 90-х годов русификаторские тенденции усилились еще более, были выдвинуты требования обучения на русском языке уже с первого класса. Родной язык в качестве учебного предмета был исключен из программ. Использовались учебники для русских школ.

Реформы коснулись и Тартуского университета – обучение на всех факультетах, кроме богословского, стало проводиться по-русски. Русифицировано было и название самого города, Дорпат/Дерпт (немецкий вариант названия Тарту) был переименован в Юрьев, что повлекло за собой и изменение названия университета. Немецкие преподаватели покидают университет, уменьшается число студентов. Русификация, направленная против эстонских национальных устремлений, дала результат, обратный ожидаемому – зарождающаяся эстонская интнллигенция осознала необходимость собственного пути духовного развития, отличающегося и от немецкого, и от русского. Современные эстонские историки отмечают одну положительную сторону политики русификации – многие молодые эстонцы выучили русский язык и смогли продолжить образование в Петербурге.

После революции 1905 года наблюдается ослабление давления царского правительства. Начальные школы получают разрешение вести обучение в течение первых двух лет на родном языке. Открываются частные эстонские школы, которые финансируются различными обществами. Русский язык однако, продолжают изучать, он необходим все еще многочисленным переселенцам, надеющимся получить землю в России, а также молодым людям, проходящим обязательную воинскую повинность.

Первая мировая война и октябрьский переворот 1917 года кардинально изменили всю политическую ситуацию. 24 февраля 1918 года была объявлена Эстонская Республика. На первых порах русский язык сохранял свою роль, так как еще продолжало существовать царское законодательство, но уже с начала 20-х годов русский язык перестает быть обязательным предметом в школах, изучается лишь наряду с другими иностранными языками. В 1938 году газета "Вести дня" отмечает, что в школах Эстонии обучается русскому яхыку около 4000 человек, однако, по-видимому, в это число включены и учащиеся русских школ.

В конце 30-х годов русский язык преподается в качестве первого иностранного в Тартуском колледже; как второй иностранный – в Таллинском техникуме, во многих торговых школах Таллина, Тарту, Нарвы, Раквере, в Таллинской немецкой Ханзашуле, в некоторых частных гимназиях и школах. В ряде школ и гимназий он изучается в качестве третьего иностранного. Русский язык перестает быть обязательным предметом и в университете, изучают его только юристы и экономисты. Эстонцы старшего поколения знают русский язык, но молодежь уже не знает. Во многом это объяснимо ощущением опасности с востока, желанием отмежеваться от угнетателей и их языка.

Вторая мировая война, присоединение Эстонии к Советскому Союху, ее оккупация произвели существенные изменения не только в политической жизни страны, но и в национальном составе ее населения. В начале войны из Эстонии по призыву Гитлера уехали почти все немцы. Многие эстонцы были репрессированы и вывезены в Россию, откуда уже не вернулись. В то же время уже в сталинский период стала проводиться политика русификации Эстонии и увеличение количества русского населения путем иммиграции. В последующие годы эти тенденции еще усилились. Если еще по окончании второй мировой войны благодаря высокому проценту коренного населения Эстония была одним из государств с наиболее однородным составом в Европе, то за послевоенный период ситуация изменилась очень существенно. В 1945 году эстонцы составляли 97,3% населения, в 1959 году – 74,6%, в 1988 – 60,9%. Среди других национальностей, поселившихся в стране в послевоенный период, доминировали русские, к 1988 году составявшие уже 30,5% населения. Наиболее массовыми были два потока иммигрантов: 1947–1952 г.г. и 1970-х годов.Первый из них был связан с быстрым развитием промышленности, требовавшей рабочей силы. Второй – с более высоким жизненным уровнем населения и лучшим снабжением продуктами питания. Бóльшая часть приехавших, особенно со вторым потоком, не имела ранее никаких связей с Эстонией. Местный уклад жизни был для них непривычным и в какой-то мере враждебным. Основная масса приехавших поселялась в промышленных районах северо-востока Эстонии, где в ряде городов почти не стало эстонского населения. Так, например, в одном из крупных городов – Нарве – русские составляют 85% населения. Следует отметить и то обстоятельство, что многие иммигранты не задерживались в Эстонии, а, пожив несколько лет, уезжали, состав этой группы населения не был стабильным.

Отличительной чертой советской политики в послевоенный период была русифкация, получившая наибольший размах в 70-х – начале 80-х годов, когда была разработана концепция “решения” национального вопроса, предполагавшая появление некой новой, более широкой, чем нация, общности – советского народа. Все нации и народности должны были исчезнуть. При этом следовало обращать внимание на преподавание и изучение русского языка, на расширение сферы его функционирования, на повышение его роли. Бюро центрального комитета коммунистичуской партии Эстонии приняло в 1978 году специальное решение об улучшении преподавания русского языка. Это был секретный документ, не подлежвщий распространению, по иронии судьбы, однако, вскоре опубликовпнный в шведских и финских газетах. Изучение русского языка должно было начинаться уже в первом классе, рекомендовалось организовать смешанные русско-эстонские группы в детских садах, читать в университете лекции по некоторым предметам на русском языке. Целью этих меророиятий было достижение полного двуязычия, которое понималось весьма тенденциозно: эстонцы должны были овладеть русским языком, об овладении русскими эстонским языком ничего не говорилось.

Как и в царское время, такие меры вызвали естественное противодействие. Многие мероприятия проводились лишь на бумаге. В 1980 г. прошли стихийные демонстрации школьников, недовольных сложившимся положением. Активизировалвсь деятельность диссидентов. После этого примитивная пропаганда русского языка прекратилась. Тем не менее, вред, нанесенный ею престижу русского языка, был значительно большим, чем наносили подобные мероприятия, проводившиеся ранее. В результате этой пропаганды отрицательное отношение молодежи к изучению русского языка усилилось. В годы перестройки, когда во многих странах возрос интерес к русскому языку, в Эстонии наблюдался явный спад такого интереса.

Современные жизненные условия способствуют развитию контактов между государствами, владению иностранными языками придаётся особое значение. Но и в этой ситуации положение русского языка в республике продолжает оставаться достаточно сложным. В эстонских школах изучаются следующие иностранные языки: английский, немецкий, французский, русский, финский, шведский, латинский, греческий, испанский, итальянский, датский, норвежский, японский. Количество желающих изучать английский язык в качестве первого иностранного увеличилось со 106709 человек в 1994 году до 118627 в 1995; для изучающих немецкий язык эти цифры составляли соответственно 38784 и 43431, французский – 1889 и 2612 школьников, число же изучающих русский язык умнеьшилось за это время с 85801 до 73271 человека, причём эта тенденция остаётся достаточно устойчивой по сей день.

В настоящее время русскоязычное население составляет примерно 35% от общего числа жителей Эстонии (1492000 человек), причём в школах с русским языком преподавания в 1995/96 годах насчитывалось 69286 учащихся, в эстонских школах – 145376 (в 1993/94 учебном году те же прказатели составляли соответственно 70020 и 138996 человек). Бóльщая часть русских школ, в которых обучается в общей сложности 68335 учеников, функционирует в городах, из них 30338 русскоязычных школьников обучается ы Таллине. При этом необходимо отметить, что в последние годы неуклонно растёт количество русских семей, решивших связать свою дальнейшую жизнь с Эстонией и потому стремящихся отдать своих детей в эстонский детский сад, а затем – и в эстонскую школу. Думается, целесообразность таких решений – очень сложный вопрос, влекущий за собой множество прежде всего психологических и национально-культурных проблем.

По учебному плану, действующему в пределах республики, изучение первого, или А языка, начинается с 3 класса, обучение второму, В языку – с 6 класса: выбор третьего иностранного языка осуществляется по решению школьного руководства. В том случае, если в классе насчитывается более 25 учащихся, на уроках иностранного языка но делится на группы. Количество часов, отводимых на изучение неродного языка, распределяется следующим образом: язык А с третьего по пятый класс – 4 часа в неделю, с шестого по девятый класс – 3 часа в неделю, с десятого по двенадцатый класс – 2 часа в неделю. На обучение языку В отводится 4 часа в шестом-седьмом классах, 3 часа в неделю – в восьмом-десятом классах, 2 часа – в одиннадцатом и двенадцатом классах. В дополнение к учебной программе учащимся предоставляется возможность изучать иностранный язык углублённо, по выбору или за определённую плату (в последнем случае – по желанию родителей).

В гимгазиях наряду с языками А и В выбирают в качестве иностранного и третий – С язык. В гимназиях с эстонским языком обучения русский язык как первый иностранный выбрали 47423 учащихся, как второй – 18610, как третий – 2453 ученика. Приведем для сравнения данные, касающиеся английского языка: 50381 человек из числа эстонских школьников выбрали его в качестве основного иностранного, 38654 – второго (В) языка и 21255 – как третий (С) язык.

Наряду с английским языком достаточно популярным среди школьников является и немецкий. Количество желающих изучать другие иностранные языки относительно невелико, но имеет тенденцию к непрерывному росту, тогда как изучающих русский язык в эстонских школах становится меньше. Число учащихся, выбравших английский язык, превысило число изучающих русский впервые в 1994/95 учебном году. В настоящее время есть основания полагать, что в связи с реформой системы образования количество изучающих русский язык будет уменьшаться и в дальнейшем, в то время как изучаюших другие иностранные языки будет все больше. Такие прогнозы имеют под собой вполне реальную основу: в период существования СССР обучение русскому языку было обязательным, что влекло за собой высокие статистические показатели, изучению же остальлых языков отводилось гораздо более скромное место. Современная ситуация изменяется, о чём свидетельствует и тот факт, что многие школьные преподаватели русского языка как неродного проходят переподготовку за счёт Эстонского государства, изменяя свою квалификацию и становясь преподавателями английского и немецкого языков.

Несмотря на произошедшие перемены, в апреле 1995 года между Институтом русского языка имени А. С. Пушкина (Москва) и Центром повышения квалификации учителей Эстонии (Таллин) было подписано соглашение о сотрудничестве в области повышения квалификации и переподготовки эстонских преподавателей русского языка как неролного на 1995–1998 годы. Учащиеся эстонских школ (5 человек) принимали участие в VIII Международной олимпиаде школьникои по русскому языку и литературе, проходившей в Москве с 27 июня по 2 июля 1995 года.

Несколько иначе обстоит положение дел с изучением русского языка как иностранного в вузах республики, где преподавание его начинается на первых курсах. Предмет этот является факультативным, количество выбравших русский язык в качестве иностранного в высших учебеых заведениях Эстонии составляет 1617 человек от общего числа студентов, изучающих иностранные языки – 17274. В Тартуском университете русский язык как неродной изучают 733 студента, в Таллинском политехническом университете – 34 человека, в Таллеском педагогическом университете – 28 человек. Преподаватели вузов по-прежнему работают над созданием учебных пособий по русскому языку как неродному, но если раньше эти пособия были ориентированы на эстонскую аудиторию, то сейчас издаваемые учебники адресуются говорящим на английском языке: в вузах Эстонской Республики, в том числе и на отделениях русской филологии, обучается достаточно много иностранных студентов. Отделения русской филологии существуют в Тартуском университете и Таллинском педагогическом университете, конкурс – более 4 человек на место – свидетельствует о достаточной популярности этой специальности.

Что касается выпускников русских школ, то для них группы с родным языком обучения пока существуют и в системе среднего образования, и в вузах республики.

Помимо учебных заведений, иностранные языки (и русский и том числе) можно изучать в языковых школах и фирмах, на курсах иностранных языков. В последнее время становится всё больше специалистов, которые хотят повысить свой уровень владения русским языком (юристы, врачи, бизнесмены), поскольку их профессиональная деятельность связана с русскоязычным населением и они принимают необходимость такого общения на пути в мультикультуральное общество.

Notes for Contributors

Contributions

The Editorial Committee welcomes previously unpublished articles, reports and other contributions, which will further the cause of the learning and teaching of Russian. Contributions are expected to fall into one of these categories:

(a) Articles of about 3000 words.
(b) Brief (up to 1000 words) items of information, notes on innovative practice, discussion points (including those arising from previous articles).
(c) Reviews usually of about 300 to 400 words (but longer reviews or review articles may also be accepted). Please send your contributions direct to the Reviews Editor.

The guidelines below are intended to help contributors:

Presentation

Type with double spacing.

Please give your article one title only, not a title and a sub-title, and divide it up with (short) sub-headings. An abstract of about 50 words should be provided.

Give full references for all sources quoted, using the Harvard system. In the text the author's name, year of publication and page number where relevant should be quoted in brackets, e.g.: (Jones,1993, 27).

Please send three copies of the article and keep another for yourself.

Clean copy and articles supplied with IBM or Macintosh compatible disc (MS Word preferred) are of great assistance in reducing printing costs. Graphs, pie charts and other diagrams should be supplied as camera ready, hard copy. If prepared on a computer, graphics files on disk are also of use, presented as TIF or postscript files.

Illustrations

Photographs are particularly welcome, as are charts, diagrams and tables where relevant. Please send these at the same time as your typescript.

Timing

In order to be considered for inclusion in the following issue, articles should normally be sent in by lst December and lst June. Where topicality is of the essence, shorter deadlines are possible by negotiation with the Editor.

Rusistika, December 1997, No 16, 8–21

Soviet cinema – war revisited

Part 2

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The local military post

The scene begins in almost total darkness. All we can see is a hand bathed in white light. We hear a door being opened, footsteps and regular breathing. 'Comrade Senior Lieutenant, Comrade Senior Lieutenant' is answered by a sleepy 'What?' 'We've been ordered to bring this lad to you.' 'Light the lamp.' The soldier informs his superior that they have pulled him out of the river. The boy is to the right of the screen. He is bedraggled, soaked, has bags under his eyes and looks exhausted. His eyes move furtively to the left. The soldier on the left of the screen speaks to Senior Lieutenant Galtsev but every so often turns his eyes towards Ivan. 'He won't answer any questions,' he says. Galtsev is sitting on the bed centre back. We are astonished by the boy's replies. He turns to Galtsev and says defiantly: I'll only talk to the Commander!' Galtsev pulls his boots on. Of Ivan, the soldier adds: 'He looks half dead.... Perhaps he's putting it on. What shall we do, comrade?' Galtsev orders Ivan to stand by the stove. Still sitting on the bed, he asks him what his name is. Ivan's reply is blunt. Indicating the soldier he orders: 'Tell him to leave!' ['Пусть он выйдет!'] A close-up of Galtsev sitting on the bed. He is young. We can make out some Russian words chalked on the wall behind him and yet partially obscured by his face: человек

не старше 19
ас нас
убивать
за нас

Their meaning will become clear in a moment. Galtsev orders the soldier to go up and wait outside until he is called again. We hear his departing footsteps. Galtsev begins to do up the top buttons on his tunic. He moves to the right and, as he does, reveals the rest of the Russian words on the wall.

нас 8 человек	there are 8 of us
каждый не старше 19	each no older than 19
через час нас	in an hour's time
доведут убивать	we shall be led out to be killed
отомстите за нас	avenge us

The lines are significant in several ways. Firstly, the building must have been captured by the Soviets. When the Germans had held it they must have used it as a prison. The inscription lies near the foot of Galtsev's bed. He would see it upon waking. Yet he never refers to it. I'll return to this inscription later. The conversation continues: Galtsev, the light illuminating his face: 'Where do you come from?' Ivan, his face in shadow: 'I am Bondarev. Call HQ and tell 51 that I am here!' It is as if Ivan were Galtsev's superior and not the other way round. Galtsev: 'Who's 51? Which HQ do you want?' Ivan: 'VC 49550.' He is shivering and sniffles slightly. Galtsev softly: 'Take your things off and dry yourself.' Ivan lowers his head, perhaps in response to Galtsev's change of tone, and proceeds to undress. As he does so, something on the boy's back seems to catch his attention. Ivan turns. 'Here's a towel. Don't be shy..... What on earth is that on your back?' Ivan ignores him and turns his back on him. We can see that he has a terrible scar on his back.[20] 'Answer me,' shouts Galtsev 'What is that?' The light falls on Ivan's face, giving his eyes an unnatural look: 'It's none of your business.' he yells 'And don't shout at me!' He flings the towel back, rather petulantly 'Your job is to report to HQ and that is all!' Galtsev's reply is equally sharp: 'Shut it, you! Don't try to teach me what to do!' He moves to the left. 'Your name means nothing to me!' He continues to walk to the left. Ivan is now on the right. Defiance burns in his eyes as Galtsev informs him that he will keep him there until he tells him who he is and where he comes from and that if he doesn't he will not contact anyone. All Ivan will tell Galtsev is that he's come from 'the other bank', the Styx image again. Galtsev wants proof. Ivan has had enough: 'I don't have anything to prove and I will not be cross-examined.' The implication is clear – he will not be cross-examined by the likes of Galtsev. 'Report to HQ that I, Bondarev, am here and that's all. They will know what to do!' he demands. Galtsev telephones his own captain and gets short-shrift for disturbing him with fairy stories about a 'boy of about 12'. Ivan tries to interrupt: 'Tell him he'll get it in the neck if he doesn't report to HQ!' A senior lieutenant, a captain, no matter. Unfortunately, the captain has hung up. Galtsev tells Ivan: 'Well, you asked me to report and I did. I've been told to lock you up.' But Ivan hasn't finished yet. 'Who did you ring?' he demands to know. 'I asked you to report to 51, not to your captain.' Galtsev acknowledges meekly that he has no authority to report to HQ. Ivan retorts: 'Then let me' as he tries to grab the receiver out of Galtsev's hand. Galtsev stops him, but asks in a quieter voice: 'Where are you from? What sort of fighting force?' Ivan mentions the names of Captain Kholin and Lieutenant-Colonel Gryazanov and demands that he phone the latter, otherwise he, Ivan, will. The conversation between Gryazanov and Galtsev reveals Ivan's importance. Gryazanov's instructions are as follows: 'Don't question him and don't talk to him. Kholin will come over and collect him. Treat him with kid gloves [Обращайтесь с ним поделикатнее], he's a bit on the touchy side. You've noticed, have you? Give him a pen and paper and send me what he writes down.' We see Galtsev from the back. He is still gripping Ivan's hand to prevent him seizing the receiver. He releases his grip. Galtsev's face appears on the left, the light shining on it. His face registers defeat. Ivan's appears on the right, the light revealing an unchanged single-mindedness.

Galtsev softens and asks him if he is hungry. His reply speaks volumes: 'Later' ['Потом']. Nothing must interfere with his task – to report the enemy position to Gryazanov. Food and sleep can come later. He sits down, opens up a handkerchief of sorts and spills out on to the table, berries, nuts, kernels of wheat, which he then positions to represent the disposition of the German troops. He counts them, before transferring the information to paper. He puts the report in an envelope which is in turn placed in another envelope. The roles are now completely reversed. Like a servant, Galtsev brings in two pails of water for the tin bath. Ivan strips off and has a bath. Cut to the stove in the middle of the room with logs burning away inside. The camera zooms into the stove. A dissolve reveals Ivan as if inside the burning embers.He appears dressed in a long shirt. The element of fire is important here. Fire usually represents the hearth and home. At any rate it warms, yet it can also signify death and destruction. But in this little shot there is a further association. This time Ivan has survived a baptism of fire, his mission has been completed and he is alive. He tries to eat but is too exhausted. He has gone past himself. He shoves the bowl away and quietly thanks Galtsev. He adds some sugar to his mug and sips a little. Dripping water can be heard – a sign of an approaching dream. Ivan's eyes get heavier and heavier. The lamp light seems to move about in a circular motion as it it were Ivan's tired head. Darkness.

We see Galtsev carrying him to bed. He tucks him in and blows out the lamp. It is a touching scene, though without any trace of sentimentality. Galtsev's perceptions have been turned upside down: he tucks up in bed a human being who has behaved towards him with rudeness, defiance, arrogance and single-mindedness of purpose and yet a human being who he knows to be merely a boy of about 12 years old, someone who should not by nature display those qualities.

The camera moves slowly from the stove, passes over logs which are near to it, and comes to rest on the Ivan's bath tub. Dripping water. We see Ivan's outstretched hand as he lies in bed. It is lit up in the same way as Galtsev's at the beginning of the scene. The dripping water can still be heard. The music begins. The dream begins. The camera tracks along the walls and, oddly, focuses on the shaft of a well from the bottom. Ivan and his mother are seen peering down the shaft. Their naturalness is striking: they belong together as mother and son. The conversation reveals a child's inquisitiveness, a whole-hearted acceptance of the natural and the magical. The camera adopts different viewpoints, placing Ivan in different positions. Ivan accepts his mother's story about the stars, because he trusts her. We accept Ivan's changing positions because we know it is a dream. And yet we and Ivan know that what will happen at the end of the dream will be real. The camera parallels the shock of the event, mirroring the way his world is dislocated abruptly, cruelly robbing him of his childhood and irreparably changing his personality. Here is the charmingly artless conversation between mother and son that is to be so brutally cut short.

> Mother: 'You can see a star in a deep well even on the sunniest of days.'
> Ivan: 'Which star?'
> Mother: 'Any.' The camera peers down the well with Ivan.
> Ivan: 'I can see it, Mummy. Why does it shine?' The camera looks back up the well.
> Mother: 'It's night for the star.'
> Ivan, looking skywards: 'But it's not night. It's day.'
> Mother: 'It's day for us, but night for the star.'

The camera peers down the well. It follows Ivan as he reaches down to try to catch the star. Happiness is within his reach. The bright star reminds us of the bright, summer day at the the beginning of the film. The moment does not last long. The camera shifts to the bottom of the well. Ivan, too, is now at the bottom. The pail is seen rising as his mother pulls it upwards. The mother appears in the top left corner, small and vulnerable. German voices are heard. A shot rings out. The pail hurtles down. Ivan screams 'Mummy!' as he tries to get out of the way. The scene shifts to above ground. The well is on the left. The pail of water, too. The mother lies face down on the ground. Water from an unknown source spills over the dead mother and the pail in slow motion. Water is often associated with the feminine, as in the well-episode, but the throwing of the water here over the mother's body is a brutal, unnatural act. Like the war, it is an invasion. Cut to Galtsev's face leaning over Ivan.

The 'playing at war' scene

We have already seen some of the changes of temperament and personality undergone by Ivan in the scene at the military post. Those changes are perhaps understandable when we realise the cause. Nonetheless, the extent of the changes only becomes apparent in the 'playing at war' scene. Sirivlya entitled her article on the film '*A Child's Trauma*'. Sartre suggested that Ivan is both an innocent child and a monster. Both descriptions are apt.[21] We shall do well to bear these words in mind when we analyse the scene. This time we are not dealing with a dream. Ivan doesn't repress the traumatic experience of his mother's death. In a disturbing way he lives off it.

The scene begins at the military post. The vaulted arch and bell on the floor indicate that it is or once was a church. Kholin is joined by Katasonov and Galtsev. Ivan arrives, dressed in a sheepskin coat, a jumper, new hat and riding boots. Katasonov, or Katasonych as he is now addressed, ruffles Ivan's hair and helps him off with his coat. A little later Kholin will straighten his jumper for him. We have seen earlier in the film that Ivan has a particularly close relationship with Kholin and Katasonov and, of course, Gryaznov. Galtsev has also warmed to him by now. Yet Ivan has an ambivalent attitude to them. At times he seems to crave the mixture of big brotherliness or semi-paternalism; at others, as we have seen, he rejects it. He knows better than they. He will give them orders. He won't accept theirs. He demands, he doesn't ask. Once he even grabbed Gryazanov by the lapels to reinforce his point. He was determined not to go to the Suvorov Military Academy. As he said at the time: "The Suvorov or a Children's Home, it's all the same to me." He's already run away from one home, the Suvorov wouldn't be any different, he'd still come back to the war zone. 'I'm my own master and you are not my father!' he had blurted out when the discussion had once again turned to his future. He has no father, he is dead. They need him more than he needs them. In the scene under examination we realise that Ivan has not appreciated the three days away from the action. Galtsev shows him some magazines. He's done nothing but read in the past three days, he says. One magazine, however, catches his eye. It is from a collection of German art books that were captured. Ivan's question reveals the child in him: Has it got pictures in it? He looks at a reproduction of Dürer's *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*. Are they Germans? he asks Galtsev, who replies that it's an old German woodcut. The picture fills the screen. The camera concentrates on the image of one of the horsemen. 'So.... the Fritzs haven't changed. I've seen one like that.... on a motorbike.' The camera pans across to reveal the horse's hooves making contact with the helpless victims. 'They are always trampling on the people.' Galtsev's comment that it's not meant to be real cuts no ice with Ivan. 'It is. I know him!' Ivan covers up the engraving with a sheet of thin, protective paper. There is hole in the sheet and through it we see the tortured face of two of the victims. An engraving of Dürer appears. 'Is he also a Fritz?' asks Ivan. Galtsev says he's some sort of doctor or writer. The fact that this writer lived some four hundred years ago is immaterial to Ivan. 'They don't have writers. I saw them burning books in the market place. They poured petrol over them and set them on fire.' Ivan's hatred of the Germans is intense.

Galtsev appears with a dagger. Ivan's little face lights up like a child's. Yet we should not misinterpret this reaction. It is double-edged. It is child-like and sinister, as we shall see in a few moments. Galtsev is loathe to give it to him because it belonged to a friend who had died in action. Ivan persuades Galtsev to let him keep it until later that evening. And Katasonov promises to get him a knife of his own the next day! 'Tomorrow,' he repeats as he leaves, the door bangs shut. We see Ivan's face in close-up. The expression is ruthless. He stares, determinedly ahead, as if in the grip of some powerful force. He hurls the knife at a wooden frame. The viewer must be left in no doubt the source of this force is. The information is provided by the exchange that follows between Kholin, Galtsev and Katasonov:

> Galtsev: 'Where are Ivan's parents?'
> Kholin: 'I think the mother and sister were killed. The father, a frontier guard died in action. The lad's gone through experiences you could never ever imagine... He fought with the partisans.'
>
> Galtsev: 'Ivan's just a kid. He shouldn't be fighting at the front.'
> Katasonov: 'There's no holding him back. He'd even tight single-handed. *He thinks of nothing but revenge* [my emphasis].'

Ivan is obsessed. It is an all-powerful, all-consuming obsession. We now see him hoisting up and securing the church bell. A bright light illuminates the back wall which makes Ivan seem even smaller in comparison with the foregrounded bell. Cut to Ivan crawling along the floor on his stomach, whispering to himself: *That's it, that's it, quietly does it, surprise is the main thing* – he plunges the dagger into a log. He throws another knife towards the source of light. Everything takes on an eerie appearance, half light, shadows. The camera, Ivan and his torch become one and move about the room. *W-a-t-c-h i-t.... Got to get him alone.* The camera turns back on itself and now picks out Ivan's face. We hear German in the background, one of Hitler's speeches. The torch picks out the message chalked on the wall: *There are 8 of us. Each no older than 19.* Women and children are screaming and moaning. The rest of the message appears. Cut to Ivan's face, his eyes rendered demonic by the light and shade. We are inside Ivan's mind.[22] Dramatic music. Cut to a child's face. Cut to Ivan's dagger held at waist level. The torch shoots upwards and picks out a woman. Is it his mother? Cut to Ivan reflected in a mirror. Dual personality, surely. Cut to a group of terrified women. Obviously the women whose voice-off screams we have heard. Is it one of his 'experiences that Galtsev could never ever imagine?' After all, Ivan does imply later on that he had seen the camps at Trostyanets. Or is the trauma so deep-seated, his thirst for revenge so great that he is hallucinating? Cut to Ivan. Cut to Ivan and the church bell. He begins to ring it wildly. Cut to Ivan near the back. The torch light now becomes erratic, like some search light running amok. He cries: *Hurrah... Surround the place. Don't let him escape. Hands up.* Cut to a German greatcoat hanging on the wall. *You can't hide from me.* Cut to the coat. Cut to close-up of Ivan's face. *Trembling, are you? You'll pay for this. Just you wait. Do you think I don't remember?* Tears roll down his cheeks. *You... you...I'll bring you to justice... you... I'll... you... I'll.* Cut to side view of Ivan and his dagger in silhouette. With one hand he holds his forehead. He lets his dagger fall to the ground. Our final view is of Ivan sobbing his heart out. There is a sudden explosion, a brief shot of a damaged fresco of the madonna and child and we are abruptly back at the fighting front.

The 'playing at war' scene is probably one of the most powerful in cinema. Ivan has become this monster bent on revenge at all costs. Though he sobs at the end of this scene we know that he will continue, driven mercilessly by his obsession which has been caused by the traumatic killing of his mother, let alone his sister and the death of his father, but probably also fuelled by other traumatic experiences.[23]

Conclusions

In the closing sequences of the film, as Galtsev wanders through the rubble and before he learns of Ivan's execution, he mentally addresses the deceased Kholin: 'Surely there won't be another war after this... You're dead and I'm alive and that what I must think about.' One can see how supporters of the Peace Movement interpreted this. Yet it is too simplistic a view. Tarkovsky of all people was not a political film maker. He remarked of his film: 'You must not miss the theme of Russia, in the texture and character of the locations.'[24] Invasion is well known in the history of Russia from the Tartars onwards. What was destroyed each time was the beauty of the landscape, the silver birch trees, the rivers, the earth, the associative feminine element. The film captures this essential Russianness. The last image we have of Ivan is the dream sequence where he runs into the water. The dried-out tree in turning black signifies death. Ivan dies, but we, the viewers, remain. And, whatever nationality we are, we may well recall another tree, the tree of life, with its hopes and dreams. The film speaks here of the universal need that all human beings continually to search for a sense of wholeness, of completeness, of harmony. It is an archetypal spiritual need. The film manages to combine Russianness and universality. To reduce the film to the status of anti-war propaganda is to do a disservice to Tarkovsky.

THE1970S – THE ERA OF STAGNATION

As mentioned in the introduction, German's *Trial on the Road* and Shepitko's *Ascent* stand out against other war films of the period which were largely flat and conventional, films such as Gubenko's *A Soldier returns from the Front* (1972), though it received lavish praise in some quarters,[25] Bondarchuk's *They fought for the Motherland* (1975), Matveev's *Fate*, Bykov's *Off to War We Go*, and Oserov's *Soldiers of Freedom* (all 1978).

'Trial on the Road'

(1971, released 1986)[26]

This film, which is also known as *Operation New Year*, the title of Yurii German's story on which it was based, was made by Yurii's German's son, Alexei.[27] The film opens in the winter of 1942 in a Nazi-occupied region. Lazarev, a POW suspected of being a collaborator, surrenders to a partisan detachment in the forest. He has to win over his fellow soldiers and officers. He experiences a series of confrontations with the representatives of authority, Lokotkov and Petushkov. Lazarev is to be "tested on the road" to prove himself. Though he passes the first test with flying colours, Petushkov questions his actions. He is arrested and attempts suicide. Lokotkov gives him another chance. This operation is successful, though he dies in the process.

Although it is a cut above many other war films made at the time, it seems to me that *Trial on the Road* is a transitional film, firstly in the development of the Soviet war film and secondly, for its director, whose solo debut it was at the age of 33. He seems much more self-assured in *Twenty Days without War* (1976) and *My Friend Ivan Lapshin* (1982, released 1985). In terms of technique, the film tends to look back to the 1960s. Yet, at the same time, by offering, however tentatively, a critique of the early years of the Brezhnev regime, the film does point towards the 1980s and perestroika.

The opening sequences

The opening sequences of the film, which introduce the credits, are quite remarkable. Here we have a masterly exposition:

- narrative technique: point of view and accumulation and patterning of significant detail, contrasts and confrontations;
- the major themes – the deceptiveness of appearances; the individual in a tightly-knit community; food and survival;
- symbolism – the elements.the earth, woman as both mother and motherland;
- music.

Let's look at the first section in detail. German uses black and white and cinemascope, which gives to the film a harsh, gritty realism. In driving rain a middle-aged male peasant in the centre faces the camera. With a traditional cap, unshaven, gaunt, he looks down, sniffles as he wipes his nose, looks up, down and quickly up again and stares at the camera, rain dripping from his cap. Cut to a second peasant, an older man, unshaven, a lined face. He stares fixedly at the camera. His lips begin to move as if he's about to speak, but he stops. Cut to a soldier helping to back up a lorry on a muddy road. Once the lorry is in place, he removes the hose and siphons kerosene over a pit full of potatoes. Whilst this is happening, a young soldier bites into an apple. The first soldier warms his hands on the lorry's radiator. The second has his back to the camera. Cut to the two peasants standing forlornly side by side.

Commentary

Immediately we get a close-up of the first peasant's face. There is no recognisable setting, apart from the rain, which indicates outdoors. We are directly made aware of his staring, expressionless eyes. The camera remains static, a mere recorder. It is left to the viewer to note and begin to interpret the details: the ordinary appearance, the traditional cap, the audible sniffle, the eye movements and the final fixed stare, resembling the camera's action. The same for the second peasant. With the entry of the soldiers, we register that they are Germans and get a wider perspective in terms of setting – the muddy track and the pit. The camera lingers over the muddy track and cuts to the first German soldier in close-up. He has almost a smirk on his face. The second soldier we notice in profile as he later bites into the apple. Both Germans turn their backs on the camera. The camera returns to the peasants, side by side. The camera has skillfully picked out a series of contrasts in the form of the natural versus the unnatural.

Rain, earth and kerosene. These three items have positive connotations: rain is life-supporting; the earth, particularly in a Russian context, is almost sacred – it unites individuals at both local and national level and it is fruitful (potatoes in this section); kerosene is used as fuel to provide comforting warmth. And yet each function is subverted. The rain transforms the earth into mud and difficult conditions for peasants and occupiers and causes the Germans to be irritable and hence harsher in their treatment of the peasants. The earth becomes polluted. Foreign bodies are introduced into it, here, kerosene and, by extension, the Germans as occupiers. Kerosene destroys.

The unequal confrontation. Compare the stoicism of the helpless and defenceless peasants and the malicious cruelty of the Germans and their indifference to the fate of the peasants. Note the smirk, the eating of an apple whilst the potatoes, the staple diet of the peasants, are being rendered inedible, and the turning of their backs on the peasants.

Two final observations. Firstly, the gritty realism is conveyed by the soundtrack: the lashing of the rain, the howling of the wind, the sniffles, the crunch as the teeth bite into the apple. Secondly, the music conveys the imminent destruction of a traditional way of life. It is played on a balalaika, a traditional, three-stringed instrument that often accompanies folk songs and is capable of immense virtuosity. Yet here we hear only high-pitched, staccato notes, which resemble the sound of breaking strings, a Chekhovian resonance.

The second section begins with a female voice-over: 'The Germans came... and dug the potatoes from... their hiding place... and... poured.... something like... kerosene... over them.' The senior German soldier removes the hose. This is followed by a long shot of the pit with the two peasants standing at the front on the right. One has a spade. The voice-over continues: 'My brother Vassya tried to eat one and he became ill... He didn't die then... He died later... in January.' The lorry prepares to move off. The two peasants watch, impassively. The voice-over resumes: '0-o-o G-o-d, they came back to the village. That was it!' The lorry moves off, one of the soldiers having signalled to the peasants to follow. The first peasant shoulders his spade. 'They... dragged Zorya... from the yard,' says the voice-over. 'But her mother was so strong... She wasn't afraid of anyone... She went for the village elder... with a pitchfork... What a bastard he was!' The peasants circle the pit and prepare to follow the lorry. 'They held her at the regional centre for a while. They beat her with rubber truncheons. She came back black and blue. They took all the food away....'

Commentary

We notice that the rain is combined with mist and fog to reinforce the almost palpably cruel atmosphere and the negative view of the proceedings. The next important item is the voice-over. I have been unable to find the quotation in Operation New Year. Although the film deals specifically with the Lazarev episode contained in Operation New Year, the phrase 'по мотивам военной прозы Юрия Германа' ['Based on Yurii German's war stories']

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appears in the credits. However, the essential point is that the voice is female. She must have survived the war, otherwise she could not be telling the story now. Many Soviet men did not survive. As already mentioned, women in Soviet war films were seen as an inspiration to their menfolk who were still at the front. Furthermore, women were figuratively associated with nature, the earth, the soil, the motherland.

The origin and status of this particular woman we can tell from her language, her peasant speech: староста (village elder), братишка (diminutive, affectionate term for brother), помер (died), сука (normally, a bitch, but here referring to the village elder). These lexical items combined with frequent hesitations and simple sentence construction suggest that she has received only a rudimentary education and, more importantly, make her into a warm, sympathetic, human being. Peter Kenez correctly notes that in war-time documentaries 'the voice of the Soviet commentator was always solemn and bombastic. It is as if the commentator were not a human observer, but the voice of history itself.'[28] The woman also points to the example of Zorya's mother, her strength of character and hence her bravery. References to strength of character and bravery will recur throughout this film, often in unexpected contexts. Zorya's mother's act of bravery is here contrasted with the village elder's cowardice. The village was essentially a close-knit community. Here we have the first reference to one of the major themes of the film: collaboration.[29] And we begin to wonder about the two peasants who now follow the German lorry as ordered. Are they collaborators? Or have they been forced to collaborate? We must bear in mind that phrase 'forced to'. It will recur.

The repetition of significant details is important. Our first impression of the second peasant is overturned when much later we see him playing the accordion in the partisans' camp. Perhaps he has been and still is acting as a go-between or perhaps he has simply joined them. Be that as it may, here we have the introduction of another major theme of the film – the deceptiveness of appearances, the black-and-white-syndrome. Things are not what they seem to be. Finally, the beating meted out to Zorya's mother and the removal of all the food reinforce our view of the brutality of the Germans. The villagers' determined will to survive is represented by the decision to hide the potatoes in the first place. And collaboration or betrayal is further suggested here: who gave the hiding place away?

The third section begins with a cut to barbed wire and cattle in the driving rain. The voice-over continues, explaining why the Germans had taken away all the food. 'The food had been taken to Karnaukhov, so as to drive the people from the village... and... destroy the partisans.' We then see Germans herding cattle, dragging them by the horns, towards a train. 'They didn't care what happened to them.' The cattle are being roughly treated. 'Even now... I.. sometimes... dream about it... my brother... my sister.... my friend... It's so sad to remember it all.' Balalaika music accompanies the Germans' activity. They continue to load the cattle, dragging them by ropes and slapping them. The credits roll as the cattle are being loaded. A cattle-truck door is closed. Trumpet and oboe music. A soldier chalks V/w on the side of the door. He is accompanied by another soldier holding an umbrella and a list. The two soldiers move along the trucks. The music reverts to balalaika, then accordion. The view is broadened to reveal a railway junction. *Trial on the Road.* The sound of a trumpet, a bell, a whistle, and the train moves off.

Commentary

We note the barbed wire, with its associations of detention, captivity and proscription. We make the mental link between the driven cattle and the sentence 'so as to drive the people from the village'. The brutal handling is emphasised – the cattle have ropes tied to their horns, they are being dragged along, and when the woman says that '[the Germans] didn't care what happened to them', one soldier kicks a cow in the flank. In the original Russian the sentence was 'А как нам дальше жить, им, немцам всё равно' [As to how we would manage to go on living, they, the Germans couldn't care less']. The importance of this sentence is that it once again underlines the theme of survival. The kicking of the cow is repeated three times. Each blow is synchronised with 'my brother', 'my sister', 'my friend'. The words братишка and сестрёнка are both diminutives of affection and confirm our view of the speaker. It is as if the blows were directly and personally delivered to her nearest and dearest. We also note that the smirk which had appeared on the face of the hose-siphoner in the first section is now transformed into a knowing, self-satisfied smile on the face of the man with the chalk. The V/w stands for Viehwagen, cattle truck, such an emotive word. Background sounds heighten the realism: the rain, the mooing, schneller, vorwläts. However, it is the music that attracts attention. It begins with a robust, fast tune. It is ironic that this tune, which usually accompanies folk dancing, should here accompany the swift embarkation of cattle against their will. It is a subversion of tradition. We hear what sounds like a church bell within the tune, another subversion, not a calling together but an expulsion. The music then changes to a muffled trumpet and a wailing oboe, which in sinister fashion heralds the destruction of a traditional way of life. Piano and accordion (another traditional instrument) are added. The sound of the muffled trumpet and single, solitary clangs from the church bell remain as the camera presents us with a view of the railway junction, perhaps foreshadowing the subsequent scene of death.

What I propose to do now is to examine certain key scenes in the film in the light of what we have discovered in the opening sequences: the introduction of the major characters; the six main confrontation scenes; the junction scene, and the finale.

Introduction of the major characters

(a) *Lokotkov, the commander*

We first meet him near the beginning of the film, though we don't know his name. There is a fence with a gate. A barn in the top right hand corner at some distance away. A gate in the centre leads to an izba, the traditional wooden cottage. We see a man standing on the left. He has stopped to look towards the spot where shots are being fired. He doesn't react, or rather, he seems to accept the situation. He moves slowly through the gate. His leg hurts. After rubbing it for a second, he enters the cottage. It is an ordinary cottage, rather bare, but clean and tidy. A mother sits on the left. Children play with their toys on the right. It is cramped but cosy. The man acknowledges the woman, moves towards the window and sits down on a bench, placing his document-case beside him. Of average height, he wears a fur hat, an ordinary tunic, breeches and boots. When he speaks, he speaks in a quiet, unaffected, matter-of-fact manner. He asks the woman how she can cope in this empty village. She replies that she copes and will do so until the day she dies. He asks whether her husband is at the front. Registering the word 'husband', she raises her eyes, looks across and says merely that he cleared out. Only now do we get a close-up of Lokotkov. He has a traditional Russian soldier's moustache, is unshaven and weary. Hardly the hero. The emphasis is placed on his ordinariness, his ordinary clothes, his ordinary demeanour, his unpretentiousness. He looks towards the window, then back to the woman. 'It's no easier for him, comrade-woman,' he says. The use of the word 'comrade-woman' [товарищ-женщина] establishes his credentials (party member) and his social status (uneducated) and his fair-mindedness. Not for him the black-and-white syndrome. Yet his eyes, though bright, register neither indifference nor compassion. We recall the eyes of the two peasants at the beginning of the film. During an emotional outburst the woman pours scorn on all and sundry, Lokotkov and his men, and threatens to denounce them, in return for which act she thinks she will get rations, flour and kerosene, from the Germans. Food and survival are linked and constitute a major theme in the film. Of course, here we have a reference, also, to collaboration and its benefits. There are different ways to survive. This reference will be echoed by the boy-prisoner who is later to share the cellar with Lazarev. The boy says that his aunt had advised him to become a collaborationist policeman for the rations. But we are invited, as here, to judge each case on its merits. The scene ends with Lokotkov lowering his eyes, looking up, away and then back towards the woman. His expression now seems to suggest that he has heard all this before. The phrase 'Heard it all before' will also recur. We know that the woman isn't stupid. She knows what's what. She knows how the Germans help collaborators. At the same time she is aware of the brutality of the Germans. Her outlook is honest and realistic. In the end she weighs up the situation and chooses, perhaps not entirely without reservation, to join the partisans rather than remain behind and suffer at the hands of the Germans. She is an ordinary woman, not as brave as Zorya's mother, but one who, in spite of everything, will not give up or give in. Lokotkov has allowed her time to make up her mind. He hasn't argued with her. Every individual has the right to make a choice.

(b) *Lazarev*

As with Lokotkov, our first impressions are from a distance. We merely see the bottom half of a great coat and boots worn by someone walking in the snow. The camera tracks back to reveal the back of a soldier. He is armed with a rifle, a German helmet hangs from his belt, though he wears a Russian forage cap. Then his face in profile as he proceeds through the forest. He is eating berries. Again the idea of food and survival is picked up here. Everyone needs to survive, whatever side he is on. He enters the village and approaches the well. The first close-up of Lazarev's face. He slightly lowers his eyes as he draws water: square-jawed, unshaven, with bags under his eyes. When someone yells 'Hande hoch!' he looks up, straight at the camera. Our original view of him is reinforced, but we now notice his eyes – the whites are startling. He is certainly alert to the situation. He drops his rifle as requested. Turning slightly to the right to see who is addressing him, he receives a reprimand. He returns to his original position. He realizes that it is only a callow youth, a peasant boy-soldier, he is dealing with. He had recognized the immature voice, now he has seen its owner. This callowness is confirmed by the boy's hyperbole: "I'll finish you off, you vermin. You'll find out what our cold earth is like!" He suddenly spins round and thwack, he knocks the boy to the ground. A shot of the boy reinforces his peasant status and immaturity. He has a typical peasant hair-cut. His feet are tucked up foetally. He cowers, scrambles back, dislodges a pile of logs, covers his face. Yet, when Lazarev has surrendered his own rifle and returned the boy's rifle, the boy orders Lazarev to move off. The boy then has to run back to retrieve his own cap, stumbling over the logs again as he does so. Furthermore, he begs Lazarev not to tell the commander the full details of the incident we have just witnessed. Although Lazarev doesn't speak during this scene, the boy and the viewers have realized that he is Russian. Once again appearances can be deceptive: this 'German' is Russian.

(c) *Solomin*

We are introduced to Solomin in the next episode. The partisan convoy is making its way across the terrain. There are horses and carts. On one of them lie some corpses covered with sacking, the bodies of partisans who have been killed in the recent fighting. In response to the information that Mitya (the peasant boy in the previous episode) had caught a 'German', Lokotkov looks across and sees this soldier (Lazarev) followed by Mitya. As Lazarev passes Solomin, the latter looks at him with undisguised contempt. Solomin, an ordinary soldier, sees things as black or white.

(d) *Petushkov*
With the rank of major, he is a deputy political officer with the partisans. We first meet him in this same convoy episode. His words are significant. Like Solomin, he sees things as black or white. With regard to Lazarev he asks: "Why bring him here? You could have finished him off there and then." Another partisan is of the opinion that this Lazarev thought that Lokotkov would pin a medal on his chest. Another partisan slaps Lazarev hard across the face. Petuskhov's reaction to the observation and to the blow is merely: "Maintain discipline!"

So, we have in Lokotkov a commander, an ordinary, simple, unheroic, sympathetic man who is experienced and, though a party member, he doesn't see things as black or white, unlike Petushkov or Solomin. Lazarev, too, is an ordinary man, a soldier, a survivor, a man risen from the dead, as his name suggests. He is experienced, observant and complex. A traitor who gives himself up.

Confrontation patterns

A. The first one is between Lokotkov and Lazarev, with occasional contributions from Petushkov. Lokotkov's quiet authority had been prepared for by the izba episode. The woman had reluctantly decided to follow the partisans. What was being left behind was a way of life, symbolized by the izba. A close-up of the izba revealed three windows, the first boarded up, the second intact, the third swinging back and forth, creaking. The incomplete family tableau on the threshold. A sorry state of affairs: no husband to carry out repairs; abandonment; no hope of return until the enemy is defeated and the izba and family made whole again.

The confrontation takes place as the convoy moves forward. Lokotkov is smoking. Petushkov stands in the centre, between Lokotkov and Lazarev – a crucial position, as it prepares for subsequent oppositions: Petushkov/Lokotkov and Petushkov/Lazarev.

Lokotkov: 'Now tell us about yourself, but don't lie. Lies give me a headache.' Lazarev asks for some tobacco because he has lost his in the forest. It is a customary request – most soldiers smoke, but smoking suggests camaraderie, a sharing, a trusting. Lokotkov denies the request. We know he has tobacco because he is smoking. We also recall that he had not agreed with Petushkov's idea earlier that it would have been better if Mitya had finished Lazarev off when he had the chance. Lokotkov is fair-minded. His refusal to grant Lazarev's request for tobacco is entirely consistent. He tells us that there is not enough for all the men. There is a shortage. The shortage situation is referred to later on by the cook when he is instructed to feed Lazarev. 'There is not enough food for the men,' he says. Tobacco helps maintain morale, food means survival. Lokotkov had previously established Lazarev's identity: Aleksandr Ivanich Lazarev, ex Red Army sergeant. He asks him again. Lazarev replies: 'Sergeant.' Lokotkov corrects him: 'Ex sergeant' and immediately asks him whether he sold himself to the Germans and grovelled before them. Lazarev replies 'yes', a straightforward admission.

> 'So, what were you doing in the forest?'
> 'Looking for partisans.'
> 'Why?'
> 'To surrender.'
> 'Things go wrong with the Germans, then?'
> Lazarev answers obliquely: 'I wanted to join the partisans.'

Lokotkov accuses him of being an idealistic deserter who, by going over to the Germans and back to the Soviets, failed to choose the right path. "I didn't choose the right path. It chose me." Whereupon Petushkov looks first at Lazarev and then at Lokotkov. The right path is important. It will be taken up again in the confrontation scene between Lokotkov and Petushkov with reference to Petushkov's own son's actions. At any rate, the question of choices is reintroduced here.

Lazarev explains the details of his capture by the Germans. After they had got out of the encirclement and walked for ten days, they had come to a village. 'We couldn't think straight because we were so hungry.' Again the food-survival link. Lokotkov's gestures, actions and choice of language say it all. He pushes his fur hat up from the back, jumps off the cart and says: 'Eh! [Эх!] We've heard it all before!' The interjection эх is colloquial and suggests amazement or reproval, a sort of 'come on, mate, I wasn't born yesterday'. Lazarev calmly mentions that Lokotkov is entitled not to believe him. However, his remark is taken up, not by Lokotkov but by Petushkov. Totally in character he says: 'We are entitled to judge you in the name of the people you betrayed.' 'Народ' ['people'] is a very emotive word in Russian, similar to the German 'Volk'. The word 'betray' is used openly for the first time. And it is not without significance that it is from Petushkov's lips.

The facts are clear. Lazarev has been a collaborator, a traitor. He has given himself up. ['Я сам пришёл' – 'I came myself']. Whereas Lokotkov favours more investigation, Petushkov does not.

B. Just as the scene above had been prepared for by the previous izba episode, a gloss for the next confrontation is provided by the opening of the next scene. The convoy is surrounded by swirling mist. Are things as clear as they might be? we ask ourselves. Are we to accept the facts without question? Indeed, during the raid by Germans on the village the young, immature collaborator with whom Lazarev has been incarcerated, manages to escape. Lazarev does not even try. When Petushkov orders that Lazarev be taken out and shot, Lokotkov intervenes. He says that Lazarev, having come of his own free will, is still under investigation.

The investigation is the second confrontation scene, a one-to-one confrontation between Lokotkov and Lazarev. Here the camera serves as our eye, as if the camera were trying to help us to make up our minds. It is important to notice how the camera lingers over the face of each of the participants. Lazarev wishes to have the chance to prove himself, 'to be tested' – the title of the film really means 'a testing on the road'. Lazarev wants a gun so that he can take part in the retaliation raid on the Germans.

> Lazarev: 'I've told you, lieutenant, if I had committed atrocities, I wouldn't have made my way to you. Give me a gun.'

The camera remains on Lokotkov's face for three seconds and then on Lazarev's for six.

> Lokotkov: 'You had a gun once. You threw it away.'

He turns left, his eyes lowered. In profile. At the same time we hear Lazarev's words: 'I wasn't the only one.' This is an important point. The film is set in the winter of 1942. As Donald Piper reminds us:

> 'Even after Stalin's order of 28th July 1942 which established Military Tribunals empowered to impose the death penalty for cowardice and which, by equating surrender with treason, effectively disinherited Russian prisoners-of-war, sixty one thousand troops nevertheless deserted in the second half of the year.'[30]

Lokotkov interjects: 'I'm not talking about the others. I'm talking about you.' Lazarev looks down. A gesture of acceptance – point lost. Lokotkov is quite correct. He is dealing with an individual case. He wants to get to know the individual better. During the next sequence of questions, Lazarev's face is brightly lit, the light streaming through the window. This represents the intrusion of nature, I think, something real, something fresh, the truth and a link with Lokotkov, a man of the soil, a seeker after and bearer of the truth. It is no surprise that Lev Anninsky, the Soviet film critic, calls Lokotkov a Platon Karataev figure.[31] Why hadn't Lazarev tried to escape before? Because he knew of the German reprisals – two escapees had been beaten to death. Lokotkov accuses him of appealing to his intelligence one minute, his sympathy the next. Lazarev lowers his eyes. Another gesture of acceptance. Another point lost. Yet we realise that Lokotkov's tactics are shrewd. A mixture of head and heart. He drops his line of questioning, moving on to specific questions about Karnaukhov and the railway yard. This time it is Lazarev's turn to be shrewd. He mentions that provisions are being sent to the junction from the surrounding area. That is true. Lokotkov appreciates this. He looks directly at him. Gesture of acceptance. Point accepted. Asked whether he might return to Karnaukhov, Lazarev replies that he cannot. He can't go on living as 'a traitor', the first time he has used the word. He admits to having made a mistake. He is a human being after all, isn't he? He's no Audie Murphychuk. 'I broke down. I wanted to live. Hasn't a man the right to a second chance... if his life has misfired?' A second chance, the Lazarus allusion again. Lokotkov looks at him for eight seconds. He fiddles with the V-shaped part of his shirt and says: 'I've heard it all before, the suffering, things going wrong. But that doesn't make it all right.' He even invites confirmation from a young peasant soldier standing by the door. And yet, there has been a break-through. He thinks deep down that Lazarev is speaking the truth. That is why, despite the fact that there is not enough food for the men, he orders Lazarev to be fed. And, he gives him a second chance, the chance to prove himself in the operation on the road.

C. The third confrontation is really a series of one-to-one confrontations between Solomin and Lazarev, the purpose of which is to gain sympathy for Lazarev. Solomin had looked with undisguised contempt at Lazarev in the convoy sequence already discussed. They had also been involved in a brawl earlier over the feeding of Lazarev. He had called Lazarev two-faced bastard [шкура]. When Solomin's girl had tried to intervene, he had told her not to feel sorry for this...... He never finished the sentence. Petushkov had also intervened, telling him that it didn't take much courage to knock a prisoner down and that the incident should be reported to Lokotkov. Everything is clear-cut for Solomin and Petushkov: black or white, no room for grey. Courage for Petushkov is defined only through military bravery, everything by the book. Yet we know that Solomin has human qualities: he's in love, though he jokes about being a womaniser and he laughs when his girl tells him that he's a useless kisser. Solomin wakes Lazarev up in order to accompany him 'to see the New Year in', an ambiguous reference to the upcoming partisan operation. Lazarev asks whether he needs a great coat. He thinks he might be about to be transferred or executed. After all, earlier in the convoy episode we had seen Lazarev, his eyes level with the feet of dead partisans lying on the cart. Death was always a possibility. Solomin hesitates, then tells him to take the coat. So, it's not the firing squad. There is more than a shred of decency in Solomin. And yet he refuses to provide back-up for Lazarev who is sent on to the road alone to ambush the German officer. He even taunted him about being afraid. 'Let him prove himself,' he says to Erofeyich who accompanies them. Later, after the ambush, he tells Lazarev lamely that he and Erofeyich didn't intervene because they were too far away from the scene of the action. The German officer, though mortally wounded, manages to shoot Solomin. Just before Solomin dies, he asks Lazarev what his name is and begs him for forgiveness. 'Ты это извини.' ['Will you excuse this?'], in other words, his conduct towards him. He has witnessed Lazarev's bravery and courage. Erofeyeich, too. And the viewer. Though Lazarev merely mutters 'Nonsense', his face reveals that he is deeply touched by Solomin's last words.

D. The fourth confrontation scene follows immediately. It is triangular – Petushkov, Erofeyich and Lokotkov. It is of the one-to-one type, with verbal and non-verbal intrusion and a return to one-to-one. It is to be remembered that Erofeyich has told Lokotkov of Lazarev's reliability. 'He didn't let us down.' Petushkov enters and asks Erofeyich if he is aware of the brawl between Solomin and Lazarev the previous day. Erofeyich says not. Petushkov begins to question him about the manner of Solomin's death. Erofeyich hadn't actually seen the wounded German officer shoot Solomin. Petushkov gives him the third degree, physically running rings round him. 'How can you maintain something that you didn't see?' Erofeyich is disgusted and wishes to leave. Petushkov insists that he stay. He hasn't given him permission to leave. The interrogation continues. Will Erofeyich agree that, theoretically Lazarev could have fired the shot? At this point we see Lokotkov right of screen soaking his feet in a bowl. He looks up, down and then scratches his face. The camera pans to Petushkov and Erofeyich. The latter appeals to Lokotkov. Lokotkov intervenes: 'Don't comrade major, it's inhuman, it's brutal!' The camera remains fixed on Lokotkov as he utters this line. For the viewer the inference is this: Petushkov is inhuman and brutal, Lokotkov is the opposite: human and benign. Petushkov screams at Lokotkov: 'You. Stand up when a superior officer is talking to you!' Lokotkov raises himself with difficulty. His trousers are hitched up above his knees. He seems frail, vulnerable and all the more sympathetic to the viewer. Petushkov accuses him of being a ditherer and as such a godsend to enemies and two-faced bastards [шкуры]. Solomin had used the expression 'two-faced bastard' to describe Lazarev, we recall. At first Lokotkov doesn't rise to the bait. He advises the major not to get his knickers in a twist and suggests that the game of 'trusts-me-trusts-me-not' is for girls to play after the war. We could paraphrase the game: black-white, friend-foe. Lokotkov then shouts at Petushkov: 'While I'm commander, I'll decide according to my party conscience.' Both of them, by virtue of their positions must be party members. In saying '*my* party conscience Lokotkov is implying that *his* attitude is a mixture of party ideals, humaneness and folk wisdom, not just rules. Petushkov doesn't understand. All he can yell back is: 'You just want to look good in the middle of this battle to the end. I won't allow it!' He storms out, leaving Lokotkov still soaking his feet.

The ending of this scene is low-key. It contains the motivation for the next confrontation, the flashback to the episode on the bridge. But it also underlines the relationship between Erofeyich and Lokotkov. They are old comrades, on first-name terms. They both understand each other. Erofeyich almost intuits Lokotkov's thoughts. The men, too, make a distinction between Lokotkov and Petushkov. Erofeyich refers to Petushkov as your major not our major. The major is a stickler for principles. He is ungrateful. To behave as he does is disgraceful. After all we have learnt that it was Lokotkov who had found him half-dead in the forest and had taken care of him. Erofeyich's judgment is canny. He says that Lazarev isn't a bad lad. Lokotkov, whilst secretly acknowledging Erofeyich's estimation, reprimands him with the same words that Petushkov had used. But Lokotkov's manner is much more gentle.

E. Flashback to the bridge. Lokotkov had refused to blow up the bridge over which a military train was passing because beneath the bridge there was a barge full of Soviet prisoners-of-war being escorted by Germans. It is remarkable how the scene is composed. We can't see the barge for the mist. Again the idea of things not being what they seem, just as in the earlier scene where the Germans had emerged from the mist to attack the village. The barge begins to take on shape. It's the Alexander Pushkin. A gramophone plays traditional Russian music, a well-known melody 'At sunset there was a lad...' It is a love song. The camera selects a pair of crossed hands, an untitled tattoo on the right one. It recalls the 'Be prepared' slogan, though whether this is to defend the motherland or the Vaterland is not clear. A cigarette. The camera moves upwards to reveal a bare-chested soldier. The skull and cross bones on his hat indicate the SS. The camera picks out three rows of prisoners, then six, then the full picture. The song's words have a chilling resonance. Will these prisoners ever see their sweethearts again? Cut to wires (the explosive device) beside the track on the bridge as the train approaches and passes. Cut to the prisoners, then to a close-up of Lokotkov's face. Cut to the wires and the train. Then the wires. Then the barge as it passes beneath the bridge. The sound of the train is replaced by that of the gramophone. At this point Petushkov dashes over to Lokotkov to demand why he hadn't blown up the bridge. The difference between Lokotkov and Petushkov is once more underlined. For the former, the occupants of the barge are people, for the latter they are prisoners, therefore no longer having the right to call themselves human beings. Lokotkov says that they are Russian prisoners. So what, replies the major, at least *he* hadn't allowed himself to be captured, a reference to the time when he had become cut off from his detachment and had hidden in the forest, rather than surrender to the Germans. He runs after Lokotkov. Erofeyich adds a qualifying sentence to Lokotkov's previous one: '[prisoners] who escape to join us in the forest.' Petushkov ignores this remark. For him it is a question of the vital necessity of blowing up the military train, irrespective of the losses incurred. He attacks Lokotkov for dithering again. Lokotkov retorts, echoing Erofeyich: 'But these are our own men. Prisoners who escape to join us in the forest.' The camera significantly notes that this remark has registered with Solomin. Petushkov shouts after Lokotkov, citing the case of his, Petushkov's own son. He had died in action. 'He could have parachuted from the plane and been one of those prisoners, but he didn't. He *chose* to crash his plane into a column of tanks.' Lokotkov spreads his arms in a questioning gesture. 'May be they didn't have a chance,' he suggests. The idea of choice and second chances has occurred before in the film and is especially relevant in the case of Lazarev. For Petushkov and his son there was only one choice, *the right path*, the phrase originally used by Lokotkov to Lazarev. Neither Petushkov nor Lokotkov can accept the other's position. Lokotkov orders Solomin to blow up the bridge now. He is right. As he had said before, there will be other military trains. And now, of course, they won't be able to cross the bridge.

F. The final confrontation. This is between Lokotkov and Lazarev. The context is crucial. Erofeyich had been happy to tell Lazarev how he had defended him in front of Petushkov. He even asked Lazarev for a smoke. In other words, Lazarev can now be trusted after the first test. He's one of the boys, in Erofeyich's eyes. Petushkov arrives and orders Erofeyich to arrest Lazarev. He is dumbfounded. Though he carries out the order, he returns the packet of cigarettes to Lazarev, a human touch, for he knows Lazarev will appreciate them. He even asks for forgiveness, just as Solomin had done. 'Forgive me, old chap.'['Ты извини, кум.'] Lazarev stares incredulously at Petushkov, trying to force his lips to move, but he can't. We later learn that he attempted to hang himself. Lokhotov rushes to the room..

The scene begins with a group of people, certain of whom are foregrounded: two partisans on the left, a peasant woman with a traditional headscarf, her face turned slightly to the left in the centre and two partisans on the right. The men are smoking. The woman's face seems illuminated, almost halo-like. We wonder whether she might represent Mother Russia, whom Lazarev has, in a sense, let down through his suicide attempt. Lokotkov rushes through the crowd. Erofeyich remains true to character: 'The German strap broke. Ersatz leather. Otherwise he's dead. I heard him walking up and down. All of a sudden it all went quiet. I took a peek...and...he....' He sighs. 'How much can a man take?' Lokotkov is still aware that before him is a human being. 'He must get something hot down his throat. Our scouts are brewing up at the moment. Tell them it's an order from me.' He had issued a similar order about food, the order that had led to the brawl between Lazarev and Solomin. A mug is brought. As Lazarev tries to sip the hot liquid, he chokes and then starts to cry. Lokotkov orders the room to be cleared. Lazarev sobs convulsively. The door is closed. This confrontation is not one-to-one. It is one-sided. 'So, lad,' Lokotkov begins quietly, like a father or an uncle. Lazarev has his back to the camera. Lokotkov throws his cigarette-butt away. At first I had difficulty with the next few lines of speech. They seemed out of character. Lokotkov, as we have seen, speaks ordinary, unsophisticated Russian. We recall the way he relished telling his men a joke about Hitler. At one stage he even told his men that he was just as uneducated as they. Here is the first line of his speech: 'Скажи мне, что рассчитывал... подлый враг... под железным... сапогом... решивший... растоптать... нашу с тобой... советскую родину?' [Here is a literal translation: 'Tell me what was the vile enemy hoping for... under his iron boot, having decided to stamp on our with your Soviet Motherland?'] It is a rather pompous sentence, rising to a crescendo over the last five words. The 'our with you' is stronger than 'our' and serves to emphasize a shared belonging. It is clear that this is an official reprimand, like a party reprimand. It is, if you will, in line with *the* party conscience. Lokotkov continues in this vein. Then he goes and sits down beside Lazarev screen right. Lazarev still has his back to us, though his face had been seen close-up when the words 'the vile enemy' had been spoken before. Lokotkov's speech reverts to normal speech. 'Какая на тебе форма... и какая на мне?' ['What uniform do you have on... and which one do I have on?'] Lazarev looks to one side, his eyes seem to be closed. Is he too ashamed to look? Lokotkov reverts to his pompous style: 'На мне, Лазарев, на сегоднящий день есть форма старшего лейтенанта Красной Армии... А ты пока что на сегоднящий будничный военный день есть предатель родины!' ['Today, Lazarev, I am wearing the uniform of a senior lieutenant of the Red Army, whereas you, on this routine day in the war are a traitor to the Motherland!'] We think back to the woman at the beginning of the scene whom we suggested might symbolize the motherland. She has been betrayed, the trust between Lazarev and Lokotkov has been broken, too, by his act of cowardice, his attempted suicide. Lokotkov then lowers his voice and says very quietly: 'А покуда это так... я с тобой закурывать не буду... и не хочу.' ['And while this is so, I shall not have a

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smoke with you. I refuse to.'] This sentence is his very own, in line with '*my* own party conscience', a phrase he has used before. The official jargon resembles Petushkov's. We have already noted the importance of a shared smoke in the army, its implied trust and comradeship. We would expect Lokotkov to ignore Lazarev from now on. After all he's done his best for him. And yet, he is prepared even now to give him another chance to prove himself, 'to test himself' in the operation to reroute a food train bound for Germany. Food which by rights belongs to the Soviets. And it represents the difference between survival and death for the partisans and people in the area. Once more Lokotkov's actions are governed by the heart, not the head. He knows that rule-bound, narrow-minded, officious, pedantic Petushkov was to a large extent to blame for Lazarev's attempted suicide. Nonetheless, he has to make it clear to Lazarev what the new conditions are: 'You can't die. You can't go missing. You must take over the train and you must have eye-witnesses to confirm what you have done.' In other words, to be seen to be beyond criticism. As we know, Lazarev dies in the course of the successful operation.

Let me take up some of the points I made at the beginning of the discussion. *Trial on the Road* shares some aspects of the standard Soviet war film: life was better before the war; the brutality of the Germans; the suffering of the Soviets; the suffering of the land, often represented by a woman; the importance of the collective and the need for vengeance; black and white situations and corresponding reactions; classic battle scenes with melodramatic deaths and the successful outcome of the mission or operation. Yet, many of these aspects are *treated* rather in the style of the 1960s.

Life before the war

In pre-60s war films it was often idealised. It was a happy time, a time of prosperity. The sun was always shining. Smiles were always radiant. There was plenty of food. It was a totally false view. For heaven's sake, it had been a time that witnessed collectivization, the Purges, and famines. In *Trial on the Road* there are very few references to the past and those that are mentioned are pretty low-key. Lazarev tells Solomin's girl that everything was easier before the war. He had no worries. As a taxi driver, he got a few tips and had enough on payday and holidays for a drink or two.

The brutality of the Germans

Often children were murdered by the Germans. As we noticed in *The Rainbow* during an interrogation, the prisoner's new-born baby is brutally wrenched from her arms and shot. In *Trial on the Road* the brutality is less sensational. It is true that the camera focuses on specific acts: the spoiling of the potatoes and the kicking of the cows. But it is the ordinariness of the Germans that is being stressed: they feel the cold, are hungry, play chess, smoke and sport similar tattoos. These are the activities that are picked out by the camera. There is little stereotyping.

Suffering of the Soviets

The emphasis is placed equally on the little people caught up in the war in this particular part of the Soviet Union. During a raid, a woman in her nightdress rushes from her izba, her first concern is to rescue her husband's frozen longjohns and shirt from the clothesline. As people are forced to abandon the village the camera comes to rest on a one-legged man on crutches. It's individuals, rather than the nation.

The importance of the collective and the need for vengeance

We do have a collective in the film, the partisans, but, as was the case with the suffering, it is the individual that receives emphasis. Ordinary, individual qualities are picked out. Erofeyich's, for example, a simple view of things, trust, integrity, loyalty, willingness to change his mind and accept Lazarev and to ask for forgiveness. Solomin's love for his girl, the same willingness to change his mind as Erofeyich. Solomin's girl's love and compassion. Lazarev's honesty, bravery, contentedness with an unglamorous life as a taxi driver before the war. Lokotkov's genuine humaneness, simple wisdom. As for Petushkov, he does have some human traits though they are not all admirable: genuine enthusiasm for football, distress that his son didn't have the chance to become a footballer, love for his son and distress at his death. On the negative side, he is prepared to have an affair with his lady-doctor friend. And we cannot forget his outburst near the beginning of the film when he tells Lokotkov: 'I can't stand those swines of prisoners. When I remember I could tear their throats out with my teeth. Even when I'm dead, I'll kill them.' This is the motivation for his subsequent behaviour. He fails to heed Lokotkov's wise counsel: 'Anger is fine, but don't let it spill over into the brain.' Anger has blinded Petushkov. He is the only one of the characters obsessed with revenge.

Black and white situations

Petushkov's attitudes are condemned. Emphasis is placed on shades of grey, which necessitates the taking of difficult moral decisions.

So, where does this leave German's film? When we move to *Classic battle scenes with melodramatic deaths*, we leave the 1960s behind. There are small-scale incidents: the shooting of 'Piggy', the German soldier at the beginning of the film. He puts on his helmet, faces the camera, suddenly freezes. Hit in the chest, he slowly sinks down. The shooting of the peasant chasing his cow. The death of the soldier who witnesses the Germans emerging from the fog. His body, riddled with bullets, twitches convulsively. The death of the woman in the nightdress. She slumps over the clothesline. There are bigger scale ones: the first 'test', the ambush on the road. The dead German motor cycle driver, his head lolling about as his cycle moves out of control towards the car. The car then explodes. The final operation with is accumulation of incidents. The death of the boy collaborator. The death of the soldier-collaborator on the water-tower. The death of the young soldier struggling to reach the signal points. And finally, Lazarev's machine-gunning down of everyone and everything in sight and his death in a blaze of glory. This is not 1960s cinema. Although there may be allusions to Eisenstein (the 'Piggy' and clothesline episodes), this is mainstream 1970s cinema. In this period commercialisation had arrived. Cinema had to compete with TV. It was a case of bums on seats. Give the public what it wants. So, in the end, Lazarev, alas, does become Ivan Wainskii, a sort of Soviet John Wayne.

Another aspect that places this film in the 1970s is the theme of collaboration itself. Taboo subjects like this had not been uncommon in the mid-1960s. However, they were largely viewed obliquely. In *Trial on the Road* collaboration is more central. After 1985 all sorts of taboo subjects would come creeping out of the woodwork. I would suggest that German is pointing the way to the 1980s with his more open theme.

There is, however, another important indicator. Let's pause for a moment on the final scene of the film. Martial music is playing as convoys of troops pass through a German town. We know it's German because of the sign 'Moebel' ['Furniture'] in one of the shop windows and the name of the proprietor. There are white flags indicating surrender. Painted on the side of some of the tanks are 'To Berlin' and 'For the Motherland'. At a street junction, a young woman directs the traffic, a sort of smiling, syncopated traffic controller. An officer in a staff car seems to recognize someone who is trying to repair a lorry that has broken down. The officer is General Genka Bolshakov. And the man repairing the lorry is none other than Lokotkov. Bolshakov is really pleased to see Lokotkov, though the latter does not recognize him. The former reminds him that he had got him out of the encirclement near Golokhovka in July 1942. Lokotkov had made a great impression on Bolshakov during that July operation and had been his inspiration ever since. They share a quick drink. Bolshakov teases Lokotkov about only being a captain, but, as Lokotkov says: 'OK, but it's our guns that are firing on Berlin.' They drink a victory toast. The girl, wreathed in smiles, continues her syncopated signalling. It is time for the General to leave. He shouts that he will write to the Marshall about Lokotkov's exploits. When the General's car has disappeared, Lokotkov gets his lads to push the lorry. 'Let's shove again, come on, come on, come on, my boys, my lads!'

I think it is possible to read this last scene as a standard Soviet war film ending: victory, the smiles, the toast. From a 1960s perspective, Lokotkov is the little man, the inspirational figure, the individual within the collective. But the figure of the syncopated traffic controller really does sound a false note to me. It literally leaps off the screen, when placed beside Lokotkov and his clapped-out lorry. I think German is offering a rather veiled critique of the Brezhnev era. The film was made in the period leading up to 1971, the period which had seen the invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968. Tvardovsky had been removed along with the rest of the editorial board of *Novy mir* in February 1970. Workers had rioted in Poland in December of the same year. Brezhnev's era was called the era of stagnation. Injustices, privileges for the few, difficult and delicate issues swept under the carpet, safety in conformity. It was beginning to lose its way morally. In later years Brezhnev was to award himself more and more absurd medals for war-time exploits and even for services to literature. The smiling traffic controller perhaps makes us think of a parallel with the Brezhnev era. Whereas her actions are acceptable in the context of the film's narrative, they make us think that all was not as black and white as it was depicted. The film has shown that in life there isn't a set of clear-cut moral choices, that there is only one way to act. A further detail needs to be added. After the German raid on the village near the beginning of the film, a woman is seen carrying an icon as she hurries along with the convoy. She can't take it with her, because it's too heavy. She leaves it by the road side in the snow. The camera tracks back. The mist falls and the icon disappears. Is this not perhaps also symbolic of the abandonment and the disappearance of moral and spiritual values? Lokotkov's final words about the need to pull together speak of the real situation. There is hope amid the moral and spiritual stagnation of Brezhnev's era. The lead will come from the individual, the man with *his* party conscience, not *the* party conscience. Is it just a coincidence that *Trial on the Road* was released in 1986, the beginning of perestroika?

NOTES

20. In the novel the scar has been caused by a bullet. In the film the scar looks as if it were the result of torture.
21. Sartre: *op. cit.*
22. The source is Vida T. Johnson and Graham Petrie, though I have expressed it differently.
23. Galstev learns from a third party that either Gryazanov or Kholin might consider adopting Ivan after the war. Galtsev asks Kholin if he is considering this possibility and receives a very dusty answer. Kholin dies. Gryazanov probably, too. However, Ivan's obsession is so total that adoption would be out of the question so far as he personally is concerned. In any case, he will not survive.
24. Maya Turovskaya: *op. cit.* p. 35.
25. Nikolai Gubenko became Minister of Culture in

1988. In 1971 he had made *Orphans*, a controversial picture about a special school for homeless, abandoned children who roamed the streets at the end of the war.

26. My analysis of *Trial on the Road* greatly benefitted from discussions at a postgraduate seminar I was invited to give at the University of East Anglia in 1995. I record my gratitude to the participants.
27. Aleksei German was born in Leningrad in 1938. He studied under Kozintsev at the Theatre, Music and Film Institute. He worked in the theatre before becoming an assistant director at Lenfilm in 1964. *Trial on the Road* was based on Yurii German's war prose, including *Operation New Year*. The subtitle is 'a documentary novella'. Ian Christie quotes Aleksei German to the effect that the film was held up because of the way it was directed. 'Despite a year's struggle', continues Christie, 'and the influential support of friends like the writer Konstantin Simonov, it was emphatically banned by Goskino and the studio ordered to pay back the money 'wasted' on its production. Yet such were the paradoxes of Soviet cinema in the 'period of stagnation' that German was encouraged to continue as a salaried director at Lenfilm because he had 'shown talent'!' Ian Christie: 'The Cinema' in *Culture and the Media in the USSR Today*, edited by Julian Graffy and Geoffrey Hosking, London, 1989, pp. 51–52.
28. Kenez: *op. cit.* p.154.
29. In pre-revolutionary times the village assembly elected a 'starosta' or village elder. He presided over the village meetings and was responsible for tax collecting, conscription and liaison with the police. The position of the starosta was revived during the Occupation.
30. Donald Piper: 'The Soviet Union' in *The Second World War in Fiction*, edited by Holger Klein, London, 1984, p. 132.
31. Lev Anninsky: 'Zhernova is tiny' in *Iskusstvo kino*, No. 5, 1986, p. 62. Anninsky makes some perceptive comments about structure and the heart/head dichotomy. Some of these comments helped to focus me, suggesting a fruitful direction for my analysis.

Rusistika, December 1997, No 16, 22–33

Творческие задания на занятиях по практике устной речи студентов Junior и Senior Honours

(ролевые игры как форма обучения и развимия речи)

P. K. Kornakov

Система обучения иностринным языкам в вузах Великобритании в принципе отличается от традиционной схемы, до сих пор принятой в большинстве вузов России, поэтому в данной статье, посвящённой некоторым аспектам преподавания русского языка в университете г. Глазго (Шотландия) некоторые термины будут использоваться без перевода на русский язык. Это в первую очередь касается того, что в русской традиции называют "*курсом*" или реже "*уровнем*": Ordinary B, A, Higher Ordinary (HO), Junior и Senior Honours (JH и SH соответственно). Если задача, стоящая перед приглашённым из России преподавателем русского языка на всех трёх уровнях Ordinary Russian – подготовить студентов к стажировке а России, то студенты JH и SH уже прожили учебный год в стране изучаемого языка, и уровень владения устным языком заметно повысился (как в аудировании, так и в репродукции). И в этом случае перед преподавателем по практике устной речи ставятся совсем иные задачи, которые определяют форму проводимых занятий.

ЗАДАЧИ

Насколько мы понимаем, роль приглашаемых из разных стран (России, Польши, Чехии и т.д.) лекторов в принципе сводится к двум основным функциям:

- в качестве носителя языка (русского, чешского, польского и т.д.) дать возможность студентам продолжать общаться на изучаемом языке на занятиях, и
- знакомить студентов с тем, что в советской-русской традиции называется "*страноведением*" или по американской традиции – "*civilisation*", иными словами (используя политическую терминологию советской эпохи) – быть "*полпредом*" русской культуры и истории в качестве живого её представителя.

Регулярная сменяемость (ротация) лекторов приводит к тому, что какого-либо основного (базового) учебного курса по практике устной речи на старших курсах как правило не имеется, приглашённым преподавателям даётся уникальная возможность "импровизировать" на любимые темы. Поэтому форма такого рода занятий варьируется от лектора к лектору.

ФОРМА

По своей форме занятия с Honours (S и J) могут быть самыми разными: это и

- дискуссии (макро и микро);
- обсуждения по разным темам;
- описания;
- устные сочинения;
- ролевые игры и так далее.

Достаточно высокий уровень владения устным языком (как при аудировании, так и при репродукции) студентов Honours позволяет вводить большое количество творческих заданий (как индивидуальных, так и групповых), что делает процесс обучения не только полезным, но и интересным как для самого преподавателя, так и для студентов. Среди такого ряда творческих заданий могут быть и такие:

- "*Сочиняем детектив*", когда на определённую стилистическую схему ("захватывающее" динамичное повествование-описание с большим набором специфических языковых выразительных средств: **наречий** типа *вдруг, внезапно, быстро, неожиданно, внимательно, осторожно* и так далее, **глаголов** "динамичного" действия типа *побежать, броситься, залезть, передумать, преследовать* и так далее, ярких, выразительных **прилагательных**, несущих большую эмоциональную и информационную нагрузку) "нанизывается" импровизация студентов. Естественно, что любому успешно проведённому занятию предшествует кропотливая работа преподавателя, состоящая из предварительного отбора лексики и грамматических структур и моделей, знакомства студентов с языковыми моделями, стилями и жанрами, умение учитывать на занятиях индивидуальные психо-лингвистические особенности обучаемых, их вкусы и интересы;

- словарные игры типа "*укрась слово*", например:

  дом – большой, удобный, каменный, блочный, красивый, двухэтажный, многоквартирный; "хрущёба", коттедж и так далее;
  погода – отвратительная, мерзкая, холодная, промозглая, прохладная, отличная, великолепная, дождливая, солнечная, (без)ветреная.

- викторины типа "*University Challenge*" (Великобритания) или "*Брейн Ринг*" (Россия) с использованием.

культурологических (страноведческих) и лингвистических вопросов типа:

- Продолжите русские пословицы и поговорки: *семь раз отмерь – ...* или *поживём – ...*
- Чей дядя был самых честных правил?
- Какие два Царя до сих пор находятся во дворе Московского Кремля?
- Какие руки были у основателя Москвы?
- Когда наступит "после дождичка в четверг"?
- Куда Макар телят не гонял? и так далее,

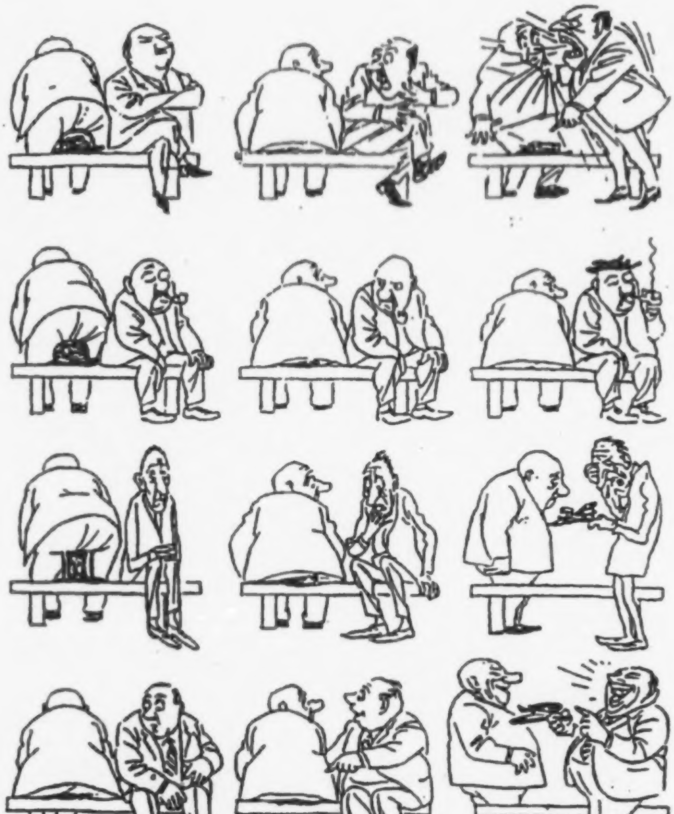
причём для подготовки "*команд*" внутри каждой группы можно использовать видеозаписи "Брейн ринга". Естественно, что "игроки", принимающие участие в такгого рода викторинах, должны иметь достаточно высокий уровень лингвистической и страноведческой подготовки. Именно поэтому их можно проводить со студентами Junior и Senior Honours.

РОЛЕВЫЕ ИГРЫ

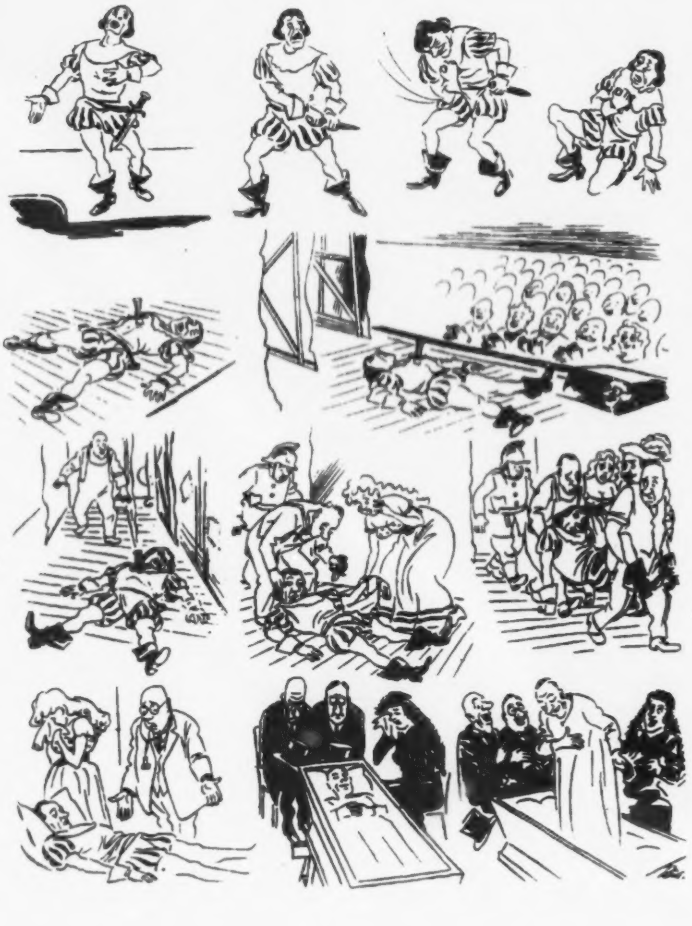
На наш взгляд именно ролевые игры (РИ) достаточно полно удовлетворяют тем требованиями, которые предъявляются сегодня к успешному учебному процессу. Они, безусловно, требуют кропотливой и тщательной предварительной разработки и подготовки со стороны преподавателя. В данной статье мы представим 2 больших блока ролевых игр, 2 малых и три разминочных, с которых, собственно говоря, и начались РИ на занятиях по практике устной речи со студентами SH и JH на кафедре славянской филологии в университете Глазго в 1995/96 учебном году.

В качестве одной из разминкок студентам была предложена репродукция с серии рисунков Херлуфа Бидструпа под общим названием "*Четыре темперамента*", которая сопровождалась и определённой сначала лексико-грамматической работой.

Совместными усилиями была создана "*рабочая модель*" описания: *Однажды один холерик/сангвиник/флегматик/меланхолик сел на скамейку. Он снял свою шляпу/свой цилиндр/котелок и поставил/положил его/её рядом с собой на скамейку. Он не заметил, как один толстяк подошёл к той же скамейке и сел на шляпу/цилиндр...* И так



тип темперамента по Гиппократу	краткая характеристика	свойства нервной системы по И. П. Павлову	выдающиеся личности
флегматик	пассивный, очень трудоспособный, медленно приспосабливающийся, настроение устойчивое, мало поддаётся внешнему влиянию	спокойный, сильный, уравновешенный, малоподвижный	И. А. Крылов, М. И. Кутузов, И. Ньютон
сангвиник	активный, энергичный, легко приспосабливающийся	живой, сильный, уравновешенный, подвижный	М. Ю. Лермонтов, Наполеон Бонапарт, В. А. Моцарт
холерик	активный, очень энергичный, настойчивый	легко возбудимый, сильный, неуравновешенный, подвижный	Пётр I, А. С. Пушкин, А. В. Суворов, М.де Робеспьер
меланхолик	пассивный, легко утомляющийся, тяжело приспосабливющийся, неуверенный в себе	слабый, неуравновешенный, слержанный	Н. В. Гоголь, П. И. Чайковский



далее. Студентам предлагается сначала просто описать все 4 ситуации. В "сочинении" такой истории участвуют обычно 4 человека. Потом предлагается сочинить "*комикс*", то есть придумать за каждого из "героев" краткие фразы, подходящие к каждой картинке-сцене. Затем студенты получают заранее подготовленные для них материалы о том, как в русской традиции описывается каждый из 4 основных темпераментов. А для студентов это уже работа в основном лингвистическая: им надо повторить большое количество прилагательных и конструкций, которые традиционно изучаются в России в рамках стандартной темы "*Человек. Портрет. Характер*".

Эту "разминочную" РИ в сокращённом виде можно проводить и со студентами НО, а подготовительные учебные материалы можно использовать и на занятиях по практике устной со студентами ОА.

Вместо "*Четырёх темпераментов*" (или параллельно с ними) в качестве подготовительного материала можно использовать и ещё одну серию рисунков того же художника-графика "*Мастерство актёра*" (*или "Искусство артиста" – придумать названия к сериям рисунков также предлагается студентам в виде задания)*.

СЛОВА И СЛОВОСОЧЕТАНИЯ

артист	трагик, комик, на первых (вторых) ролях, в главных ролях роли исполняли и дублировали в костюме, с кинжалом за поясом, в сапогах, в парике
амплуа	любовник несчастный (обманутый) муж бюрократ разбойник
кинжал	ножны (pl. tantum) вынимать-

вынуть из ножен
бутафорский
(за)колоть, (за)резать кинжалом
упасть на одно колено
ничком
навзничь
остаться лежать на сцене
зрители овация хлопать свистеть
освистать (актёра, пьесу)
суфлёр в будке суфлировать
(подсказывать)
занавес поднимать – опускать
лежать как убитый
работник сцены
пожарный в каске с топориком за поясом
прима прима-балерина танцовщик
танцовщица
(вз)волноваться
разволноватися
взволнованный
в волнении
от волнения
волнистые волосы безжизненно висеть
врач доктор медик медсестра хирург
терапевт невропатолог сексолог
лор окулист ортопед
разводить – развести руками
пожимать – пожать плечами
мигать (моргать) – мигнуть (моргнуть)
глазами
вдова траур носить траур по кому-либо
блаженная улыбка на его лице
сумрачные, горестные лица его друзей и
родственников
гроб лежать в гробу восстать из гроба
драматург режиссёр режиссёр-
постановщик сценарист
труппа осветитель декоратор

Работа с серией картинок "*Мастерство актёра*" проводится по примерно следующему плану:

- составить рассказ по картинкам, описывая, что на каждой;
- рассказ-комикс: "оживляем персонажей";
- рассказ от лица какого-либо одного персонажа по выбору (учитывая пройденную тему "*4 темперамента*"): артист, жена артиста, работник сцены, зритель, суфлёр, журналист-репортёр, врач;
- пишем/рассказываем "*сценарий*" микровидеофильма (по всем правилам театрального сценария, включая сценические ремарки, например:

> *Актёр обин на сцене. Он в парике, в камзоле, в перчатках, сапогах и с кинжсалом на поясе. Он побхобит к рампе, левой рукой держась за сердце, смотрит вверх и произносит:*
>
> *АКТЁР: Жить или не жить? – вот в чём вопрос! Она меня разлюбила! О, я несчастный! Умереть? Уснуть? Умереть!*
>
> *Достаёт кинжсал из ножен и закалывает себя. Падает на обно колено…* и так далее).

Естественно, что для успешной работы над "сценарием" студенты должны хорошо представлять себе, чем стилистически этот жанр отличается от других, а это уже задача преподавателя.

Ещё одним "разминочным" материалом может послужить работа над ситуацией типа "*Что я видел?*", причём "начинка" такой ролевой игры может меняться в зависимости от лексико-грамматических задач на повторение, которые ставит преподаватель в зависимости от уровня владения языком в каждой конкретной группе. В нашем случае для повторения в университете Глазго была выбрана стандартная тема "*Город. Транспорт. Пешеход*", а в качестве грамматического материала – средства выражения времени, так называемая группа *глаголов движения* (V of M) *вид глагола* (однократное процессуальное и результативное значение; выражение одновременности, последовательности, повторяемости).

Что я видел?…

Вчера один молодой человек на мотоцикле въехал в женскую парикмахерскую через окно витрины. Стекло естественно, разбилось, но пострадавших не было.

На спине на куртке у парня было написано: "*Too old to rock'n'roll – too young to die*". (Эту фразу предлагается перевести на русский язык.) Часы на башне показывали четверть четвёртого…

Свидетели случившегося:

- полицейский;
- репортёр газеты (любой на выбор студентов: это могут быть "Московские Новости", "Аргументы и Факты", "Известия" или "Times") <в этом случае можно провести микро-дискуссию о том, какие средства массовой информации наиболее популярны в России и Великобритании, какие газеты представляют чьи интересы, какие телепрограммы имеют самый высокий рейтинг среди телезрителей и т.д.>;
- парикмахер;
- клиент;
- водитель автобуса (трамвая, такси);
- старушка;
- мужчина с собакой и так далее,

и, конечно, сам мотоциклист.

Студентам предлагается выбрать себе роль и представить данную ситуацию от лица своего “героя”, причём “*полицейский*” и “*журналист*” получают и дополнительное задание опросить во время занятия всех “*свидетелей*” происшествия и составить в первом случае “*полицейский протокол*”, а во втором – “*газетный репортаж*”.

Все этн прдготовительные “игры” необходимы для того, чтобы студентам было ленче и привычнее участвовать в РИ, к описанию которых мы и переходим:

НЕОБИТАЕМЫЙ ОСТРОВ

Пол этим условным названием мы принимаем достаточно комплексную РИ, которая может включать в себя следуюшие подготовительные этапы-подтемы:

- описание каждого характера, включая известные “стереотипы”, например, как живут современные русские фермеры, музыканты, врачи; что имеют дома преподаватели и пенсионеры; чем увлекаются молодёжь, люди среднего поколения, пожилые люди и т.д.; как они одеваются, что коллекционируют, как проводят отпуск и т.д. и т.п.
- русские и нерусские имена, фамилии и отчества (правила формоизменения);
- бытовые предметы, которые мы используем в повседневной жизни, их функции и описания действий, например:
  - *нож* нужен для того, чтобы *резать* (хлеб, колбасу и т.д.); глагол резать с префиксами (разрезать, отрезать, нарезать и т.д.),
  - топор – чтобы *рубить*;
  - иголки – чтобы *шить* и т.д.
- виды спорта и спортивная экипировка (например, теннис <большой и настольный>: ракетка, мяч, шарик, сетка, корт <открытый, крытый>, стол, левша, правша и т.д.:
- так называемый “*национальный вопрос*” в России; проблемы наций и народностей; национальная политика в Советском Союзе и в Россин сегодня;
- воинские звания в России и Советском Союзе; воинская служба в России; альтернативная военная служба; участие войск и военнослужаших в военных конфликтах в так называемых “горячих точках”;

и так далее.

Студентам для РИ “*Необитаемый остров*” предлагается следующий список “*действующих лиц*” (который, естественно, может быть изменён):

1. Владимир Никола́евич Ивано́в – 23 года, фермер.
2. Андре́й Вишне́вский – оперный певец, бас, 29 лет.
3. Гео́ргий Алекса́ндрович Петро́вский – 48 лет, блестящий учёный, изобретатель.
4. Генна́дий Ива́нович Пе́терс – 35 лет, портной.
5. Маргарита Никола́евна – его жена, молодая беременная женщина, симпатичная, но истеричная.
6. Маруся Грач – 19 лет, певица, тяжёлый рок, металл.
7. Станисла́в Евге́ньевич Сашко́ – 34 года, инженер-электрик.
8. Михаил Петро́в – 25 лет, полицейский, вооружён.
9. Игорь Борисович Ува́ров – 82 года, опытнейший врач.
10. Дмитрий Петро́вич Шмидт – 62 года, философ, знаток искусств.
11. Ива́н Си́доров – молодой офицер спецназа, лейтенант.
12. Григо́рий Яковлевич Гру́зин – 41 год, финасовый инспектор.
13. Ка́тя – 16-ти летняя девушка, красивая, с хорошей фигурой.
14. Серге́й Петре́нко – 31 год, спортсмен, чемпион страны по большому теннису, левша.
15. Лидия Гаври́ловна – старая дева, учительница истории, директор школы.
16. Па́вел Вознесе́нский – за 50, знаменитый поэт.
17. баба Ма́ша – 60 лет, бабушка, очень добрая.

После того, как были детально “описаны” каждый из персонажей, начинается вторая часть, задание в которой звучит примерно так:

- Выберите 5 (или 7) “героев”, которые во время “кораблекрушения” спасутся и окажутся на “необитаемом острове” в субтропиках. Там отличный климат, уникальные условия: всегда ровная, благоприятная погода; на острове в изобилии растут фрукты и овощи, нет опасных для человека животных. Смоделируйте микро-общество, которое будет создано на острове, принимая во внимание характер каждого из тех, кого вы “спасёте” во время “кораблекрушения”.

Кроме того студентам предлагается выбрать и “***спасти***” 5 (или 7) абсолютно любых предметов, которые, по их мнению, могут быть ***полезны*** или ***необходимы*** на острове. Обязательное условие – строго соблюсти ***количество*** предметов: если спички, то *сколько* **коробков**; если водка, то *сколько* **бутылок или ящиков** <в этом случае за одну единицу – "*штуку*" принимается и "ящик"> и аргументировать, ***зачем*** и ***для чего*** будут ***нужны*** и ***полезны*** те или иные "предметы" на том острове (например: ***им будет нужен*** радиоприёмник на солнечных батарейках, ***чтобы слушать*** музыку и новости; врачу будет нужен *набор инструментов*, ***чтобы оперировать*** на острове больных).

Последнее задание, включающее возможность аргументированного выбора – придумать 5 (или 7) законов, которые будут действовать на острове. Грамматический фон, на котором могут быть придуманы эти законы – **императив** и **инфинитив**, в первую очередь ***негативный*** (*не убивайте* или *не убивать* и т.д.).

Далее начинается собственно РИ: студентам предлагается выбрать одного из "спасённых" ими героев и составить что-то типа "дневниковых записей" того, что произошло во время кораблекрушения и после него, когда все "выжившие" собрались на острове. (Лексико-грамматическая тема в этой части – глагол "*жить*" с префиксами: *выжить*, *прожить*, *пережить*, *нажится на*... и т.д.)

Завершается РИ "*Необитаемый остров*" чем-то типа "*Учредительного собрания*", на котором выступают все члены нового коллектива со своими вариантами законов и моделью социального устройства их микро-общества. Во время такого "собрания" можно проводить и "всенародное обсуждение" или "референдум" по каждому из вопросов: кого из 17 "спасти" и почему; какие предметы им будут особенно нужны на острове и почему; какие законы могут быть самыми важными в новом микро-обществе и почему. По результатам каждого обсуждения можно проводить ***голосование*** с подсчётом голосов (за, против и воздержались) и в конце РИ, подводя итоги, результаты "*референдума*" могут быть оформлены в виде "доклада".

Элементы РИ "*Необитаемый остров*" можно успешно использовать на занятиях со студентами НО, а подготовительные разработки к этой игре могут послужить хорошим учебным материалом к учебным занятиям со студентами ОА, например при изучении (повторении) таких тем, как "формоизменение русских имён, фамилий и отчеств" или "негативный императив/ инфинитив".

Вторая РИ, описать которую мне хочется в данной статье – "***Выборы***", была организована, подготовлена и проведена в преддверии президентских выборов в России. Страноведческим материалом для этой РИ послужили реальные предвыборные документы (листовки, плакаты), использовавшиеся в России, а также газетные сообщения. Кроме того, для этой РИ был подготовлен специальный текст-описание некоей вымышленной страны (очень похожей на Россию, но не являющейся её точной копией):

Часть 1. Описание Русслии

В некотором автономном царстве, в некотором автономном государстве бывшего СССР, а ныне – России, сложилась напряжённая обстановка: близятся президентские выборы летом этого года, а в декабре прошлого года прошли выборы в Парламент страны. В связи с этим появилось множество новых партий самого разного ***толка*** и направления: все ***рвутся к власти***.

Наша страна Русслия ***страдает*** обычным ***набором*** современных экологических и социальных ***болезней: безработица***, высокий ***уровень загрязнения окружающей среды***, бесконтрольная ***вырубка лесов***, низкий ***уровень очистки отходов производства***, большой ***дефицит бюджета***, огромный ***внешний долг – наследие*** ещё Советского Союза, растущий долг западным банкам по новым кредитам, мафия ***проникает*** всё глубже ***в государственные структуры***, коррупция на всех уровнях, талантливая молодёжь и учёные с мировым именем стараются ***всеми правдами и неправдами*** уехать из страны на запад (хотя бы временно), резко упала ***рождаемость*** (нация начала "***стареть***"), инфляция продолжает расти быстрыми темпами и уже опередила рост курса национальной валюты по отношению к доллару США и немецкой марке, а это значит, что ***внутренние цены*** заметно превысили среднеевропейские на аналогичные ***продукты пимания*** и ***товары повседневного спроса***. Как следствие, происходит резкое ***обнищание населения***, и одновременно в стране появилось большое количество ***нуворишей***, располагающих огромными денежными средствами, которые они вкладывают в западные банки, как правило швейцарские и британские. ***Рэкет*** и проституция ***процветают***. Полиция пока ***бессильна остановить рост преступгости*** в стране.

В стране имеются и определённые демократические традиции, но в настоящее время большинство потенциальных избирателей пассивно. Обстановка осложняется ещё и тем, что вслед за выборами в Парламент страну ожидают выборы нового президента. Нынешний президент ***по состоянию здоровья*** вряд ли

выдвинет свою ***кандидамуру на второй срок***. Правые пугают народ “красной” угрозой (ссылаясь на недавний опыт Польши), левые пугают народ “чёрной” угрозой, причём опасность захвата власти коммунистами и фашистами одинаково велика и реальна. Демократические силы ***раздроблнеы***, новые партии и блоки появляются ***как грибы после*** хорошего летнего ***дождя***, что, естественно, мешает их объединению. Однако и в ***стане ультра*** (как левых, так и правых) также нет единства.

За рубежом проживают ***потомки*** бывшего монарха, которого 80 лет назад свергла социальная революция в стране. Кое-кто до сих пор верит в “доброго царя”, однако даже среди монархистов нет единогласия, так как разные группировки делают ставку на “своего” монарха.

Западные монополии видят в этой стране отличный ***рынок сбыта***, но в тоже время их стремление – превратить её в свой ***сырьевой придаток***, в ***помойку для отходов*** собственного ***производства*** и не допустить роста технологического и военного могущества в этой стране.

В стране официально запрещена торговля оружием, однако бодьшое количество незарегистрированного оружия (как правило с военных складов) почти свободно ходит по стране, и купить пистолет Макарова или автомат Калашникова на ***чёрном рынке*** также легко, как купить стиральный порошок “ARIEL” или “TIDE”, шоколад “Cadbury”, или старенький “Вольво” практически в любом магазине. В стране существуют и сильные патриотические традиции, связанные с важными военными успехами за последние 200 лет, однако страна пережила и чувствительные поражения в войнах, которые вела на чужих территориях особенно в прследние 25 лет, так что ***престиж*** военных сильно ***пошатнулся*** за последние 15–20 лет. В армии процветает “***дедовщина***”, и современная молодёжь не имеет никакого желания служить в армии, однако в стране до сих пор нет ***закона об альтернативной службе***, из-за сего количество “***отказников***” ***растёт*** с каждым новым призывом в армию ***как снежный ком***.

И в то же самое время…

Страна ***располагает*** огромными ***запасами природных ресурсов***: леса, вода, ***полезные ископаемые*** (золото, нефть, природный газ, алмазы, уголь), производит большое количество дешёвой энергии (в основном электрической на гидро – и атомных электростанциях). Кроме того, в стране до сих пор не ощущается нехватки талантливых людей. ***Интеллектуальный потенциал и престиж*** страны до сих пор высок и признан в мире. Национальное искусство ***внесло*** свой значительный **вклад в** мировую ***культуру***. Страна интересна для всего мира как несомненно богатый и оригинальный туристический центр, который продолжает привлекать (несмотря на многочисленные визовые сложности и неспокойную обстаговку) туристов и интеллектуалов со всего мира. ***Чувство патриотизма*** всё ещё глубоко ***свойствено*** народу этой страны ***на стыке*** Европы и Азии.

Идёт предвыборная кампания и борьба...

После анализа лексики такого “введения” студентам было предложено продумать ответы на следующие вопросы:

- *Какой строй выбрать?*
  (монархия, парламентская республика, централизованное государство с сильной президентской властью, фашистская или коммунистическая диктатура, диктатура военных, беспредел мафии и т.д.)
- *Как установить контроль за природными ресурсами?*
- *Как остановить рост безработицы?*
- *Что делать с коррупцией?*
- *Что делать с технологической отсталостью?*
- *Как остановить “утечку мозгов” из страны?*
- *Как расплатиться с западными банками за предоставленные кредиты?*
- *Как избежать нелегального вывоза произведений искусства из страны?*
- *Что делать с деятельностью спецслужб западных стран?*
- *Как поставить под контроль деятелность нынешней ФСК* (Федеральной службы контрразведки – приёмницы КГБ)?
- *На кого опираться в предвыборной борьбе* (на пенсионеров, студенческую молодёжь, интеллектуалов, служащих, военных)?
- *Что делать с вооружёнными силами?*

Сделайте Ваш выбор!
Предлагайте Ваших кандидатов на пост Президента!
Ведите предвыборную кампанию!

После такой вот “вводной” студенты получали самые разные задания: ответить на все “горячие” вопросы, решить, какую партию, какое направление они будут защищать, кто будут их избиратели и кто мог мы наилучшим образом представить их партию на предстоящих президентских выборах. Весь материал проговаривался на устных занятиях а потом студенты написали листовки и эссе на тему “Выборы”. Спектр партий, которые выбрали для себя студенты, оказался очень широким: от фашистской диктатуры, через беспредел мафии и всесилие партии свободных наркотиков к либеральным, республиканским и социал-демократическим партиям и движениям.

Часть вторая: Партии, программы, кандидаты и манифесты...

Студентам предлагается продумать и подготовить следующие “*предвыборные*” документы: программу партии, за которую они агитируют, предвыборную программу их кандидата и обращение этого кандидата к избирателям. Ниже приводятся образцы некоторых “*итоговых документов*”:

Манифест N° 1

“Беспартийный блок за возрождение Русслии”

Наше избирательное объединение – единственный в списке политический избирательный блок, за которым не стоят никакие корпоративные или экономические интересы. Мы выступаем за улучшение условий быта всех наших граждан: как бедных, так и богатых, как молодых, так и старых.

Исходя из этого, мы намерены пересматривать всю программу экономических реформ. Само собой разумеется, что наше объединение выступает за продолжение преобразований – но эти преобразования должны стать социально ориентированными.

Серьёзное снижение жизненного уровня преобладающего большинства населения страны, утрата многочисленных социальных гарантий, которые существовали при Советском Союзе, фарс ваучерной приватизации (“захватизации”) – всё это вызвало со стороны многих наших граждан крайнее негативное отношение к реформам.

Преодолеть это без более активной роли государства в экономической жизни страны невозможно. Что касается приватизации, тем, кто получил собственность по закону, нечего нас бояться, но если становится ясно, что какую-либо приватизационную сделку совершили в обход федерального законодательства, не остановимся перед тем, чтобы возвращать это имущество обратно под контроль государства. Приватизация будет продолжаться, но под строгим контролем государственных организаций.

В области промышленной политки мы готовы поддержать отрасли экономики, не имеющие рыночных стимулов для инвестиций (но важные с точки зрения государственных или общественных интересов) или субсидиями, или даже национализацией, как и в других странах. Мы выступаем за многоукладность экономики, за то, чтобы существование каждого уклада, каждой формы собственности определялось не идеологическими, а экономическими соображениями. Государство также должно играть ключевую роль во внешней торговле. В первую очередь речь идёт о необходимости вводить протекционистские меры для защиты отечественного товаропроизводителя – наша страна не должна стать местом “дэмпинга”. Эти меры должны быть отменены только тогда, когда другие страны проявят свою готовность дать нам доступ к своему рынку.

Мы также за активную социальную роль государства, которая включает в себя действенную политику сокращения безработицы, индексацию и выплату без задержки пенсий, пособий, а также зарплаты работникам бюджетной сферы. Мы также за скорое возрождение системы бесплатного медицинского обслуживания населения. Средства для проведения такой политики, конечно, существуют – их просто растрачивают на бесполезные попытки поддерживать рубль и подавить инфляцию.

В политической сфере мы за установление сильной политической власти, способной привести в действие нашу платформу и сохранить территориальную целостность Русслии. О “сильной руке” речь не идёт, а скорее о легитимной, конституционной власти, дающей полный простор всем общественным и региональным интересам.

Обращаемся к вам, нашим избирателям, за поддержкой в осуществлении этой нашей программы.

Вместе мы можем сделать жизнь лучше!

Манифест N° 2

Партия Свободы для всех!

...Дамы и господа, граждане великой республики!

Я, Филип Ценов, представитель и руководитель Партии Свободы, хочу поговорить с вами о будущем нашей страны.

Будущее нашей страны может и должно быть великим. Это зависит от вас, от того, за кого вы проголосуете. Я хочу описать вам будущее страны, управляемой Партией Свободы.

Я – не фашист, я – не ультранационалст, я – не коммунист. Проработав всю жизнь переводчиком в университетах Москвы, Парижа и Лондона, я решил, что нашей стране нужна перемена к лучшему, и по-моему, к лучшему – значит к западному. Мы – европейцы. Фашисты – опасные лицемеры. Коммунисты – пустые идеологи. Я обещаю вам, что Партия Свободы поведёт эту страну в Будущее.

Я стал политиком официально в 1990 году, но я давно уже был политиком. Мы все – политики, потому что мы все имеем право думать и жаловаться. Я наблюдал народ, и я увидел, что большинство населения было недовольно. Но никто ничего не говорил об этом. Закричите! Скажите, чего вам хочется! Может быть у меня не всегда будут ответы, но я всегда буду слушать вопросы.

Я привлеку западных бизнесменов к нашей стране. Я стабилизирую валюту. Я положу потом страну в ваши руки.

ФИЛИП ЦЕНОВ – ПАРТИЯ СВОБОДЫ – БУДУЩЕЕ – ВОТ ВСЁ, ЧТО ВЫ ДОЛЖНЫ ЗНАТЬ!

Манифест № 3

Партия “Новый Взгляд”

Партия “Новый Взгляд” выбирает в кандидаты на пост президента **Вениамина Михайловича Керенского**, бывшего афганца, ныне – профессора неврологии и химии.

Сын полумексиканской бывшей звезды “Просто Марии” и одного русского неизвестного звания, он свободно владеет русским, испанским и валлийским языками, любит печь кексы и хорошо моргает. Детство и университетские годы Вени прошли спокойно, за исключением лишь того, что на двадцатый день после рождения он стал икать.

Последние пять лет он посвятил разработке уникального микропроцессора, который вам предлагает “Новый Взгляд”. Став президентом нашей страны Русслии, дядя Веничка вставит всем в мозги новый свой микропроцессор. В отличие от других партий у нас нет пустых обещаний изменить вашу жизнь, но благодаря этому изобретению мы сможем по крайней мере изменить ваш ***взгляд*** на жизнь.

Сначала микропроцессор получат только те, кто голосовал за нашу партию, но и таких будет много, потому что восторженные отзывы о нашем приборчике уже давно гуляют по Русслии, к нам даже обращаются из-за границы с просьбой продать им лицензию на его выпуск, но мы – патриоты, сначала мы обеспечим всё наше население “Новым Взглядом”, а уже потом будем экспортировать его за кордон. Наши учёные уже наладили его выпуск на одном из сибирских заводов, не успевших пройти насильственную конверсию. Прибор – абсолютно безвреден для здоровья, больше того, он абсолютно полезен для него! Все индиаидуальные негативные эмоции трансформируются и превращаются радиохимичуским путём исключительно в положительные. Мы не создадим общество тотальной эйфории, но в нашем новом обществе будет царить здоровый оптимизм!

Будем снова гордиться своей родиной. Безработица станет “возможностью наслаждаться свободным временем”. Инфляция – ветром перемен. Коррупция – наифективнейшим обращением средств. Мафия – это оригинальность и находчивость “наших”.

НА ВСЁ БУДЕМ СМОТРЕТЬ ПОЗИТИВНО!

Манифест № 4

Уже 80 лет в Русслии нет монархии. Мы потеряли в 17-ом году ***естественную***, Русслийскую систему правительства. Русслияне нуждаются в **востановлении МОНАРХИИ**.

Мы предлагаем вам не нового диктатора, который желал бы эксплуатировать и угнетать народ, а ЦАРЯ, ***выбранного народом и избранного БОГОМ***. Человека, который желает участвовать с русслиянами в этом процессе лечения нашей страны от болезней коммунизма, участвовать в этой борьбе против зла. Он создаст новую стабильность в Русслии, основанную не на страхе и обмане старой системы, а на справедливости, на уважении традиций друг к другу и к Богу.

Как в царстве небесном, в новом царстве Русслии, бедные достойны наследовать землю. Это именно те люди, которые стоят в этой очереди первыми. Мы предлагаем делить земли в деревнях между настоящими наследниками земли – крестьянами. Тем, кто живёт ниже прожиточного минимума, мы обеспечим пособие. Мы хотим дать этим людям новую надежду, новое самоуважение. Эти люди – корни русслийского общества. Без них наша страна просто не поправится.

Мы считаем, что Армия нужна для Мира, а не для войны, работа армии это строить, а не разрушать. Мы призываем молодых людей не к военной, а к социальной и экологической службе. Мы хотим, чтобы они временно жили работали в бедных краях Русслии: в школах, в больницах, с природными ресурсами. Необходимо, чтобы мы помогали друг другу. Государство не может дать всё народу, оно может только поддержать внизу и руководить наверху. Самое ценное богатство этой страны – это люди. Вы очень способные, умные и терпеливые люди. Давайте стремиться вместе к восстановлению Русслии.

Дальше невозможно жить без царя в голове...

Манифест № 5

Обращение к народу

Самые главные проблемы в нашей стране: преступность, беззаконие, неэффективность и коррупция. Нам необходимо объявить войну этим язвам. Когда я стану президентом, я потребую, чтобы вы все были на высоте положения. Например, я закрою все нерентабельные заводы и фабрики.

Я уже говорил, что мы скатились на самое дно пропасти: преступники, которые сидят в министерствах и частных фирмах, выкачали деньги из страны. Когда они сядут в тюрьмы, мы распорядимся этим капиталом, поместив его в народное образование, в народное хозяйство, в милицию.

Мы поместим его в будущее нашей страны и нашего бощества!

Манифест № 6

Партия демократических реформ
выбирает
ПЕТРУШЕВСКУЮ МАРИЮ ИВАНОВНУ

ПЕТРУШЕВСКАЯ МАРИЯ ИВАНОВНА – 40 лет, образование высшее, писательница.

После окончания университета она работала в газете “Таймс”, но бросила её три года назад, когда её первый роман был опубликован. С той поры она много пишет и только что закончила работу над биографией известного английского политика.

Дорогие избиратели!

Я представляю партию демократических реформ.

Я знаю, что люди перенесли множество лишений с тех пор, как в нашей стране начата программа реформ. Были недостатки. Одни быстро разбогатели, а большинство обеднело. И теперь люди меня спрашивают: для чего нам нужны реформы? И я отвечаю: для наших детей, для нашего будущего.

Сейчас у нас много проблем, но надо работать вместе, чтобы обеспечить нашим детям хорошее будущее, дома, работу. Сейчас нам надо жертвовать многим ради наших детей. Мы боремся против имущественного неравенства.

Что касается роста безработицы – этот вопрос очень важен для партии демократических реформ. Мы создаём те условия, которые необходимы для восстановления экономики. Наша партия хочет привлечь иностранные фирмы, которые вложат деньги в нашу страну, что даст работу для самых талантливых здесь, у нас. Таким способом мы остановим “утечку мозгов”. Благодаря этим деньгам мы сможем инвестировать наши собственные фирмы и сельское хозяйство, и через пять лет нам уже не будут нужны западные инвесторы.

У нас в Русслии очень серьёзная проблема: наша молодёжь апатична. Что касается политики – им всё равно. И это наша вина. Все эти долгие годы у нас не было влияния на то, что происходило в стране. Теперь у нас есть такое влияние, но мы не знаем, что делать. По-моему, политики должны отвечать перед избирателями за всё, что они делают. Я хочу продолжать программу реформ.

Теперь решать вам:

Вам хочется возвращения коммунистов к власти? – Это путь к беде и банкротству. Уверяю вас, они нарушат свои собственные обещания. Мы не нарушим ничего, потому что у нас будет наказ и поддержка избирателей.

Самое важное – это образование. Сегодня все стремятся к быстрой наживе, расчитывают на немедленный результат. Я считаю, что это бесполезно. Наша партия думает о будущем Русслии. Мы имеем перспективные цели. Мы уверены в том, что инвестиции в образование – необходимы. Надо хорошо подготовить наших детей, и тогда им предстоит блестящая будущность.

Наши лети унаследуют одну из самых богатых стран в мире. У нас есть алмазы, уголь, газ и так далее. Значит, очень важен вопрос о том, как установить контроль за всеми этими природными ресурсами. Поэтому мы создадим комиссию, чтобы разобраться в этом вопросе.

Вместо воинской повинности я предлагаю создать профессиональную армию. Тогда молодёжь будет работать в обществе, помогать людям.

Для здоровой экономики самое важное – больше торговать (особенно с Западом) и меньше импортировать. Я улучшу уровень жизни каждого избирателя. Мне хочется оздоровить экономику, снизить инфляцию, укрепить рубль, бюджет и инвестировать в промышленность, технологию, образование и сельское хозяйство.

Вместе мы создадим лучшую жизнь для всех.
Голосуйте за нас.
Ъудущее в ваших руках!

Манифест № 7

Уважаемые граждане!

Наша страна *больна*. Наша экономика разрушилась, уровень жизни резко упал, повсюду царит *беззаконие* – словом, полный бардак! Неужели нам придётся ещё раз пережить период застоя?

Как вылечить нашу страну? Кто её вылечит?

Это может только нео-фашистская партия!

Вера в государство, *боевое* настроние, *патриотизм* – в этом заключается наша сила. Народ уже давно разочаровался в традиционных партиях, которые не предлагают ничего конкретного, интересы которых идут вразрез с интересами народа. Я не говорю уже о нашем государстве, которое замыкалось в себе, отдалялось от общества. Государство нас предало! Народу нужна *надёжная* партия, нео-фашистская партия!

По словам либералов, мы – *против воли* человека, мы установим авторитарный режим… И прекрасно. Вот это именно то, что и нужно.

Мы не хотим человека, стоящего выше государства, уполномоченного выступать против против общества. Мы понимаем волю человека как *развитие личности ради государства*. А кто может руководить им? *Решительный* человек, который понимает масштабы своей задачи, который берёт на себя *ответственность* перед народом улучшить судьбу страны. Он не диктатор, а *пастор*. Он и государство – едины!

Только нео-фашистская партия может вернуть *славу, энергию, гордость и величие* нашей стране! Сила всегда будет одолевать слабость, а решительность – сомнение. У нас были сильные *патриотические традици*, связанные с военными, а теперь наша страна потерпела и до сих пор ещё терпит позорное, сокрушительное *поражение* в Цеценской республике. Почему? Потому что солдаты потеряли чувство патриотизма. Военная технология *устарела*, наша братья борются за гроши, государство не заботится о них. Мы обещаем возродить это чувство патриотизма и восстановить престиж военных. Почему Цецня и другие республики хотят получить независимость, хотят быть самостоятельными? Потому что наша страна *рассыпалась*, ничего хорошего нет. Ну и пусть они становятся *самостоятельными*. Единое чувство патриотизма невозможно между разными народами, принадлежащими к разным культурам и религиям. Нам предстоит важнее работа: мы приложим все силы, чтобы наша экономика *процветала и приносила богатство*. В связи с этим мы не против *приватизации*. Дать частным предпринимателям поручение развивать экономику – в наших интересах. Это значит, что мы достигнем лучших результатов с наименьшими затратами. Не удивительно, что мы сталкиваемся с проблемой "*утечки мозгов*": молодые люди надеются уехать. Да и как им не уезжать? Мы же возьмём их образование в свои руки и построим для них школы и институты. Мы их уважаем, потому что мы знаем, что в них заключается будущее нашей страны.

Надежда ещё есть.

За выздоровление нашей страны!
За силу и за славу!

Кроме РИ, расчитаных на несколько учебных занятий, таких как "Выборы" и "Необитаемый остров", в данной статье мы опишем ещё две "малые": "*Собеседование*" и "*Опрос общественного мнения*".

Опрос общественного мнения

Подтемой данной РИ мы выбрали наиболее устойчивые **стереотипы**.

Началась эта РИ с устной работы на занятии, когда в результате "жарких дебатов" отбирались наиболее типичные и репрезентативные вопросы для 4 анкет:

- *Что думают англичане о шотландцах?*
- *Что думают шотландцы об англичанах?*
- *Что британцы думают о русских?*
- *Что русские думают о Шотландии в частности и о Великоюритании вообще?*

Сами вопросы анкет типа:

- *Верите ли Вы в Лох-Несское чудовище?*
- *Носите ли Вы килт?*
- *Что Вы больше отмечаете: Рождество или Новый Год?*
- *Любите ли Вы хаггис и игру на волынке?*
и так далее отрадали наше общее знание самых типичных стереотипов. Кроме того, студенты получили возможность познакомиться со стилевыми особенностями оформления вопросов для внкет.

Вторым этапом проведения РИ "*Опрос общественного мнения*" было составление самих опросных листов и "*выход в люди*" и анкетирование, которое проводилось среди друзей, знакомых, родственников и даже незнакомых людей, в основном – студентов.

Завершающим этапом был своеобразный "отчёт" о проведённых опросах в аудитории, которые потребовал определённой "*аналитической*" работы от студентов (им пришлось формулировать результаты опросов примерно таким образом: "*на первый вопрос том, любите ли вы…, из семи опрошенных трое ответили утвердительно, двое – отрицательно и оставшиеся двое ответили, что не задумывались над этим…*"). Естественно, что все эти модели заранее отрабатывались на занятиях.

Ещё одной компактной РИ было "*Собеседование*", проведённое в конце третьего триместра. Данная РИ оказалась очень актуальной, так как большинство студентов сами в это время не раз были активными участниками настоящих собеседовагий при поисках работы или после окончания университета (SH), или на время летних каникул (JH).

Собеседование

После традиционного лексико-грамматичкеского "*вступления*"-*разминки*, включавшего следующий материал:

искать ≠ найти работу
работа по специальности
специалист
принимать – принять на работу
пригласить на собеседование
интервью
давать – дать интервью
брать – взять интервью
(авто)биография
(на)писать автобиографию
куррикулюм вите
анкета
задавать – задать вопросы
отвечать – ответить на вопросы
(письменно, устно)
иметь опыт работы (переводчиком, учителем, преподавателем)
проходить – пройти стажировку в России
обучаться на курсах русского языка в Москве
и нак далее,

студентам предлагалось "сыграть" (смоделировать) в аудитории наиболее типичные сцены в

- городском бюро по трудоустройству;
- в фирме (куда студент приходил в поисках работы по направлению бюро по предварительной записи уже после посещения бюро).

Кроме того, во время этой РИ отрабатываются разные варианты звонков по телефону (по объявлениям в газетах, например) и различные модели официальных писем (в блоке с неофициальными).

В "*Собеседовании*" наиболее часто были использованы следующие роли:

- *секретарь;*
- *работодатель;*
- *студент* (ищет работу секретаря в офисе, уборщиком в гостинице, официантом в Макдональдсе, переводчиком в турбюро на полный или неполный день).

Кроме этих четырёх РИ во время занятий по практике устной рачи со студентами JH и SH в течение 1995/96 учебного года были организованы, подготовлены и проведены и другие, например, "*Суд*", когда сами студенты выступали в роли судей и в роли подсудимых, в роли свидетелей и в роли адвокатов (главными "*подсудимыми*" оказались Джеймс Бонд и Майкл Джексон); или "*Жизнь фотографа*" по мотивам рисунков Херлуфа Бидструпа и некоторые другие.

Использование РИ на занятиях по практике устной речи со студентами JH и SH, как нам кажется, позволило повторить в коммуникативно-прикладном контексте большое ранее изученного лексико-грамматического материала, ввести и отработать новую лексику и новые лексико-грамматические констпукции, при этом по возможности лично мотивируя каждого из студенотв. Со студентами Higher Ordinary и Ordinary A были использованы отдельные элементы некоторых РИ (HO) и отдельные подготовительные материалы к ним (OA).

Rusistika, December 1997, No 16, 34–35

доска

Will kopecks make a comeback?

Once again it's likely to be all change for your money worksheets in the New Year, when the Russian Government plans to knock three noughts off the rouble! Teachers of Russian are used to this sort of thing and no doubt will all wait until the last moment just in case it doesn't happen. The lowest denomination in practical use at the moment is 100 roubles. This is expected to become 10 kopecks. At least we probably won't have to start teaching "dvye kopeyki" again.

Teachers using the Ruslan course will be able to receive new versions of several pages affected by the changes. Once they are confirmed, send a large SAE (31p) to: Ruslan Ltd, 19 Highfield Road, Moseley, Birmingham B13 9HL.

Russian on the Web

http://members.aol.com/rospotapov

Earlier this year I became very involved in using the Internet. At about the same time I met John Langran and I also came across a book by J. Y. Muckle called *Schools, Polytechnics and Universities where Russian is taught*. There had already been some talk of updating this list and I was keen to help. John and I discussed the possibility of making the list available on the Internet. I set to and wrote a series of web pages that would hold the information, which we would update from the old book. It also seemed appropriate that these pages could carry news and information for teachers of Russian, students of Russian and for those interested in Russian language. The pages began to take shape over the summer. Work on these pages is an ongoing process if the information is to be kept up to date. The current set-up is shown in the diagram.

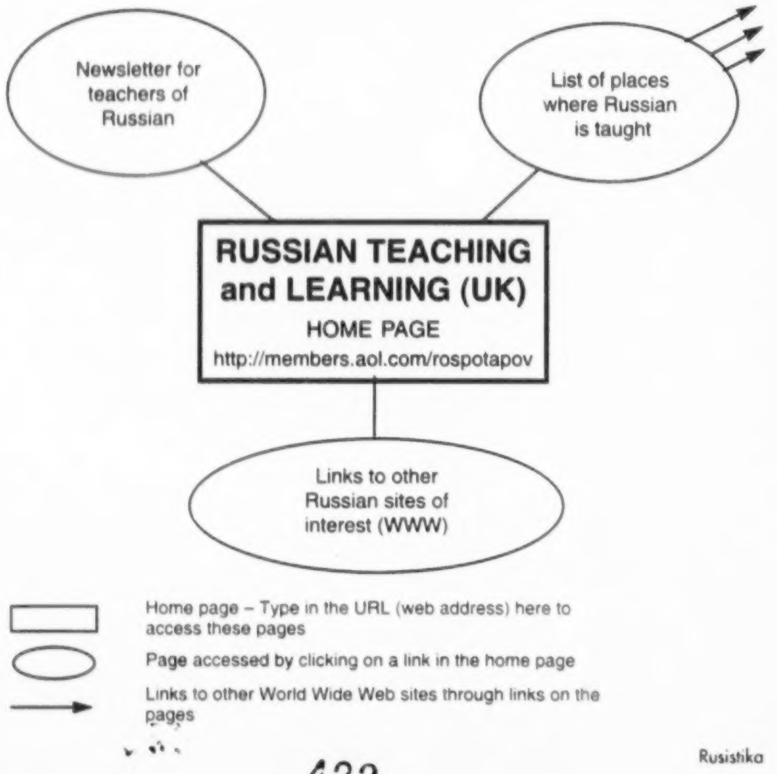
Newsletter for Teachers of Russian. Includes information on educational events for Russian teachers, national news relating to Russian teachers, job information and any other items that would be of interest to Russian teachers. We rely on users to supply this information, particularly for local events.

Links to other Russian sites of interest. Everything from Pushkin to politics and pop music with a wealth of subjects in-between! There is a real-audio download from the Voice of Russia, how to 'russify' your keyboard, with fonts to download and Russian 'chat pages'. Again, any of your favourite Russian pages that I have missed would be welcomed and added.

List of places where Russian is taught. Although the format of these pages is now complete, the information within them is not. If your school or college is not included, please contact John Langran or e-mail me on:
Ros.Potapov@bigfoot.com

I hope you find these pages useful. I look forward to receiving your contributions to make them the most up-to-date source of on-line Russian info for teachers.

R. Potapov


Newsletter for teachers of Russian
List of places where Russian is taught
RUSSIAN TEACHING and LEARNING (UK)
HOME PAGE
http://members.aol.com/rospotapov
Links to other Russian sites of interest (WWW)
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The IX Congress of MAPRYAL 1999

The dates of the Congress were confirmed as 16–21 August 1999. The Congress will be held in Bratislava, Slovakia, and there are likely to be about 500 delegates, with the number of speakers as yet undecided. It is anticipated that, as at the VIII Congress in Regensburg, Great Britain will receive an allocation of nine speakers. There will be sections on language, literature, methodology and culture, and a day of the Congress will be devoted to the life and work of Pushkin, since 1999 marks the bicentenary of the poet's birth. It is hoped that, as at Regensburg, there will be some financial assistance available for members of the British contingent. Further details of the Congress can be obtained from T. Wade.

Award of Pushkin Medal to Marcus Wheeler

Professor Marcus Wheeler was awarded a Pushkin Medal at a recent meeting of the Presidium of MAPRYAL. These medals are awarded for outstanding contributions to the teaching and propagation of the Russian language, and Professor Wheeler's is the eighth awarded to a British citizen.

A classicist by training, Professor Wheeler learnt Russian in the Services and subsequently worked in the Foreign Office and the British Embassy in Moscow, before becoming Professor in Russian at The Queen's University, Belfast. He was British representative on the MAPRYAL Ispolsovet for several years, and is a long-standing mainstay of the Britain–Russia Centre in Northern Ireland. He is best known for the Oxford Russian–English dictionaries, which generations of Russian teachers and students have prized for the pin-point accuracy and appropriateness of the English versions.

Professor Wheeler's Pushkin Medal will be presented at a special ceremony in the Russian Embassy in Dublin.

Meeting of the Presidium of MAPRYAL

The annual meeting of the Presidium of the International Association took place in the Pushkin Institute, Moscow, from 28-31 October 1997 and was attended by representatives from Russia, America, Belorussia, Bulgaria, China, Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Mongolia, Netherlands, Poland, Romania and Slovakia. It is anticipated that there will be a 33% turnover in the membership of the Presidium at elections to be held at the IX Congress of MAPRYAL in 1999. The next meeting of the Presidium will be in Peking in early October 1998.

The position of Russian

There was a discussion about the position of Russian teaching in various countries, and the view was repeated that while there are fewer people learning Russian in Eastern Europe the number of committed learners is about the same. It is said that when Russian was a compulsory subJect 'we pretended to teach them and they pretended to learn'.

The Russian-speaking Olympiad for schoolchildren

This is to be held in Moscow from 28 June to 5 July 1998 (28 June arrival day, 5 July departure day, competition proper from 29 June to 4 July). The maximum number of participants allowed for all countries is 350, and there may be some changes in allocations to some countries, but we expect the UK to be allocated seven pupil places, as at the last Olympiad. Details of allocations will be announced in early December 1997. Heats will be arranged by the Russian Language Committee of ALL.

Terry Wade

Rusistika, December 1997, No 16, 36–40

Reviews

Andrew Jameson
Reviews Editor

Collins Gem Russian Dictionary

Russian–English: English–Russian

New edition. HarperCollins, 1996, xvi + 750pp, £4.50, ISBN 0-00 458652-2

This dictionary, called a 'Major new edition', is a welcome addition to the pocket-size dictionaries hitherto available, although 'pocket' is hardly the correct term, even given that the 2-dimensional size is small, for it is a fat volume, needing a somewhat capacious pocket. It purports to have over 45,000 references, an increase on the 32,000 of the previous edition, a comprehensive and up-to-date coverage of current vocabulary, in-depth treatment of frequently-used words, and uniquely helpful supplements on Russian grammar and pronunciation. I would add that there are also sections on English grammar and pronunciation, for this dictionary is aimed not only at English students of Russian, but also Russian students of English, and it therefore includes a valuable supplement, amongst others, on English irregular (i.e. mostly 'strong') verbs, as well as Russian irregular forms.

A welome new feature is the use of 'Keywords', these being words which can be grammatically complex, often with many different uses, e.g. *быть, вот, перед, как, же*, or in English *for, much, up, have*. These are highlighted in the text, with examples given.

The vocabulary is up-to-date, containing words newly incorporated into both the Russian and the English languages. It would be unreasonable to expect too many of these in a small dictionary, but we find *computer, mobile phone, AIDS, ваучер, тусовка* even if not *biodegradable* or *spreadsheet*. However, lamentable by its absence is a list of current abbreviations, such as appears in other small dictionaries, for here are to be found only abbreviations used in the compilation, and not official abbreviations such as *ГУМ, ООН, МХАТ*.

Although comprehensive and compact, the dictionary is not physically as easy to handle as other pocket-size dictionaries, since the squat shape and very small print were a hindrance at least to this reviewer. However, a Lower Sixth form pupil, invited to comment, found no problems, and was very favourably impressed by the grammatical appendices and keywords in particular. The dictionary can be thoroughly recommended for students in the first years of learning Russian. Much information in it is not contained in the large dictionaries used by advanced students: in short, good value for money.

JOAN SMITH

A Russian Grammar Workbook

Terence Wade

Blackwell, 1996, xiv + 252pp, £14.99, ISBN 0-631-19381-2.

Terence Wade's *A Comprehensive Russian Grammar* has been the indispensible tool of any serious student of Russian for several years, and now he has given us a companion volume which can also be used independently. The exercises cover all the grammatical points explained in the first volume: they range from substitution drills and multiple choice to grammatical quizzes and translation exercises, each exercise referring back to the paragraph in the *Grammar* where the construction is explained. Under 'Verbs that take the instrumental', for instance, the student finds a variety of exercises:

1. Eight sentences in which he must supply, from a given set of eight verbs, the correct one to say which profession the given subject follows; thus he is given the noun in the instrumental and learns how to use the verb.
2. In given sentences, he must tick which case of the bracketed noun is appropriate, nominative or instrumental.
3. In given sentences he must replace the dash by **является** or **быть**.
4. He must rewrite given sentences using an appropriate verb with the instrumental.
5. He must use dimensions in the instrumental to describe Lake Baikal (specifics are given!)

It is this refreshing variety which appeals to students and teachers alike, since there is no scope for mind-wandering or boredom.

Turning to the chapter on 'The Numeral', we expect to find that this starts in a predictably easy way; not so, for exercise one invites us to count in squared numbers by saying '2 squared equals 4' etc. And numbers are much more than just numbers, for we learn from them, in this case how many museums there are in Moscow, or *ВУЗЫ* in Petersburg. Under ordinal numbers we have to read dates on which various events happened (useful information again), and most of my intermediate class could manage this, but the final exercise requires us to read numerals in compound nouns and adjectives, from a given sentence in which only the numeral is provided, so that we produce phrases such as '25-millimetre missiles', 'a four-year old child', 'a millenium', 'a 40-degree frost'. This was a challenge to my class, who thought the time had come for a coffee break.

The final section of the book is a useful and practical one on word order, and the problems of translating the English definite and indefinite article into Russian.

It must be obvious that this is a book for English teachers of Russian as well as students, for there is a lot for many of us to learn. Devotees of grammar *per se* will find it immensely readable, and it is a splendid tool for students at all levels, on their own or with a teacher. But fear not – a key to all the exercises is to be found at the end!

JOAN SMITH

Language Teacher ER3000

English-Russian electronic dictionary and business organiser

Ectaco UK Ltd, PO Box 12575, London E14 3XH (tel: 0171 515 1492), from £79 to £229.95

The idea that when the Good Lord invented dictionaries He decreed that they should invariably take the form of a book has been challenged in recent years by technologists who have produced, they claim, the late twentieth century's answer to weight and bulkiness, namely the electronic dictionary. The battery-powered ER3000, operated by a keyboard which doubles for both alphabets, has a main vocabulary of 400,000 words, including idioms, medical, technical, legal and business terms and slang. You key in your Russian or English word, press 'Enter' and *voilà!* you have a translation on the tiny screen. So: can we safely consign our beloved *Oxford Russian Dictionary* (25×17 ×7cm; 2kg) to the scrap heap in favour of this electronic usurper (13×8×1cm; 100gr)? Well, it depends what you want from a dictionary.

In the first place we must learn to deal with American spelling (*honor, defense, humor, traveling* and so on), American vocabulary (*rinky dink, say uncle, zip code*) and American usage (*lay an egg* – потерпеть фиаско, облажаться). We must be fairly dictionary-wise to be able to cope with a wide range of possible translations (*send* – посылать, послать, заслать, прислать, разослать; *purchase* – покупка, выигрыш в силе, годовой дохол с земли, точка опоры, ценность, закупка, купля; занятие – *occupancy, business, class, exercise, occupation, trade, engagement, job, metier, shebang, walks of life*). We must also be competent English spellers to take on such irritations (to put it no higher) as: *pull dawn* – сносить; *woolens* – шерстяная ткань; дятел – *ficker*; *pain the town red* – удариться в загул; *pool one's leg* – дурачить кого-то; *take of the town* – у всех на устах; *what is the echange rate?* – какой сейчас курс обмена?; *you are reached a wrong number* – вы ошиблись номером).

The device also provides a 'hangman'-type vocabulary test (Russian-English only), in which we are given up to 20 attempts to key in the letters of what we believe to be the meaning of a displayed word or phrase. This may be considered an educational way of filling in time when waiting for the appearance of a bus or a waiter, but be prepared to put up with such equivalents as овладевать вниманием – *grip*; поразить – *wow*; малярия – *ague*; соперничать – *contend*; штат – *staff*; прекращать(ся) – *stop*. соизволить – *deign*; толочь – *stamp*; выключать – *ungear*; and заросший – *ivied*. (I have not been selective: these are ten consecutive entries.)

A selection of 'common and emergency' phrases is divided into 19 categories (At the Hotel, Job hunting, Using the telephone and the like) and provide the Russian for *Where I can change money* – Где можно обменять деньги?; *What time I have to check out?* – Когда нужно освободить номер? (All *sic* and without stress marks.)

There is a function which will introduce you to English irregular verbs alphabetically. Keying in A, for instance, will start you off with *abide; abode; abided* – пребывать; D will present you with *dare; dared; durst* – отваживаться.

There is also a user's dictionary which enables you to enlarge the dictionary's vocabulary by adding your own. No information is given about capacity.

There is a special section of 200 American-English idioms including: *oilhead* – пьяница; *shoot the breeze* – трепаться; *sell down the river* – сплавить.

The device has additional non-linguistic functions: a clock (with a facility for recording the time in three time zones): a telephone and address directory (both languages), capacity unknown ; a calculator: a memo/time-management system (= appointments record); decimal and currency conversion calculators.

But is it worth £79? In its favour are its compactness and portability (it fits easily into a pocket or handbag); its capacity to irritate and stimulate further research (how else would I have found out what a *yaffle* or *yaffil* is?); and its usefulness for non-Russian speakers who can simply show what is shown on the screen to waiters, bank tellers, tour guides, etc. But it will please neither the professional teacher or translator or the serious but inexperienced student, who could not be expected to cope with the limitations I have set out here.

The ER3000 is available from a number of London outlets, or from Ectaco UK Ltd. There is also a model with a vocabulary of over 450,000 words (£199.95) and one with over 500,000 words plus a speaker (£229.95). I have not tested either.

BRIAN LOCKETT

Ruslan – Russian 2

John Langran and Natalya Veshnyeva

Ruslan, 1996, Course book: ISBN 1-899785-03-05, £10.80; compact disc: ISBN 1-899785-05-1, £10.20; cassette: ISBN 1-899785-04-3, £9.20; computer exercises for IBM PCs: £12.00

This is the follow-up course to *Ruslan – Russian 1*, which was reviewed in the June 1995 issue of *Rusistika*. It is designed to bring students up to GCSE or Institute of Linguists General Certificate level and comprises ten lessons of dialogues in a variety of everyday contexts (the post office, weather, at the doctor's, shopping and the like) with a background story involving the characters introduced in the earlier publication. There are lots of written and oral exercises, grammatical explanations and vocabularies and a

Russian-English vocabulary of 1600 words. So it doesn't sound very different from any other modern course. But it is.

In the first place, having been published as recently as 1996, it is as up to date as any Russian textbook can be, given the constant changes in the Russian scene: copecks kave gone (can we yet rank копейка with аршин and пуд?), faxes are dealt with, the new (=old) town names are here, the musical items on the cassette are modern, the massive influx of western words is acknowledged on almost every page. (In this last respect· Russian seems to be getting more user-friendly by the week!).

Secondly, the exercises based on the dialogues and grammar covered in each lesson are imaginative and encourage students to extend themselves. The suggested games are particularly good as one would expect from John Langran, and can be simplified or refined to meet the students' needs. My own class of 15–20 adult students, wary of the exposure threatened by games of any kind, originally asked to be allowed to take notes to aid what they believed to be failing memories. After several games, however, they found they could manage without.

Thirdly, the lively style of the dialogues – in particular the contributions of the типичный англичанин, whose wide-eyed, innocent-abroad questions provoke great sympathy – and the undercurrent of mystery during their development holds students' interest from lesson to lesson.

In short, this is excellent second or even third year material which need not necessarily be preceded by *Ruslan 1*, which, incidentally, is now in its second improved edition. It is eminently suitable for use in schools and universities.

Teachers should be warned, however, that the summary of basic grammar, which often occupies an appendix in course books, is absent from this one. So there is no quick way for students to check the instrumental of дети, the declension of soft adjectives and so on. Whilst I can understand the thinking behind such an omission (time, expense) and strongly advise all students to consult Terry Wade's peerless *Comprehensive Russian Grammar* for guidance, I would ask the author to reconsider his, decision when the time for a reprint or new edition comes round. Meanwhile, many students will look to teachers to fill this gap with their own handouts.

The IBM PC disk, which has 130 exercises based on *Ruslan 1* and 143 based on *Ruslan 2*, will give a screen display of all the dialogues, vocabularies, grammar notes and reading passages together with a full Russian-English dictionary. The exercises include those involving choice (find the translation or the correct word combination), gap-filling (fill in the gaps to make sense), letter-filling (fill in the letters to make the right ending), 'drum drill' (choose the word to complete the sense of the sentence) and rapid response tests (answer the question before it hits the bottom of the screen).

All the material described is available through specialist booksellers (Grant and Cutler; Russian, Central and East European Books) or direct by post (with discounts for bulk purchases) from RUSLAN, 19 Highfiield Road, Moseley, Birmingham B13 9HL. Tel/fax: 0121 449 1578.

JOAN SMITH

A Reasonable Man

Vaughan James

The Book Guild Ltd., Temple House, 25 High Street, Lewes BN7 2LU. £14.95

Vaughan James' first novel is a superb account of the struggles of Ivan Mochitsky, a chinovnik in charge of exchanges with the West, to carve himself a future in Russia in the times of the Gorbachev/Yeltsin changes. When I started reading I thought this was a translation of a better-than-average Soviet novel, the mood is so very Russian. There are vivid descriptions of personalities and places that demonstrate detailed knowledge of Russia and the Russians, subtle analysis of psychology and motive, and all is enlivened by Vaughan's wicked sense of humour.

Mochitsky plots to leave the USSR, changes his name, and lines up for himself a potential fortune in smuggled Picassos and dubious arms shipments to Cuba. But events overtake him, he is unable to cope with the train of events he has set in motion, and his physical disintegration as a result of HIV contracted in a bizarre sex session in New York seems strangely inevitable. Like all Russians, he needs to come home, and you will have to read the book to appreciate the subtlety and irony of the ending.

This is an excellent read for all who have an interest in the tensions of the new Russia, and a first class gift for a partner or friend who you would like to share in this experience. There are many Russian language references in the text, for example a fascinating account of the derivation of the term *oveska*, and it will be a shame if these detract from the appeal of the novel to readers with no Russian language background. But for readers of *Rusistika* it is a must!

JOHN LANGRAN

Petersburg Tales, Marriage, The Government Inspector

Nikolai Vasilyevich Gogol, translated by Christopher English with an introduction by Richard Peace

Oxford University Press, 1995, xxvii +5 pp of maps and tables + 358 pp., £6.99 ($6.95 USA), ISBN 0 19 282881 9

The World's Classics Series has for many decades made a representative selection of Russian literature available to the English-speaking public. In recent times the format has become less elegant, perhaps: the once handsomely bound pocket-sized series is now in a larger format, but with a paper back. Many whose Russian is not up to tackling Gogol in the original, as well as some linguists who want to check their understanding of the text, will find this particular volume worth the relatively modest price at which it sells: especially if they happen to be American. Why do we British have to pay the higher price?!

There are considerable difficulties in translating Gogol, it must be admitted: what do you do about the names and the wordplay? How can the curious ethos and culture of Nikolaian Russia adequately be conveyed? Previous translators of Russian literature have sometimes attempted to make works accessible by modernizing them, or by transposing them to another country or culture: anglicizing them or setting them in Dublin – as if the original context were not acceptable. Some recent 'translations' of Chekhov plays have descended to vulgarity. There is none of this damned nonsense here. Mr

English's translations are modern, but not aggressively so; the reader does not forget that it is a *Russian* nineteenth-century original which is being translated, and a bibliography, 21 pages of notes, a stimulating introduction by Richard Peace, some maps and the Table of Ranks serve to elucidate historical, linguistic and topographical points.

The stories included illustrate Gogol at his best ('The Overcoat', 'Diary of a Madman') and at his most infuriating (the tedious, sententious and unnecessary moralizing of 'The Portrait' which, despite a spirited defence of Gogol's sophisticated narrative techniques by Peace, comes over as a pain in the backside). The plays, especially 'The Government Inspector', are particularly effectively translated, and a competent cast could surely make them very funny indeed on the stage.

What a strange man Gogol must have been! He was a great comedian – even sometimes a buffoon, a sharp moral satirist, but had that tendency to preach which almost came to destroy his reputation. Yet his power to evoke pathos – pity for the plight of Akaky Akakievich or the madman – is amazingly intense. These splendid translations do his English reputation a service.

JAMES MUCKLE

A Guide to Essay Writing in Russian

Svetlana and Stephen Le Fleming

Bristol Classical Press, 1996

Modern teaching aids targeted at adult learners of Russian in the tertiary sector are always welcome. In the post Soviet period we can no longer use some well established language aids which, because of their pedagogic method or reference, seem to our students to belong to another era. This *Guide to Essay Writing in Russian* is both a teaching and learning tool, and in that is doubly welcome in this period of independent learning and time economies.

The Introduction is sensibly addressed to the student suggesting the benefits of self-directed use of the Guide. The opening section of the book, 'Basics', is an excellent review of vocabulary and phraseology useful for structuring a written presentation, and introduces the student to constructions and grammar preferred in the written language. The real body of the Guide contains material which is topically presented: a good selection responsive to the needs of today's students covering such subjects as geography and demography, women's rights and the nationalities issue.

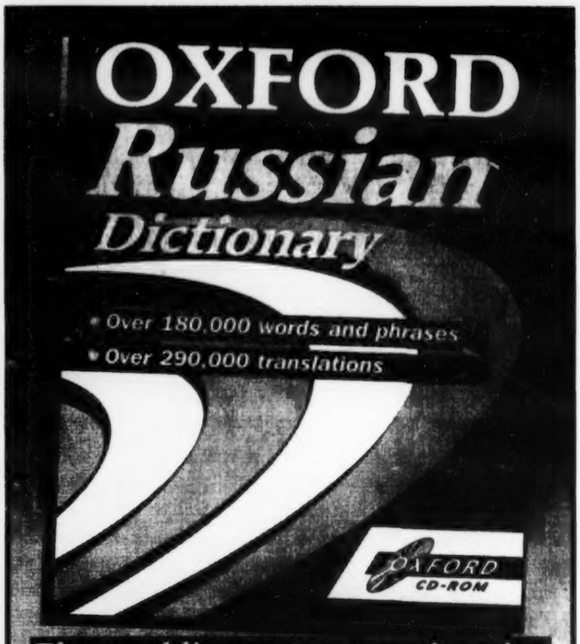
Each topic is subdivided into manageable sections with a recurring structure, containing three separate areas of activity. The first has vocabulary exemplified in short extracts in Russian related to the given topic with literal translations; the second supplies factual information which could be used in an essay also with a literal translation; the third contains exercises requiring the student to manipulate grammar and vocabulary, and translate, followed by a guided exercise in English towards writing an essay utilising the material supplied. The grammar exercises are adult, the register is high, and most usefully a key to the exercises is supplied at the end of the book, facilitating independent student use. The material is drawn from a series of newspapers and journals long used by many of us engaged in this kind of teaching: from *Argumenty i fakty* to *Ogonek*. This material has been chosen sensitively: it will not date too quickly, and is focused on the given issues in the Russian context.

What is missing? One of the targets of essay writing must be information retrieval from Russian sources and subsequent utilisation. References for the extracts, short as they are, would help students to make the difficult bridge to the Russian sources themselves. There is enough material, however, in this book to last a student a complete academic year or more. Secondly, there is a gap between the ideals of essay writing and the material being accessed. This gap is recognised by the authors who invoke the gods to prevent students from "arming themselves with journalistic or bureaucratic clichés" (p. 4). One of the advantages of this Guide is that it can be used in a number of different ways. Even work targeted just at the exercises would be invaluable.

I wonder, though, if 'essay writing' is really what the modern student requires? The skills demanded of them as linguists on completing a degree would rarely include such an academic exercise, which in any case is present in other parts of an undergraduate course. In this respect, the title of the book may unfairly deflect many potential users who seek the more generalised skills of writing in Russian for a number of purposes and in a range of different registers.

Those points made, this is a book which many teachers and learners of advanced Russian will welcome and wish to use for their own language purposes, whether or not for essay writing.

CYNTHIA MARSH



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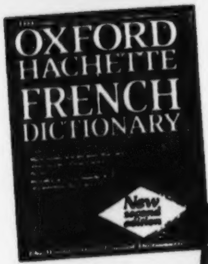

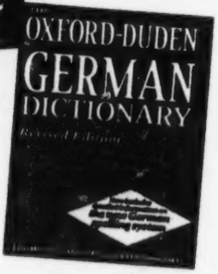

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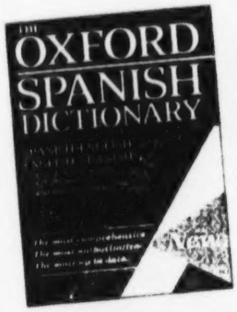

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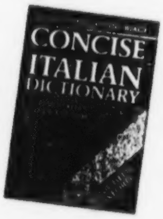

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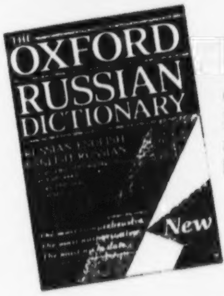

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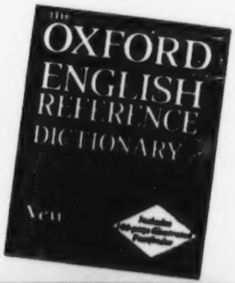

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December 1997 No. 16

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